

SPORTS JOURNALISM AT THE HEIGHT OF PORTUGAL'S DICTATORSHIP: BUREAUCRACY AND CENSORSHIP (1935-1960)

PERIODISMO DEPORTIVO EN EL APOGEO DE LA DICTADURA PORTUGUESA: BUROCRACIA Y CENSURA (1935-1960)

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ABSTRACT: During Portugal's dictatorship (1926-1974) there were said to be three pillars to appease its population: Fado (the music connected to culture and tradition), Fátima (symbolizing the Catholic religion) and Football (the most popular sport). While these F's were never the dictatorship's motto, news outlets that specialized in these subjects were, in theory, given a bigger freedom. And yet, all periodical publications were targeted by the Portuguese censorship and were regularly constrained by it.

With this in mind this study will centre on the relationship between the censorship services and the journalistic publications of the third F: newspapers and news bulletins that were mainly concerned with covering sports and sporting events. To achieve this we will analyse the censorship records and public archives during the height of the dictatorial regime, 1935-1960, in an effort to perceive how these journalistic publications were controlled through bureaucracy and surveillance.

KEYWORDS: Censorship, Dictatorship, Portugal, Sports Journalism, Surveillance.

RESUMEN: Durante la dictadura de Portugal (1926-1974) se decía que había tres pilares para apaciguar a su población: Fado (la música conectada con la cultura y la tradición), Fátima (simbolizando la religión católica) y Fútbol (el deporte más popular). Si bien estas F's nunca fueron el lema de la dictadura, los medios especializados en estos temas tenían, en teoría, mayor libertad. Y, sin embargo, todas las publicaciones periódicas fueron blanco de la censura portuguesa y se vieron limitadas regularmente por ella.

En este sentido, este estudio se centrará en la relación entre los servicios de censura y las publicaciones periodísticas de la tercera F, diarios y boletines informativos que se ocupaban principalmente de la cobertura de deportes y eventos deportivos. Para lograrlo analizaremos los registros de censura y archivos públicos durante el apogeo del régimen dictatorial, 1935-1960, en un esfuerzo por percibir cómo estas publicaciones fueron controladas a través de la burocracia y la vigilancia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Censura, Dictadura, Portugal, Periodismo Deportivo, Vigilancia.

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1. Introduction: Censorship and sports publications during the dictatorship

While there are a number of noteworthy studies¹ on censorship and journalism in Portugal, an analysis of sports publications' censorship files, including smaller and/or regional periodicals, is a matter that deserves further scrutiny. Due to the importance of overall sports during the dictatorship, particularly football as the most popular, a study on the issue can reveal many aspects of the censorship's direct actions towards media, as well as its impact throughout its existence. To consider this matter in depth, this study's main focus will be the censorship services files available at the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, in addition to related literature on the matter. These files contain mostly confidential and secret communications between the dictatorship's censorship services and the different periodical publications, and, ultimately, as we will argue, they allow us to see how censorship had a grip on media. To get a better picture of this matter, this study will address both major and minor sports publications, as well as regional ones, in order to provide the full scope of the censorship services' actions back then. To do this, this study will mainly analyse the timeframe during the height of the Portuguese dictatorial regime², that is, from 1935 to 1960, thus starting two years after the 1933 Constitution, and ending in 1960, just one year before the start of the colonial war and the subsequent changes of censorship rules³ (further altered years later with the succession of power after the fall of dictator Oliveira Salazar in 1968).

While this study's purpose is to tackle the many aspects of censorship services towards sports publications, both through control and surveillance, it should be noted that the monetary fines and suspensions will not be addressed here since it was felt that this matter should be addressed

¹ Consider: Serrão & Marques, 1992, Azevedo, 1999, Rosas, 2013 & Barros, 2022, to name a few.

² We should note that Rosas (2020, pp. 45-47) argues that the dictatorship actually begins to fall after 1945 as it faces its first crisis (the worker's revolts after the end of the 2nd World War) followed by its second crisis (the political and students uprising from 1958 to 1962). However, Rosas also argues that it is the colonial war that foreshadows the end of the dictatorship, although this conflict lasted for 13 years.

³ These include, but are not limited to, the confidential Bulletin n.º 3/61 of the Directorate of Censorship Services of 14 July 1961, at the time referred as the *New General Directives of Censorship*, translated from the original *Novas Directivas Gerais da Censura*; as well as Decree n.º 44:278, 14 April 1962.

in a separate essay⁴. At the same time, while this study does not aspire to mention all available reports from the censorship services that targeted sports publications, we do hope to be able to analyse the many different and notable aspects of journalistic scrutiny and bureaucracy. In fact, it should be said that not all archives concerning censorship cuts and control over media have survived⁵ and it is known that an unspecified number of records were actually destroyed during the April 25th revolution and its aftermath⁶. Still, as we will show during this study, there is still a lot of public information to explore and there is a wide range of data that indeed proves the hardships and tribulations of these varied journalistic sports publications. By researching these archives, we can get closer to understanding the true impact of the censorship services, as well as these publications' reluctant compliance and, at times, efforts to refute them.

Finally, we should also point that all of the archives studied for this essay belong to the Directorate of Censorship Services and not to the secret police PVDE/PIDE, whose practices were increasingly more ruthless and violent in comparison. With that said, we should also point out that this study will intentionally not mention most of the names of those involved in these reports, both those working at the censorship services and those employed by the targeted newspapers. While this is public information and it is freely accessible to anyone who seeks it, it still seemed that, for the most part, it was possible to analyse these archives and moments in history without mentioning the names of the real individuals involved. Sometimes, however, the real names will be included when it is an essential information to keep in mind, given the matter being discussed.

2. Context and timeframe: Instability and the rise of Portugal's dictatorial regime

Since its beginning in 1910, after the revolution that put an end to the Portuguese Monarchy, Portugal's 1st Republic faced many chal-

⁴ This means that, for the purposes of this research, the censorship files of some major sports publications —such as *Record* and *O Norte Desportivo*— as well as regional publications —like *A Voz Desportiva* and *Correio Desportivo*— will not be mentioned here, although these include suspensions and monetary fines.

⁵ Gomes, 2014, p. 8.

⁶ Carvalho, 2009.

lenges that continuously threatened its existence. Indeed, the young democratic regime was incessantly in deep crisis, particularly due to its political and economic instability further accentuated with the tragic participation in the First World War⁷. By 1920-21 Portugal faced its biggest inflation rate in its history⁸ and as the political turmoil accentuated⁹ it was clear to its people that the Portuguese democracy had failed its promises¹⁰. On 28 May 1926 a revolution broke out in Portugal and, after three failed coup attempts just the year prior, the army was finally able to succeed in implementing a military dictatorship.

But this new regime proved incapable to deal with a country in disarray and further revolutions followed, all unsuccessful: on 3 February in Porto and 7 in Lisbon both in 1927, on 20 July of 1928 in Lisbon, throughout April of 1931 in Madeira and Guiné, and on 26 August of 1931 again in Lisbon. It was only due to the strength of its military that the new government was able to control the country and quell all revolutions. And so, as the threat grew so did the military expenses, with Portugal, at the time, having the third most expensive army in Europe per capita¹¹. In face of a growing financial deficit, higher than the Republic's last two years in power, the country desperately searched for a solution. In 1929, amid the start of the depression and just one year after taking office as Minister of Finance, Oliveira Salazar was able to balance the budget and stabilize the Portuguese currency, even achieving budgetary surpluses¹². This economic success continued throughout the financial crisis,

⁷ Historian Aniceto Afonso remarked, on the Portuguese participation in the First World War, that “Only one word defines the Portuguese situation after the war-crisis” translated from the original: “Só uma palavra define a situação portuguesa depois da guerra-crise”. Afonso, 2007, p. 102.

⁸ Ramos, 2009, p. 862.

⁹ To further explain this turmoil, we should mention two other aspects: the short-lived dictatorship of Sidónio Pais (1917-18), as well as the 19 October 1921 tragic events in Lisbon, known as the Bloody Night.

¹⁰ Page, 2008, p. 253.

¹¹ Ramos, 2009, 624.

¹² Dictator Salazar's economic policies led many to see him as the “boss”, the “financial wizard”, the “professorial dictator” and the “father devoted to the nation”, translated from the original: “chefe (...) mago das finanças (...) ditador catedrático (...) pai (...) devotado à nação.” Rosas, 2020, p. 45. To further consider Salazar's effort to balance the troubled Portuguese economy during this timeframe, as well as how it began to shift in the later decades of the dictatorship, see Louça, 2020, pp. 126-170 & 176-200.

and thus, after some internal turmoil with competing powers, Salazar was then able to cement his position as a de facto dictator.

The years that followed saw the implementation of the new political constitution of 1933 and the establishment of a corporatist regime that would be known as New State (translated from the original: Estado Novo). With the growth of the New State's influence so did its political institutions that sought to enforce its ideology, such as the censorship services and the secret police PVDE (renamed to its commonly referred name PIDE in 1945 and again in 1968 to DGS). The Directorate of Censorship Services, how its name indicates, focused on editing and cutting publications and, if need be, they would impose punishments to those that broke the law. In this way, the censorship services established prior censorship and, through it, effectively controlled periodical publications' contents and news bulletins, including sports news media, the focus of this study.

3. Starting a sports publication: Editors, frequency and the censorship laws

It took less than one month for the new military dictatorship to address press freedom and when it did, it was through a letter sent to all publications, on 22 June 1926, stating that censorship was the new rule: "By superior order, I inform that from today onwards censorship of the Press is established. No newspaper can publish without first sending 4 copies to the General Command of the GNR, for that purpose"¹³. From then on periodical publications had to send copies of each number to be revised by the censorship services and each new print now included a small note that read: "This issue was checked by the censorship commission". With this notice it was then effectively known by the general public that censorship indeed existed and thus the new regime's promises of freedom and opportunity were constantly challenged by this very notion.

Still, while the censorship services did target periodical publications from the start, it was after 1933 that its power structure truly be-

¹³ Translated from the original: "Por ordem superior levo ao conhecimento de V. que a partir de hoje é estabelecida a censura à Imprensa, não sendo permitida a saída de qualquer jornal sem que 4 exemplares do mesmo não sejam presentes ao Comando Geral da GNR, para aquele fim". Soares, *et al.*, 1997, p. 52.

came well-defined and pervasive¹⁴. Indeed, we can see how the new government sought to define press media in April of that year by, in theory, “guaranteeing freedom of expression for any publication” while at the same time “periodical publications will be under censorship (...) if they focus on political or social matters”¹⁵. This last point, however, seems to indicate that sports publications were seen as exceptions, due to their subject of analysis, and that they were thus free from censorship¹⁶. And yet, while newspapers and periodical bulletins that defined themselves as publishing only sports related issues were, in theory, free to publish, they still needed to send copies of each publication to the censorship services, for what was described as “archival purposes”. It was through these require-

¹⁴ Interestingly, the neighbouring Spanish Dictatorship would take less time to exert control over its press, with the end of the Spanish civil war accelerating this process immensely. Indeed, as Viuda-Serrano states (2022, p. 55-56), this was achieved, in part, through the control of media via the Cadena de Prensa del Movimiento in 1940, as well as through a process of obligatory listings in order to work as a journalist via the Official Registry of Journalists (Registro Oficial de Periodistas) that took place right after the end of the civil war, on 2 April 1939, and also through a sort of “indoctrination” of the craft as a whole, by creating the Official School of Journalism (Escuela Oficial de Periodismo) starting in 1941. Portugal, on the other hand, would take a different approach to the education and professionalization of journalists. While there were efforts to create a similar educational project in 1941, these did not succeed (Sobreira, 2003, pp. 70-72), and the first official higher education course in journalism would only happen in 1971, with it only lasting 3 years, ending, coincidentally, after the 1974 revolution (Sousa *et al.*, 2010, p. 357).

¹⁵ As seen in Article 1 of Decree n.º 22:469, 11 April 1933, translated from the original: “É garantida a expressão do pensamento por meio de qualquer publicação” and Article 2 “Continuam sujeitos a censura prévia as publicações periódicas definidas na lei de imprensa (...) sempre que delas se versem assuntos de carácter político ou social”, *Decree n.º 22:469*, 1933.

¹⁶ Indeed, at one point the law specifically indicated sports, along with other subjects, as being legally exempt from prior censorship. In fact, this exemption, for example, was defined in the confidential Memo 238, directed to the censorship services on 11 October 1945, that “sought to reduce the financial constraints of censorship on news media”, translated from the original “com o fim de reduzir, ao mínimo os prejuízos que a intervenção destes Serviços causam às Empresas jornalísticas”, *Memo 238*, 1945. Coincidentally, years prior a similar directive was given to censors in neighbouring Spain in hopes of giving some freedom to sports reporters. This was the ““Rules for sports writers”, published in the first issue of the Official Bulletin of the National Sports Delegation in 1943”, translated from the original: ““Normas para los redactores deportivos”, publicadas en el primer número del Boletín Oficial de la Delegación Nacional de Deportes en 1943” Viuda-Serrano, 2022, p. 60. Both directives, however, did little to change the status quo and sports reporters and sports publications continued to be censored in the years that followed.

ments and other regulations, as this study will argue, that governmental censorship found a way to tackle every aspect of these publications' existence, and, soon enough, sports journalism became just like any other publication: regularly censored and, at times, severely punished.

Indeed, from the start sports publications in Portugal were in constant scrutiny since there were several requirements before even being allowed to publish their first issue. To start off, anyone intending to begin a new publication had to first send a letter to the director of the censorship services where the would-be proprietor had to provide, among other things: the name of the periodical, the frequency of publication, the proprietor's name and family members, the appointed director and editor (sometimes the same individual), where it was going to be printed; etc. This information complied with the law initially published on 2 August 1926 that specified that: "All periodical publications need to have, in the first page of each issue, the name of its director, editor, owner, the location of its administration and where it is printed" with its absence possibly meaning "jail time of three to thirty days and a corresponding monetary penalty"¹⁷. This meant that new publications had to be precise when providing information to the censorship services, since any possible mistake or misunderstanding could hinder them heavily.

An example of how some periodical publications suffered from this can be seen with *Arte e Sport*, whose proprietor requested authorization to publish on 20 October 1942, stating that the monthly news magazine would be centred on the topics of "art, sports, cinema, literature, poetry and advertising"¹⁸. With no answer from the censorship services, or at least no answer is included in this specific file, the proprietor sent another letter on 27 November again requesting authorization, but this time the frequency of publication was quarterly. This change was noted by the censor that received the letter since the word "quarterly" is visibly underlined with a red pencil. A month later, on 21 December, perhaps due to still having no answer from the censorship services (since again no

¹⁷ As seen in Article 4 of Decree n.º 12:008, 2 August 1926, translated from the original: "Nenhum periódico poderá publicar-se sem que no alto da primeira página e em todos os seus números insira o nome do diretor, o do editor, o do proprietário e a indicação da sede de administração do periódico e a do estabelecimento onde for impresso, sob pena de prisão correccional de três a trinta dias e multa correspondente". *Decree n.º 12:008*, 1926.

¹⁸ Translated from the original: "arte, sport, cinema, teatro, literatura, poesia e publicidade". *Arte e Sport*, Cf. Processo n.º 32 (caixa 711).

answer is included in the file at this point), the hopeful owner of *Arte e Sport* filed an intellectual property request with the legal authorities concerning the new magazine, and in it the intended printing frequency is quarterly. And yet, just two weeks later, on 6 January 1943 in another letter to the censorship services, again asking for approval for the new publication, the mentioned frequency is now “monthly”, with this word being once more underlined in pencil by the censor, clearly pointing out the discrepancy in requests. Finally, three days later, on 9 January there is a letter by the censorship services rejecting the authorization for the publication of *Arte e Sport*. This file then includes a number of other requests, all rejected, and the proprietor finally gives up on the magazine in February, less than four months after the first letter.

While frequency was just one of the many important aspects to take into account, another important feature with every initial request for publication was having a clearly defined subject of analysis. Since sports newspapers were, in theory, not the main target of the censorship services, newer publications tended to be intentionally clear in their area of focus in an effort not to draw attention. For example, when sports club Graça initially asked for authorization to publish a monthly news bulletin titled *O Graça*, on 27 March 1961 concerning internal club affairs and their members, it was approved the following month, on 17 April 1961, with the censorship services stating that the new publication was “authorized (...) and is exempt from prior censorship (...) as long as it does not cover political, economic or social issues, but it must, however, send this commission one copy of each issue, for archive”¹⁹. Note that this type of language by the censorship services to new publications was recurrent and indeed to be expected.

Other publications, however, seemed to want to over clarify their intentions to cover other topics from the start, even if their subject of analysis was mainly sports related. This was the case, on 30 August 1955, with newspaper *Voz do Desporto* (initially referred to as *Desportivo*) and its intention to cover subjects related to sports, radio and cinema. Because it was meant to be a regional publication the Director of the censorship services in Lisbon, on 10 September 1955, decided to first enquire on the regional au-

¹⁹ Translated from the original: “foi autorizada (...) com dispensa de censura prévia (...) desde que não trate de assuntos de natureza política, económica ou social, devendo, no entanto, enviar a esta Direção um exemplar do referido boletim para arquivo, por cada número que sair”. *O Graça*, Cf. Processo n.º 143 (caixa 733).

thorities seeking their input and advice on the matter. The local government approved it in a letter signed on 16 September 1955, and, after an extended back and forth due to an apparent conflict with other binding regulations, the newspaper was finally approved on 5 November 1955, although due to the changes of its editorial focus, the publication was now “subject to prior censorship at the censorship delegation of its own city”²⁰.

Because of the fear and risk of censorship, and all the technical ordeals and hurdles it presented, some sports publications would even specifically ask to be exempt from prior censorship during their initial request to publish. This was the case, for example, with *Boletim do Clube Desportivo de Paço de Arcos*, a news bulletin that belonged to the sports club Paço de Arcos. When it requested legal authorization to publish, in a letter to the censorship services on 13 July 1950, it stated that: “The Sports Club (...) wanting to publish a bulletin (...) with sports, recreational and cultural news (...) wishes to be granted the needed authorization, as well as an exemption from censorship and exoneration from any other formalities”²¹. The answer from the secretary of the censorship services came the same day, wherein it stated that the new publication was approved and that it was indeed “exempt from prior censorship”, although in the same letter it then clarifies that “a copy of each issue must be sent to these services for later censorship and archive”²². This somewhat odd and contradictory language is present in many of the censorship files consulted for this study, and it does show, in part, how the censorship operated during this period: a sports publication could be specifically granted exemption from censorship, according to the law, while at the same time being reminded that censorship could still come after the fact (and it often did).

Another aspect to take into consideration when starting a newspaper, magazine or news bulletin during the Portuguese dictatorial regime, was that any appointed editors also had to explicitly confirm that they

²⁰ Translated from the original: “ficando sujeito a censura prévia, na Delegação de censura, nessa cidade”. *Voz do Desporto*, Cf. Processo n.º 793 (caixa 546).

²¹ Translated from the original: “desejando publicar um boletim (...) de natureza desportiva, recreativa e cultural (...) vem por esta forma requerer a V. Exa. a devida autorização assim como a isenção de censura para esta publicação e dispensa das inerentes formalidades”. *Boletim do Clube Desportivo de Paço de Arcos*, Cf. Processo n.º 31 (caixa 746).

²² Translated from the original: “fica dispensado de censura prévia, devendo, contudo, ser sempre enviado a estes serviços um exemplar, por cada número que se publicar, para censura posterior e arquivo”. *Boletim do Clube Desportivo de Paço de Arcos*, Cf. Processo n.º 31 (caixa 746).

did not work for any other publication, in accordance with the legal Decree n.º 12:008, on 2 August 1926²³. This assurance came through a letter signed by the newly selected editor at the start of a publication and each time it would change editors. Editors, however, were free to collaborate/work with other periodical publications, as was the case with *Boletim do Bairro de Inglaterra Atlético Clube*, a news bulletin that belonged to a recreational, cultural and sports association. In the proposal letter sent to the censorship services on 9 March 1956 it is mentioned that the future director and editor (the same individual fulfilling both positions) also worked “in the weekly publications *O Benfica* and *Cartaz*”²⁴. Despite this, the publication was still approved the following week, on 13 March. Thus, while editors could not simultaneously edit two or more publications at the same time, they could still share other managerial roles²⁵, with this matter typically being expressed up front when requesting authorization to publish a new periodical publication.

With that in mind, we will continue to analyse the back-and-forth dialogue between publications and the censorship services since by analysing these we are able to have a glimpse of the many aspects of sports publications’ struggles during the dictatorship.

4. **Managing a newspaper: Ownership, extras issues and the printing offices**

After a newspaper or news bulletin was approved for publication, the censorship services continued to oversee any changes by making sure that the rules were followed. And, while some of these rules might seem bu-

²³ As seen in § of Article 3 of Decree n.º 12:008, 2 August 1926: “No one can simultaneously be an editor of more than one periodical publication” translated from the original “Ninguém poderá ser simultaneamente editor de mais de um periódico”. Decree n.º 12:008, 1926.

²⁴ Translated from the original: “exercendo a sua atividade nos semanários *O Benfica* e *Cartaz*”. *Boletim do Bairro de Inglaterra Atlético Clube*, Cf. Processo n.º 119 (caixa 733).

²⁵ Indeed, there are other examples of editors and proprietors working for different publications. This was the case on 28 October 1949 with newspaper *Patim*, a monthly sports magazine whose proprietor also owned the magazine *Alma Nacional*, as seen in: *Patim*, Cf. Processo n.º 718 (caixa 709). Another example can be seen on 31 August 1955 with newspaper *Voz do Desporto* whose proprietor also owned newspapers *O Distrito de Setúbal* and *Jornal de Estremoz*, and its director also worked as an editor for newspaper *O Distrito de Setúbal*, as seen in: *Voz do Desporto*, Cf. Processo n.º 793 (caixa 546).

reaucratic in nature and of no structural importance, these still had a major impact in a publication's continued existence. In this way, the censorship services continuously impacted news media, so much so that they even had legal say on who was allowed to own each publication. This was the case, for example, with newspaper *A Bola*, one of Portugal's major sports publications to this day. Having printed its first issue back on 29 January 1945, shortly afterwards *A Bola* wanted to change ownership, but in order to do it, it had to first request the censorship's approval to do so. And so, on 30 August, in a letter to the censorship services, the new newspaper's owner informed of the recent changes and requested "authorization to continue publishing the bi-weekly newspaper *A Bola*"²⁶. The request was accompanied with all the legal documentation, including the proof of purchase, with the change in ownership being accepted the following week, on 3 September.

At the same time, the censorship services also had a say on the approval of other aspects, such as when a publication needed to change its printing focus — like with newspaper *A Marca*²⁷ — or if, for whatever reason, it wanted to print an extra issue. Printing an extra edition of a newspaper or a news bulletin was usually done to cover a momentous event or to celebrate a significant date, but it also seemed to be a way for publications to circumvent the law at the time. That is because it was established on 14 May 1936, through article 1 of the legal Decree 26:589, that: "No daily newspaper may publish, in relation to the series of numbers each week, more than 70 pages, or the equivalent each month, of the largest

²⁶ Translated from the original: "se digne autorizar a continuação da publicação do Jornal bissemanário desportivo *A Bola*". *A Bola*, Cf. Processo n.º 417 (caixa 689).

²⁷ Given that *A Marca* was a sport illustrated magazine that printed only for one year in the 1960s, and because it is outside of the timeframe of this study, its censorship file and data will be mentioned here briefly as a footnote. With that in mind, we should note that this publication requested to change its printing focus on 28 June 1963, "given the fact that printing about sports is not enough to guarantee the minimum sales necessary to sustain this publication, and so we request, as briefly as possible, to authorize (...) [*A Marca*] to publish about other matters: sports, entertainment and current events". This was approved on 3 July with the censorship services reminding the publication that, despite this, it still needed to continue following censorship guidelines. Translated from the original: "atendendo a que a matéria Desportiva não é suficiente para garantir o mínimo de venda necessária a subsistência desta publicação, requer a V. Ex.^a que, com a possível brevidade, se digne autorizar que (...) [*A Marca*] possa tratar de assuntos: desportivos, espetáculos e atualidades". *A Marca*, Cf. Processo n.º 963 (caixa 527).

format used at the time of this decree” then adding “except for any extraordinary numbers for which special authorization is granted”²⁸.

While the maximum number of pages allowed for each publication was revised throughout the years, extra issues continued to offer an opportunity to surpass this ruling. Interestingly, when researching this topic, all instances found seem to be somewhat uneventful, at least concerning sports publications, with the censorship services seemingly approving extra issues quite quickly and without any formal constraints. This happened, for example, with *O Benfica*²⁹, a weekly sports newspaper still in print today that focusses on the affairs of the Portuguese sports club with the same name. On 27 November 1954 there is a request to publish an extra issue of this newspaper to celebrate the inauguration of its new stadium, and on 4 October 1955 there is another request, this time to commemorate the return of its football team that had recently travelled to Brazil and Venezuela. Both requests were accepted by the censorship services the following day. A similar expediency can be seen with newspaper *Mundo Desportivo*³⁰, one of four major sports publications in Portugal between the early 1950s to mid-1970s³¹. On 5 June 1956, *Mundo Desportivo* requested authorization to publish an extra issue focusing on the inauguration of football club Sporting’s new stadium as well as the Portuguese national team’s football match with Hungary; then just two months later on 27 August there is another request, this time to report on Portugal’s Cycling Tour; and again, the following month, on 12 September, another request this time for the inauguration of sports club Belenenses’ new football stadium. All three extra issues were accepted by the censorship services the following day.

Another important aspect to consider when structuring a periodical publication at the time, while following in line with the laws of Portugal’s dictatorial regime, was concerning the printing offices (or printing houses). The concept might seem somewhat foreign and administrative

²⁸ As seen in Article 1 of Decree n.º 26:589, 14 May 1936, translated from the original: “Nenhum jornal diário poderá publicar, em relação à série de números de cada semana, mais de 70 páginas, ou o equivalente em cada mês, do maior formato utilizado à data deste decreto, salvo as de qualquer número extraordinário para que seja concedida autorização especial”. *Decree n.º 26:589*, (1936)

²⁹ See: *O Benfica*, Cf. Processo n.º 452 (caixa 609).

³⁰ See: *Mundo Desportivo*, Cf. Processo n.º 340 (caixa 509).

³¹ Pinheiro, 2011, p. 373-4.

in nature, given the many other aspects discussed at this point, but when researching this subject there are several mentions concerning the legal need to have and keep a contract with a printing office as an essential aspect in order to be able to publish. It should be noted that the printing office's importance was asserted early on, right at the start of Portugal's dictatorship. In fact, less than two months after the military took power the law specifically stated, on 2 August 1926 in Article 4 of Decree n.º 12:008, that all publications had to have the name of the printing office featured in the newspaper header, otherwise they risked severe penalties³².

Interestingly, the importance of the printing offices, as well as the focus on the previously mentioned editors, seems to be two-folded: firstly, typographers' unions were some of the first to exist in Portugal ever since late 19th century³³ and in Lisbon, by the 1920s, the fight for typographers' union rights was so successful that it was considered to be "one of the most important workers' conquests of all time"³⁴ in Portugal. While these achievements did not necessarily pan out to the rest of the country, and the dictatorship's subsequent policies would eventually suppress syndicates and union strikes, still, typographers' rights stood out during the start of the military regime, which might help explain their specific inclusion in the mentioned laws of 1926 regarding the printing of periodical news publications. Secondly, another strong argument to support the inclusion of the printing offices names in every publication can be attributed to the illegal production of political pamphlets and other revolutionary periodicals, such as communist newspaper *Avante* and the dictatorship's efforts to stop it. Throughout the duration of the Portuguese New State, the ruling regime continuously tried to end the communist move-

³² As seen in Article 4 of Decree n.º 12:008, 2 August 1926: "All periodical publications need to have in the first page of each issue the name (...) of where it is printed, its absence meaning jail time (...) and a corresponding monetary penalty". Also, in its § addendum, it reads: "The judge condemning the case can suspend the publication as long as these formalities are not met". Translated from the original: "Nenhum periódico poderá publicar-se sem que no alto da primeira página e em todos os seus números insira o nome (...) do estabelecimento onde for impresso, sob pena de prisão (...) e multa correspondente". And "O juiz, na sentença condenatória, decretará a suspensão do periódico enquanto essas formalidades se não cumprirem". *Decree n.º 12:008*, 1926.

³³ See: Durão, 2002, para. 6.

³⁴ Translated from the original: "uma das mais importantes conquistas operárias de todos os tempos". Barreto *in* Durão, 2002, para. 6.

ment in Portugal³⁵ and the dissemination of its unauthorized newspaper that was printed in several clandestine printing offices. These efforts were so pervasive that those who printed *Avante* were met with surveillance and repression, sometimes ending with death by the hands of the Portuguese secret police³⁶.

Thus, given the legal obligation of mentioning where each periodical publication was printed, as well as their respective binding contracts, all files analysed for this study eventually make remarks on the matter. And, to this point, two particular cases stand out. The first took place with sports club Oriental de Lisboa's newspaper *Col*, a recreational and sports publication whose target audience were its associates and members. On 15 April 1950 the club's management signed a contract with a printing office and, just a month later, on 25 May, the contract was changed to another printing office. On 20 June, however, the censorship services sent a letter to the publication's owner stating that they had not been informed of the new printing offices and that "this must be fixed (...) so that the publication does not have to be suspended"³⁷. A week later *Col's* man-

³⁵ The efforts to stop communism in Portugal —efforts that grew exponentially during and after the Spanish Civil War (as seen in Rosas, 1998, p. IX & Serem, 2015, p. 210)— were always part of Salazar's political agenda. At times, however, these efforts seemed to be somewhat of an obsession (Serem, 2015, p. 206), even if the Portuguese dictator sought to conceal it in his actions and speeches. In his ominous 11 March 1938 address to the Portuguese Legion, for example, he remarked that it was important to know the positions of the enemy and that said enemy was everywhere: he is in "public offices, in education, in the press, he is also in the theatre and the cinema, in hearsay, in tittle-tattle and in the dismay of the defeatists (...) he moves around from the fields to the city and from the city to the villages in secrecy (...) and propaganda", then adding that the watchful eye of the state is "also always there and everywhere". Translated from the original: "na repartição pública, está ainda no ensino, está ainda na imprensa, está ainda no teatro e no cinema, no boato, na má-língua, no desalento dos derrotistas (...) vai do campo para a cidade e da cidade para as aldeias em segredos (...) em propagandas (...) nós também estamos, estamos sempre e em toda a parte." Salazar, 1944, pp. 20.

³⁶ On the subject, of the many cases to mention, consider that of José Moreira and how in 1945 he became responsible for the communist party's press apparatus. Five years later, on 22 January 1950, he was captured by the secret police in order to reveal the locations of the printing offices. Since he refused to reveal any information, he was then met with torture. He eventually succumbed to his injuries, just one or two days after being captured, and so in order to prevent inquiries, his death was staged as a suicide with his body being thrown out of the third-floor window of the secret police PIDE's offices. As seen in the online archives of: "José Moreira", *Museu do Aljube-Resistência e Liberdade*.

³⁷ Translated from the original: "se digne regularizar a situação do citado Boletim (...) a fim de que não tenha que sofrer interrupção". *Col*, Cf. Processo n.º 637 (caixa 690).

agement sent a letter to the censorship services where it included not only the contract with the new printing office, but also a document proving that all debts were paid to the previous printing office, with the situation being resolved three days later. While uneventful, this case goes to show that what could be perceived as a minor slip — not informing the censorship services of the new printing offices — was reason enough to risk reprimands and suspension if not fixed in time. Coincidentally, this publication would change printing offices again the next month, this time informing about it in a timely manner.

The second case to take into account, and one that stands out the most among the documents considered for this study, took place with newspaper *Os Belenenses*, a monthly news sports publication that belonged to the sports club with the same name. On 10 August 1950, its printing office sent a letter to the censorship services making a complaint that *Os Belenenses* management owned them a debt of 20.894\$50 escudos (around 11.000€ euros today, adjusted for inflation). This value included the previously agreed cost of printing the newspaper from December 1947 up until May 1950, when the typographers finally decided to stop printing until the growing debt was paid. *Os Belenenses*' management, however, did not pay the debt and, shortly afterwards, they signed a contract with another printing office. As a result of this letter, the censorship services then decided, on 14 August, one day before the new issue of *Os Belenenses* came out, that the publication was to be suspended until the situation was resolved.³⁸

Strangely, this case seems to be somewhat unique, at least concerning all other sports publications considered for this study, because in no other case was the censorship services seen as “mediators” or even problem solvers, and yet they were in this case. The negotiations between *Os Belenenses* and the printing office would continue in the following weeks, with the club arguing, on 21 August, that the debt was not 20.894\$50 but actually 19.574\$50. After some back and forth, and perhaps no longer wanting to get involved, the censorship services ended up deciding that the two entities should meet in person to figure out the debt value and, furthermore, whatever that final debt number was, that it accepted the club's suggestion for it to be paid in monthly installments of 3.000\$. The censorship services then lifted the publication's suspension on the condi-

³⁸ As seen in: *Os Belenenses*, Cf. Processo n.º 411 (caixa 706).

tion that the problem be resolved in the following months. The last letter on the matter came on 6 March 1951, with the printing office thanking the censorship services for their help, and adding that after three meetings with the club's management they finally reached a conclusion on the actual debt value, with it being different from what both parties had expected. Interestingly, the final debt value is never mentioned.

5. Structuring the editorial board: Directors, editors and exceptions to the law

While various decrees dictated the many aspects of how press was to conduct itself at the time³⁹, it is perhaps Decree 26:589, 14 May 1936, that most impacted newspapers from the start, since it sought to regulate and standardize them as much as possible, by making mention of the maximum number of pages permitted, how advertisement should be presented, among other details. At the same time, this Decree also notes that those responsible with starting and maintaining a periodical publication had to be “intellectually and morally suitable”, as well as being able to offer all necessary “financial guarantees”⁴⁰. While the latter seems logical, even if it did cause problems for some sports publications⁴¹, the need to prove one's “suitability” is far more abstract and open to interpreta-

³⁹ Besides the 1933 Constitution and its law requirements targeting press, consider also the 1926 Decree 12:008, the 1933 Decrees 22:469, 22:756 and 23:203 and, finally, the 1936 Decree 26:589.

⁴⁰ As seen in Article 2 of Decree n.º 26:589, 14 May 1936, translated from the original: “idoneidade intelectual e moral (...) prova suficiente dos meios financeiros”. *Decree n. 26:589*, 1936.

⁴¹ Because of the high costs required to start a new periodical publication, some newspapers' proprietors tried to evade paying the required deposit. One of those newspapers was *Remate*, a weekly publication on sports and entertainment. When it asked for authorization to start publishing back on 26 January 1960, the censorship services approved it, while also reminding it of the required deposit. In a letter to the Director of censorship services, by *Remate*'s editor-in-chief, the latter asked to skip the deposit and instead offer a different sort of guarantees to prove solvency. A similar approach was made by newspaper *O Ateneu* back in late November, 1954, when this publication sought the approval to print on matters of culture and sports, while also suggesting alternatives to avoid paying the required deposit. Both publications were denied and, eventually, they too ended up delivering the necessary deposit. As seen in: *Remate*, Cf. Processo n.º 930 (caixa 589); and *O Ateneu*, Cf. Processo n.º 827 (caixa 746).

tion since, ultimately, it entailed whatever the government and the censorship services wanted that to be. And indeed, while the need to present the proprietor, editor and director's criminal record was a coherent and logical legal requirement, behind the scenes the censorship services were also preoccupied with what was not said, that is, the individual's secret or public political affiliations and the possible danger that they could later represent, if given the opportunity to manage a news publication.

This was the case with sports club União de Coimbra when it requested permission, on 11 April 1956, to publish a monthly news bulletin titled *O União*. In its letter to the regional delegation of the censorship services in Coimbra, the club appointed two members of the team's management to work as director and editor of the new publication. A week later Coimbra's censorship delegation sent a letter to the censorship services in the capital city of Lisbon, in accordance to the law⁴², asking them for their final decision to authorize or refuse the new publication. Not sure on the matter, the Lisbon censorship services thus decided to send a letter asking the opinion of Coimbra's civil governor, on 21 April. Upon receiving the letter, the civil governor decided then to enquire the local offices of the secret police PIDE, requesting the records of both individuals appointed as director and editor. The matter was then finally settled a month later, on 25 May, when the civil governor of Coimbra, in a letter to the censorship services in Lisbon, lays out PIDE's findings: the individual appointed to Director "opposes the current political regime and has already been convicted for communist activities", and the one appointed to Editor has "signed the MUD list"⁴³ (MUD being the Movimento de Unidade Democrática-Movement of Democratic Unity). Given this information, the censorship services then had enough reason to believe that both individuals could present as a serious problem and a risk. Firstly, as mentioned before, the communist movement and ideology were seen as a threat to the ruling dictatorship, so much so that even sports writing and

⁴² As seen in Article 5 of Decree n.º 22:756, 29 June 1933: "Censorship commissions are subordinated to the Minister of the Interior, through the General Directorate of Censorship Services". Translated from the original: "As comissões de censura ficam subordinadas ao Ministro do Interior, por intermédio da Direção Geral dos Serviços de Censura". *Decree n.º 22:756*, 1933.

⁴³ Translated from the original: "[o diretor apontado] desafeto ao atual regime, tendo já sido condenado por atividades comunistas" and "[e o editor apontado] assinou a lista do MUD". *O União*, Cf. Processo n.º 381 (caixa 538).

sports in general in Portugal were affected by it⁴⁴. Secondly, the MUD political movement, created legally in 1945, had strong ties with the communist party and they heavily opposed the Portuguese authoritarian regime, resulting in MUD being banned in 1948. Given this situation, on 13 August, the censorship commission deemed the União de Coimbra's hopeful new publication to be "considered ill-advised"⁴⁵.

Censorship services, therefore, would continuously check the records of new publications' appointed directors and editors, and the same logic applied to any editorial changes that occurred later on. Oftentimes, however, these sorts of changes would be approved with some expediency, like, for example, with the previously mentioned newspaper *O Benfica*. On 7 February 1946 the president and vice-president of the sports club informed the censorship services of their newly appointed director and editor. The approval came immediately the following day, with the secretary of the censorship services requiring the usual obligatory documentation within a month, that is: a criminal record certificate, an editor's declaration of only having that editorial role for said publication, a residence certificate, a civil registry, a birth certificate, and all literary qualifications certificates.

If, however, a publication tried to appoint a new director or editor that raised doubts concerning their allegiance to the new regime —or lack thereof— then their refusal came quickly and with no justification needed. Indeed, the refusal to accept changes to the editorial board af-

⁴⁴ Indeed, the communist movement forced some changes in sports writing at the time, one of them being the way that Sports Club Benfica was referred to by the press. Since the two club's colors are red and white, and red is the color that is often associated with the communist party, this seemed to pose a problem to the censorship services. And so, in 1938 with the escalation of the Spanish Civil War and the matter of the communist movement in the neighboring country, the censorship services decided that when referring to Benfica's players sports publications should use the word "encarnado" instead of the word "vermelho", in order to avoid confusing headlines. This small change is understandably lost in translation since both Portuguese words are synonyms and they both mean "red". This sort of concern also gave way to another change years later, in 1942, again with Benfica, this time due to the club's anthem being titled "Avante — Avante, Benfica". The word "Avante", meaning "onwards", was also the same name as the communist's party clandestine newspaper, created on 15 February 1931. Benfica was then forced to change its club musical anthem entirely, both the name and the lyrics. As seen in: Pinheiro, 2019, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁵ Translated from the original: "foi considerada inoportuna". *O União*, Cf. Processo n.º 381 (caixa 538).

fected all periodical publications, even smaller ones with a minor presence regionally. This was the case, for example, with the sports bulletin titled *Boletim da Associação de Educação Física e Desportiva de Torres Vedras*, a free monthly publication that centred on covering the culture, philanthropy and sports activities of a social association in Torres Vedras. After receiving news that the director of said bulletin was leaving his position, due to recent illness, the censorship services enquired, on 6 March 1965, on who would take his position⁴⁶. The following week, on 13 March, Augusto Bastos Troni signed a letter stating that he was the one taking the role of both director and editor. Suspicious about his suitability and background, the director of the censorship services then wrote a letter to the director of the secret police PIDE, on 22 March, requesting his background information. A month and a half went by with no answer, and so again on 7 May the censorship services wrote another letter to PIDE, reminding them of the initial request. Finally, later that month, on 27 May, a letter arrived with a form filled with hand-written information about Augusto Bastos Troni: his name, his parents' name, birth date, job, civil status and residency. And then, right next to this information, in a small box, there is a red stamp where it reads: "He does not offer guarantees of cooperating in the desires of the higher purposes of the state"⁴⁷. Unceremoniously, the censorship services informed of their refusal two weeks later, on 8 June, stating that "the authorization cannot be granted" and that, therefore, the publication should "state who they are appointing for the role of director and editor"⁴⁸. To this effect, and after some back and forth, the sports bulletin then informs of their decision to reinstate the previous director and editor that had stepped down back in March of that year, with the censorship services later approving the decision on 15 September.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that this specific case took place in 1965, five years after the main timeframe of this study, but its inclusion seemed logical given its special circumstances and details.

⁴⁷ Translated from the original: "Não oferece garantias de cooperar na realização dos fins superiores do estado". *Boletim da Associação de Educação Física e Desportiva de Torres Vedras*. Cf. Processo n.º 36 (caixa 746).

⁴⁸ Both quotes are translated from the original: "não se pode conceder a autorização pedida, devendo ser indicado o nome de outra pessoa para o exercício dos cargos de diretor e editor do Boletim". *Boletim da Associação de Educação Física e Desportiva de Torres Vedras*. Cf. Processo n.º 36 (caixa 746).

While there is a large gap in each letter found in this file, most probably because it was a small regional publication, it is still noteworthy how the censorship services took a hold of the matter. The refusal to accept Augusto Bastos Troni —and why we decided to include his full name here— can be better understood by analyzing other government documents that mention him. To this point, consider PIDE’s report from 18 March 1970, when a secret police agent spied on a round table meeting in Torres Vedras, where “the intention was to debate the problems of the Secondary Education in the village”⁴⁹. The meeting was, according to the agent, attended by one hundred people and the topics discussed targeted a number of problems, some of them being, in his perspective, unfit for public discussion. Among those debating at the round table were two individuals referred by the PIDE agent as being communists, and then there was a third one: “Augusto Bastos Troni, chairman of the meeting, widely known for his ideas’ contrary to the current regime”⁵⁰. This example further reinforces the dialogue between the censorship services and the secret police and how these entities, while working separately, would often collaborate so that periodical publications were in line with the dictatorial government’s ideology. In this manner, and at times through the use of force⁵¹, these agencies limited those they saw as enemies or as possible threats, by effectively following in line with the will of the dictatorial regime to keep things under control, predictable and without insurgencies.

Interestingly, newly appointed directors and editors were exempt from sending any legal documentation if the censorship services already possessed said information (as was the case if the new director or editor of a newspaper had previously worked for another publication, and had therefore already sent these documents earlier). Another example where these legal obligations seemed to be disregarded was if the censorship services could, in any way, vouch for the individuals in question. While not necessarily legal, since the censorship agents’ words were not above the

⁴⁹ Translated from the original: “com o fim —dizia-se— de debater os problemas do Ensino Secundário daquela vila”. *Venerando Ferreira de Mato*, PIDE/DGS, Processo n.º 255/45 SR.

⁵⁰ Translated from the original: “Augusto Bastos Troni, presidente da Assembleia Geral, sobejamente conhecido pelas suas ideias contrárias ao Regime Vigente”. *Venerando Ferreira de Mato*, PIDE/DGS, Processo n.º 255/45 SR.

⁵¹ Indeed, the Portuguese dictatorship would often use violence to assert its dominance, thus quenching any form of revolt from within, whilst assuring its continuity in power. As seen in Rosas, 2020, pp. 48-51.

law, this did happen on occasion. One of such moments took place when publication *O Benfica*, on 26 May 1948, again sought to change its director. In a letter, addressed to the censorship services asking for approval, there is also a hand-written note reading: "Captain David dos Santos⁵² is a friend of the new director and he guarantees his suitability"⁵³. This note, written and signed by one of the censorship agents, was accompanied by another hand-written note effectively confirming that the new director was therefore approved. This case does seem to show, in a sense, that while the censorship agents applied and enforced the law, they did, on occasion, take some liberties with no clear consequences.

Similar exceptions can be seen in other cases relating to the chain of command, such as when newspaper *Os Belenenses*'s management, on 14 March 1950, informed the censorship services that they had appointed an army captain as the newspaper's new director. The censorship services immediately raised legal concerns by stating that, according to "article 41.º of the official army status, acting officers cannot manage a newspaper that is not exclusive to army matters"⁵⁴. On 22 March, however, the club's management assured that the Ministry of War had accepted the appointment, and so the censorship services approved it. Coincidentally, just weeks later, on 10 April, the same newspaper requested the approval on a new editor, this time a military cadet.

Now, it should be noted that relating to this last case, both appointments of director and editor lack all the regular legal documents seen in other cases (except for a single document on 13 April requesting the editor to state that he did not have the same role in other publications). While this is in some ways to be expected, since both individual's records were already in the army archives, at the same time it does show that there was

⁵² It should be noted, that Captain David dos Santos, here mentioned in passing, is a familiar face to the dictatorial regime's power structure, since he eventually took the role of deputy director of the censorship services on 24 April 1953, at the time as a Colonel. He left that position on 1 July 1957, then acting as a Lieutenant colonel. Interestingly, he would famously state, regarding the dictatorial regime and the censorship services, that: "Censorship prevents, it does not remedy" translated from the original: "A censura previne, não remedeia". As seen in: Gomes, 2014, p. 6 & 21.

⁵³ Translated from the original: "O Cap. David dos Santos é amigo do novo Diretor garantindo a sua idoneidade". *A Bola*, Cf. Processo n.º 417 (caixa 689).

⁵⁴ Translated from the original: "pelo artigo 41.º do Estatuto Oficial do Exército, se torna vedado aos oficiais em efetivo serviço, dirigir qualquer jornal que não seja exclusivamente de natureza técnica militar". *Os Belenenses*, Cf. Processo n.º 411 (caixa 706).

some expediency in their approval, despite the lack of the required procedures and the usually requested legal documents. And indeed, another aspect to consider here are the censors themselves, the ones enforcing the law and seeking the periodical publications' compliance. In fact, throughout the dictatorial regime censors were "mostly military retirees"⁵⁵ with the censorship services' management positions of directors and subdirectors being occupied only by members of the army up until late 1950s⁵⁶.

6. Conclusion: How the Portuguese dictatorial regime changed sports journalism

When analysing the archival files mentioned in this study, concerning how the censorship services supervised and controlled sports publications during the dictatorial regime, it would seem that, from a certain perspective, censorship's overall actions were somewhat bureaucratic in nature. And indeed, while it is true that the examples mentioned in this study do not represent the censorship services as a whole, they do, however, offer an unconventional look of how periodical publications were treated and what procedures they had to follow to continue to be allowed to print during the Portuguese dictatorship. Through the many cases considered here, we can see clear examples of disruptions in the chain of command and, at times, some inconsistencies when making sure that the law was followed. And yet, this also shows that, although at times disorganized and bureaucratic, the censorship services did actively and successfully disrupted and limited sports publications. In fact, censorship's impact was so pervasive that right from the start there was discontent with this new reality. To this point, already back in 1926 several periodical publications, including sports newspaper *Sport do Funchal*⁵⁷, voiced their displeasure of the new rules and changes, and soon remarked how these policies would hinder journalism⁵⁸. But to no avail since these new rules would last for almost half a century.

⁵⁵ Translated from the original: "quase todos militares na reforma". Balsemão "Prefácio" in Castanheira, 2009, p. 9.

⁵⁶ As seen in: Gomes, 2014, p. 21.

⁵⁷ Concerning the intricacies of newspaper *Sport do Funchal*'s case, see Pinheiro, 2019 pp. 99-100.

⁵⁸ To consider this matter further, see the documentary *Lápis Azul* (2012).

Undeniably, the censorship services did actively impact news media every step of the way, sports media included, from the start of a publication and throughout all of its existence. This was achieved through several imposing guidelines, that even included the power to dictate who owned periodical publications and who worked in the positions of directors and editors, according to their own records and information on their background, among many other regulations. Having said that, did the censorship services weaponize sports publications and did they effectively control their contents, in such a way that ended up dictating what to print? While they only censored and did not necessarily impose content to sports publications — apart from legal documents or any important reports, which typically happened in more established and wide-ranging publications— the Portuguese dictatorial regime did, however, weaponize sports in their favour. While some argue that the sports clubs themselves were not weaponized by the regime⁵⁹, there are, however, examples of how Portuguese specific sports performances, namely successful ventures abroad, were used for political propaganda purposes⁶⁰.

And yet, while we here argue that the censorship services did not directly weaponize sports publications, they did, however, hinder they overall contents and limited their language by imposing its will every step of the way. Indeed, by showing its influence at every opportunity and by prohibiting sports publications of overreaching in their scope, the censorship services were indeed successful in using bureaucracy, influence and control in their favour, if and when necessary. And, by effectively limiting and penalizing each periodical publication to function only within the limits of their consent and approval⁶¹, the censorship services verdict and

⁵⁹ Concerning the weaponizing of clubs and the importance of sports see: Serrado, 2009, p. 164-169.

⁶⁰ As argued by Kumar, 2017 and Lourenço, 2015, specifically concerning the Portuguese football national team's third place in 1966's FIFA World Cup and how the dictatorship seized the opportunity to embolden itself and the nation. Interestingly, the weaponizing of international football achievements, as an opportunity for political rhetoric, was also part of the neighbouring Spanish dictatorship's strategy, specifically with the European Nation Cup victory in 1964 by the its national team. See: Barnés, 2016.

⁶¹ To this point, censorship's arguments to cut and prohibit was in itself reason enough to comply and thus "journalists were simply told 'this is not going to pass, the censorship cuts it... This cannot go out today, this fact is not news; this conference, for us, did not exist...'" Translated from the original: "Aos jornalistas dizia-se apenas 'isso não passa, a cen-

decision making was ultimately inescapable and thus it truly became what Portuguese journalist Raul Rêgo noted, that: “Real censorship is the one that is exercised just because censorship exists”⁶².

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Venerando Ferreira de Mato. PIDE/DGS, Processo n.º 255/45 SR

Voz do Desporto, Cf. Processo n.º 793 (caixa 546)

sura corta... Isso hoje não pode sair, este facto não é notícia; essa conferência, para nós, não existiu...” Franco, 1993, p. 127.

⁶² Translated from the original: “A principal censura é que se exerce só pelo facto de existir censura”. Gomes, 2014, p. 1.

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