

Between Censorship and Propaganda: how spanish and portuguese newspapers covered Marcelo Caetano oficial visit to Spain in 1970

Entre la censura y la propaganda: la cobertura de periódicos
españoles y portugueses del viaje oficial de Marcelo Caetano a
España en 1970

Clara Sanz-Hernando. University of Extremadura. Spain.

clarasanz@unex.es

[CV]  

Ana Cabrera. NOVA University of Lisbon. Portugal.

anacabrera@fcs.unl.pt

[CV]  

Carla Baptista. NOVA University of Lisbon. Portugal.

carlamariabaptista@gmail.com

[CV]  

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: This article delves into how two Spanish (*ABC* y *Pueblo*) and two Portuguese (*Diário Popular* y *Diário de Notícias*) important daily newspapers covered the State visit of Marcelo Caetano to Spain in 1970. The press coverage of the meeting between the two heads of the Iberian governments, Franco and Caetano, reflects the political changes defining the final phases of Francoism in Spain, and of the New State in Portugal. **Methodology:** The framing and interpretation of the State visit event combine content analysis and critical and contextual press reading. **Results:** The specificity of each daily newspaper was due to several factors, including the propriety regime, the editorial positioning and the legal framework: self-censorship in the case of Spain, and prior restraint in the case of Portugal. **Conclusions:** The research shows that the visit had a greater impact

on the Portuguese press. The Spanish newspapers *ABC* and *Pueblo* remained confined to the official reports. In the Portuguese case, we can see signs of journalistic autonomy arising in *Diário Popular*, contrasting with the more conventional and laudatory coverage made by *Diário de Notícias*.

KEYWORDS: Caetano; censorship; Spain; Franco; Portugal; press.

RESUMEN

Introducción: El artículo profundiza en la representación mediática que dos periódicos españoles (*ABC* y *Pueblo*) y dos portugueses (*Diário Popular* y *Diário de Notícias*) significativos hicieron del viaje de Estado de Marcelo Caetano a España en 1970. La cobertura del encuentro entre los líderes de los gobiernos ibéricos, Franco y Caetano, refleja los cambios políticos que definieron la fase final del franquismo en España y del Nuevo Estado en Portugal. **Metodología:** Para medir la trascendencia otorgada a este acontecimiento, se emplea una metodología cuantitativa, a través del análisis de contenido, y la lectura crítica y contextual del discurso producido por los cuatro periódicos. **Resultados:** Las singularidades de las cabeceras analizadas estuvieron marcadas por la propiedad, el modelo de diario al que representan y por los marcos legales: de autocensura, en el caso de España, y de censura previa en lo concerniente a Portugal. **Conclusiones:** La investigación ha permitido comprobar que la repercusión fue mayor en la prensa lusa y que mientras *ABC* y *Pueblo* se limitaron a ofrecer una información oficial, en el caso portugués se aprecian signos de autonomía periodística en *Diário Popular*, en contraste con la más convencional y laudatoria realizada por *Diário de Notícias*.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Caetano; censura; España; Franco; Portugal; prensa.

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Translation of the abstract by **Carla Baptista** (NOVA University of Lisbon)

Translation by **Carlos Javier Rivas Quintero** (University of the Andes, Mérida, Venezuela)

1. Introduction

From the ninety sixties the political context in Spain and Portugal had changed in relation to the one experienced after the World War II ended. If Spain had been internationally relegated due to its support to the Axis Power, Portugal would start to suffer the condemnation from the United Nations and a torrent of diplomatic ruptures (Oliveira, 2004) as a consequence of the Colonia War it maintained in Africa. During the accelerated sixties and seventies the Iberian dictatorships, held by two of the “strong men” outside the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula ambit (Lee, 2016, p. 2), had to face the “winds of change” that promoted the democratizing wave in the postwar Europe.

The colonial issue was what deeply differentiated the Spanish situation from the Portuguese one. Considered to be “the Gordian Knot of the regime” (Sánchez, 2007; Rosas, 2004), the future of the colonies represented an insurmountable problem hence it was the backbone of the Portuguese foreign policy, since the military offensive in the African territories could not control the guerrilla (Oliveira, 2004, p. 308). Despite the obvious differences in the scale and scope of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial projects, Andreas Stucki (2019, p. 9) considers that their last imperial years could be

analyzed within a “common framework”, since they were implemented in similar institutional entanglements, shared the rhetoric, and both their colonial practices and the late decolonization chronology are comparable.

The isolation of Portugal in the ninety sixties explains the significance of the state visit to Spain that the president of the Council of Ministers, Marcelo Caetano, made to sign the III Additional Protocol to the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty of friendship and Non-Aggression in 1939. Portugal intended to sign a secret protocol in terms of anti-subversive collaboration, to which Spain did not agree (Tíscar, 2013). It was precisely the Iberian Pact the instrument used by the Francoism to bolster the African politics of the Estado Novo. The Spanish collaboration was reflected in the containment of the condemnation to Portugal inside the UN; the representation of the Portuguese interests in those African countries that had broken off diplomatic relations with the neighboring country, and the shipment of arms to the Portuguese troops in Africa (Tíscar, 2007, pp. 212-213).

Sánchez (2002) highlights the changes in the relations between Portugal and Spain: it went from a friendly attitude, but mistrustful of Salazar, to a greater collaboration and reliance placed on Caetano, with whom cultural, economic and scientific agreements were established, promoted by his admiration for developmental technocrats, among them López Rodó. Since 1968, the program called “*Primavera Marcelista*” seemed to be the Portuguese version of developmentalism and openness that set the Spanish agenda at the end of Francoism (Sardica, 2017, p. 127). The Portuguese-Spanish meeting –another previous one that brought together the head governors was held during the official visit of Franco to the Portugal of Salazar in 1949 (Sanz-Hernando and Cabrera, 2018) - intended to strengthen the economic and cultural cooperation between both countries, which is why several agreements were signed. In addition, Portugal rushed to follow Spain in the agreements signing with the European Economic Community -Spain signed in 1970 and Portugal in 1972 (Pinto, 2011)-.

This is the context in which our study objective is framed: the media coverage that two Portuguese newspapers -*Diário de Notícias (DN)* and *Diário Popular (DP)*- and two Spanish ones -*ABC* and *Pueblo (P)*- gave to this bilateral meeting held from the 20th to the 23rd of May in 1970.

1.1. Research objectives

This work has as objective to delve, from a journalistic analysis, into the relation between the press and political power, within the context of the two Iberian dictatorships that were coming to an end. With the death of Francisco Franco in 1975 the transition to democracy began. In Portugal, the military coup from April 25th of 1974 marked the termination of the dictatorship and Marcelo Caetano going into exile. Additionally, it is important to address this objective from a comparative dimension. We are going to do so from a dual perspective: between countries, identifying the forms and levels of control over the press from the political apparatus; and between newspapers, exploring the differences among the journalistic cultures.

We are going to examine the representation given by the newspapers of this occurrence to answer what its impact was regarding the number and persistence of news published; the journalistic genres used; the authorship and the outstanding information sources; the design resources the newspapers opted for to highlight the information; the themes they treated -also the ones they silenced-, and who their main figures were.

This research is based on a hypothesis of historiographical origin, precisely, as a result of the bibliographic selection made. Just as stated by Mucchielli (1996, p. 248), these hypotheses pick up on the conclusions of analog studies, and using other sources or standing on a different ground, they

verify, contrast or confirm them. Bearing in mind that according to the existing literature the press of both countries was still under surveillance during the time we are analyzing, we based on the fact that, during the treatment of this state visit, censorship and official propaganda prevailed. However, and according to the news openness noticeable in the seventies due to the necessity of both dictatorships of improving their external image, it will be possible to note differences in the treatment done by each of these newspapers.

2. The press in the final phase of Iberian dictatorships

The Spanish and Portuguese press was going to experience a similar development during the ninety sixties, when the news liberation, which resulted in a more diverse press, took place. In Spain, the 1966 Printing and Press Law (PPL) took over from the totalitarian 1938 Press Law (Barrera, 1995a; Chuliá, 2001) -written by José Antonio Giménez Arnau, and Ramón Serrano Suñer being minister-, that established the prior restraint, the slogans and the uniformity of information sources. As a result of this control, all the newspapers published the same things and in the same way (Pizarroso, 1994). This homogeneity was not so noticeable in Portugal, where it was possible to appreciate differences in the treatment of information, despite the fact that Salazar strengthened prior restraint in 1933, through the Law Decree 22.469 of April 11th.

The PPL, known as Fraga Law, proclaimed the freedom of expression, the elimination of prior restraint and entrepreneurial freedom. Experts such as Dueñas (1969), Fernández Areal (1973) or Riquer (2010) consider that its coming into effect was due to the need of the regime to be legitimized abroad and adapt to the intense economic and social changes the country was living. The rights it recognized were later limited by other articles the very norm had incorporated, with important jurisdictions attributed to the Government to implement sanctions. Censorship changed into self-censorship and journalists had to write between the lines to avoid the sanctioning apparatus. However, it is true that the “*primavera de Fraga*” [EN: Fraga Spring] (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla, 2002, p. 27), the way this openness was labeled, opened the path to freedom (Chuliá, 2001; Martín de la Guardia, 2008; Seoane and Saiz, 2007; Terrón, 1981) and the newspapers, but especially the magazines, took advantage of this “partial freedom” (Barrera, 1995b, p. 450) to force the established limits.

When Marcelo Caetano seized power after the resignation of Salazar due to health issues and proclaimed himself winner of the 1969 legislative elections, that were held in the typical environment of censorship, without freedom and competitors, he seemed to be an enthusiast of elaborating a new Press Law. The debate about the legal framework lasted from 1970 until its approval on November 5th 1971. The journalistic class fueled the expectations that the censorship regime would come to an end, but the changes were timid (Cabrera, 2006). The president of the Council used the Colonial War, which started in 1961 and expanded into three combat fronts (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau), to maintain the “prior examination” of the press and the control over editorial and cultural activities. Aware of the importance of the media, he collaborated with opinion pieces in several newspapers, led the founding of the *Rádio e Televisão de Portugal* (RTP) in 1957 and was pioneer in communicating through this medium. If, on the one hand, he defended the belief that it was convenient for a politician to keep people informed about general matters, on the other, he endorsed censorship and the limits of freedom of expression (Martinho, 2019).

The Portuguese governor was an expert managing his image using the mediums to achieve visibility and popularity. Contrary to Salazar, maybe the last western politician preferring “a society without media to a society immersed in the media” (Garcia, Alves and Yves, 2017, p. 5), Caetano developed

an information policy by which he recognized the importance of the media in the shaping of public opinion. He faced political activity as a civic duty, almost religious, “meant to value the good things humanity has and to suppress evil manifestations” (SEIT, 1970, p. 60). The Marcelo regime was marked by the conservative option of “continuity without revolution”, maintaining the aspect of an authoritarian type dictatorship (Lee, 2016).

2.1. The Spanish daily newspapers

Coinciding with the economic model change that Spain experienced as a consequence of the Stabilization Plan of 1959, the decade of the sixties would end with “an unusual atmosphere of political and social agitation” (Fuentes y Fernández, 1997, pp. 305-306). The first deadly attack by ETA took place in 1968, and a year after new revolts of students –continuing since 1965- forced the Government to declare state of exception for two months. In this context marked by social unrest and with a press that started to push the limits of free expression, when the visit of Marcelo Caetano to Spain took place, it was Alfredo Sánchez Bella in charge of the Information and Tourism Ministry. Manuel Fraga had been removed from the Ministry in October of 1969 due to the Matesa Case. The Vice-president of the Government, Carrero Blanco, was willing to substitute him for someone who could control the media better, since he claimed the press was “completely disobedient” and it was responsible for the “moral, religious and political deterioration” (Chuliá, 2001, p. 174).

One of the consequences of the PPL implementation was the differentiation of three business groups: the daily newspapers of the Movement that defended the essence of the regime and among which there were *Arriba* and *Pueblo*; the opposite of these, in the condition of opposition press, which were a small group of newspapers -*Madrid*- and a good number of magazines -*Triunfo*, *Destino*, *Cambio 16* or *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*-; and the ones in between the two groups, more prudent in order not to taint the Government. The paradigm was *ABC*, but also *La Vanguardia* or *Ya* (Chuliá, 2001, pp. 169-200).

ABC, led by Torcuato Luca de Tena Brunet since 1962, was the newspaper with the greatest dissemination and influence from the ones published in Madrid, with a printing higher than 200.000 copies. Founded in 1903 by the Luca de Tena family, and turned into a newspaper in 1905, it was characterized by its fidelity to the monarchy (Guillamet, 2018), and as of the Civil War, to the regime of Franco (Rodríguez-Martínez, Tulloch and Guillamet, 2017; Olmos, 2002). During all of its ages it paid close attention to the Spanish language, the traditional culture of letters, visual arts, history and the academic world through its figures and their works (Armañanzas, 2016). Its pages received the collaboration of intellectuals, especially the third one, dedicated to articles of political and cultural nature.

The Spanish newspaper, as well as *Pueblo*, never experienced sanctions due to offences against the Press Law (Terrón, 1981, p. 210), even if *ABC* registered the seizure of its copy on July 21st of 1966 because of the article published by Luis María Ansón “The Monarchy of everyone”, in which he advocated the accession to the throne of the Count of Barcelona.

The origins of the evening and governmental *Pueblo* go back to the end of the Civil War, when in 1940 the National Delegate of Syndicates took possession of the workshops and machinery of the old socialist newspaper *Claridad*, property of Luis Arasquistán (Guzmán, 1982; Naseiro, 2013). Administratively formed in the Movement Press, he was a spokesman of the very topics of the so-called Vertical Syndicate (Alfárez, 1986, p. 115). Emilio Romero was named director in 1952. Thanks to all the changes he introduced, providing the information with a great dose of populism and

with a radical change in design, much more appealing and agile, he managed to make it the third most read newspaper in 1970, behind *La Vanguardia* and *ABC* (Davara, 2005).

The stamp of the new director made *Pueblo* mix some sort of progressive air in its contents with a relentless criticism towards the opposition other newspapers, such as *ABC* or *Madrid*, showed against the regime or some of its aspects (Sánchez and Barrera, 1992, p. 470). Romero quit the management in 1975, year in which he was named national delegate of Press and Radio of the Movement. During the transition, *Pueblo* came to be dependent on the State Social Media. Its closure, in 1984, is linked to the advent of democracy, the loss of readers and the disappearance of the economic aid of the union fee (Davara, 2005).

2.2. The Portuguese daily newspapers

With the purpose of controlling the increase of social unrest, resulting from a better organization and diversification of the internal and external opposition to the regime, Marcelo Caetano tried to subdue the press by promoting economic groups aligned with the government to buy them. From 1970 to 1973, a wave of aggressive purchases made by the banking sector shook the Portuguese editorial market. The Borges & Irmão bank bought the evening newspaper *Diário Popular* and the *Jornal do Comércio* from the Balsemão family; the Bank Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa (BESCL) created a society to acquire the evening newspaper *A Capital* and *O Comércio do Porto* from the Seara Cardoso family. The Portuguese International Bank bought the morning newspaper *O Século* and the rest of publications gathered in the biggest Portuguese editorial empire; the National Overseas Bank (BNU) tried to strengthen its financial participation in the *Diário de Lisboa*, mainly held by the Ruella Ramos family. The greatest shareholder of *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal de Notícias* was already a public bank, la Caixa Geral de Depósitos, through the Advertising National Company, whose capital was shared by the Pinto & Sotto Mayor Bank and the insurer A Mundial. Caetano relied on bankers and capitalists to be his allies in the economic reforms, and would simultaneously help him neutralize the democratization demands of the country.

By the early seventies the most innovative Portuguese newspapers, customarily the evening ones, had Economic editorials and would regularly publish pieces about finances, foreign policy, society, education, etc. The journalistic community was comprised of almost 700 people, with little training, low salary and mostly men (Garcia, 2009, p. 64). The dynamism of the new media businessmen permitted the diversification of the professional profiles -younger people and more women came to be part of the newsroom-; introducing innovative technologies that captivated readers; increasing the printing and circulation of copies and making more sustainable projects. Political censorship and the new economic censorship that resulted from the progressive integration of the journalistic management in the capitalist logic of the new owners kept having an impact on the autonomy of journalists. However, the rejuvenation and the increasing politicization of the articles, the emergence of different projects and the new approach which other journalistic genres offered, such as reports or interviews, would contribute to the renewal of the journalistic formats and languages. An editorially diverse press would emerge, where newspapers aligned with others opposed to the regime coexist.

Diário de Notícias fulfilled the role as the “informal” newspaper of the regime. Founded by Eduardo Coelho and Thomaz Quintino Antunes in 1864, it kept a great stability, both financially and with its leading cadres. Augusto de Castro, diplomatic and writer, who had been in charge of the newspaper since 1919, kept leading it during the time period we are analyzing. Until April 25th of 1975 it was the most profitable journalistic project of the Portuguese press, with a printing of 120.000 copies.

Sales leader and property of the biggest editorial group (Cabrera, 2006); it had a great influence on public opinion. It was also the newspaper that withstood modernization. It kept “old editorial, official and hierarchical practices that even led them to avoid new journalists hiring” (Baptista, 2012, p. 222).

Regarding *Diário Popular*, it was still property of the Balsemão family. Founded in 1942, it was a thriving newspaper in the seventies. The innovation in the management and planning methods; their bet on a more popular graphic and discursive line, as well as the incorporation of numerous and successful commercial initiatives -The *Novias de San António*, contests and hobbies or the distinction to the best Popular March- generated incomes and increased circulation.

The executive director was the young heir Francisco Pinto Balsemão, deputy of the Liberal Wing –a group of deputies chosen in the 1969 elections in the lists of the one-party as independents-, and one of the faces of the journalistic renovation prior to April 25th. His influence on the newspaper was crucial to recruit new journalists, expand the thematic sections, promote genres such as reports and chronicles and bet on a culture of resistance and rejection of the self-censorship established after decades of “prior restraint” and the restriction of journalistic autonomy.

3. Methodology

This work uses a quantitative methodology that includes the content analysis research method. The differences and similarities that the newspapers had based on their geographic ambit and the newspaper model to which they belong were contrasted: newspapers of record (*ABC* and *Diário de Notícias*) or popular newspapers (*Pueblo* and *Diário Popular*).

While the greatest printing and morning newspapers *ABC* and *Diário de Notícias* gathered all the characteristic of informative and professional quality press the evening *Diário Popular* and *Pueblo* represented the popular press model. A distinction marked by the contents selection, their treatment and the design of its pages. The newspapers of record exhibited a sober formal arrangement, where a relation between the importance the newspaper placed on a newsworthy occurrence and the place it had on the page was established. On the contrary, the popular press had as objective drawing the attention of readers, and to do so it used a striking design, characterized by the use of big headlines and photographs (Armentia and Caminos, 2003; González, Puebla, Birkner and Pérez, 2015).

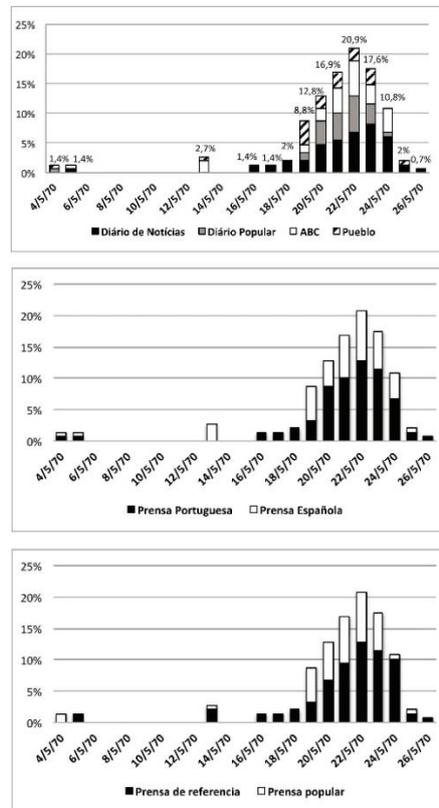
To develop this study we have carried out an analysis of the four newspapers during the entire month of May of 1970. The first publications emerged on the 4th day and the last ones date from the 26th. The total number of registers came to 148, analyzed through the use of different fields and categories, such as the date of publishing; the number of news issued; journalistic genres used: Information, Chronicle, Article (editorials and opinion columns) and others (reports and interviews); authorship: Agency, Writer, Collaborator, Special Envoy and “does not say” -information without signature-; texts arrangement: Cover, Heading or complementary Images, and finally the fields Main Figure and news description.

A critical and contextual reading was added to these data in order to delve into the rhetoric produced by the four newspapers, their editorial positioning and their alignment with the objectives that, in the face of this bilateral meeting, defined the Franco and Marcelo governments. That way we are going to verify the different levels of autonomy and resistance they adopted against the political strategies of press control, during the moment in which both of the longest Western Europe dictatorships began to fall into decay.

The inquiring into the General Administration Archive (Madrid) and the ones into the Diplomatic Historical Archive of the Foreign Relations Ministry (Lisbon) have been incorporated in the newspaper and bibliographic sources.

4. Results and discussions

From the four newspapers analyzed, *Diário de Notícias* presented the highest amount of information about this event. Having 59 (39.5%) pieces, followed by *ABC* with 35 (23.6%), then *Diário Popular* with 31 (20.9%) and finally *Pueblo* with 23 (15.5%). The days leading the biggest informative coverage are those in which the state visit took place –in that order, the 22nd, the 23rd, the 21st and 20th of May-. All the previous and subsequent days to the visit (19th and 24th) also had a relevant position (graphic 1).



Graphic 1: dates and news published.

Source: authors' own creation.

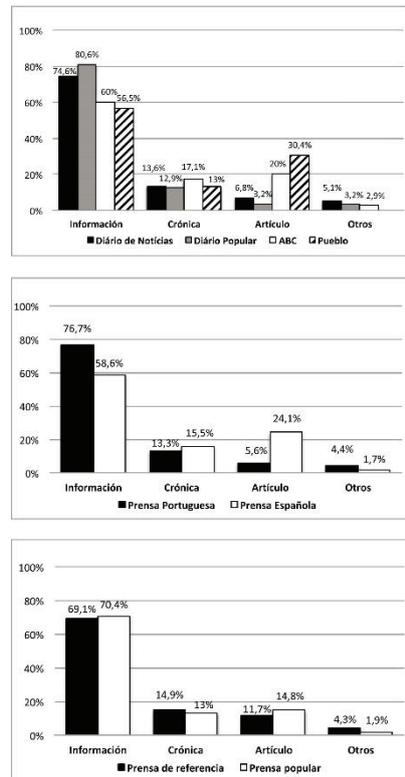
The morning newspapers were the first “early risers” providing the information, and the newspaper managed by Augusto de Castro would be the one to maintain, for a longer period and in a continuous way, the interest in the visit. The Portuguese newspapers placed greater importance on it than the Spanish ones. The figures prove it: 90 (60.8%) pieces against 58 (39.2%). If we analyze the number of texts considering whether they appeared in the newspapers of record or in the popular press model, we verify that the scale leans favoring the former ones: 94 (63.5%) registers against 54 (36.5).

4.1. Spokespersons for press releases

News was the most used genre, followed by chronicles and articles, which present very similar percentages (graphic 2). The use of other genres, such as reports and interviews, was insignificant.

Diário Popular opted especially for news (80.6%) and *ABC* for chronicles (17.1%). *Pueblo* was the one which opted for news the least and bet on articles (30.4%). The emergence of interviews and reports was scarce, being *Diário de Notícias* the one that used it more, but in meager proportions (5.1%).

The local newspapers of Lisbon published informative texts (76.7%), while the Madrid ones preferred the interpretative and editorializing ones. Articles stood out in the Spanish press (24.1% against 5.6%), as well as chronicles, genre which was also prominent (15.5% against 13.3%). Both the press of record (69.1%) and the popular ones (70.4%) used news in very similar percentages, the leading genre in the two models. The use of chronicles was similar, although the press of record (14.9%) used them in greater proportions compared to the popular press (13%). It was not the same for articles that were preferred by popular newspapers (14.8% against 11.7%).



Graphic 2: journalistic genres.
Source: authors' own creation.

The “who”, “where” and “when” were the center of news, being less focused on answering “what” and “why”. There were practically no differences between the pieces anticipating the agenda and the ones offered the next day. The news about the meeting held between Franco and Caetano ¹[1] exemplify well this affirmation. The only transcendent fact was that it lasted around an hour and that the presence of journalists was not authorized at El Pardo, where only graphics could access ²[2].

The issue that was probably discussed was the suitability of ratifying a secret agreement that would allow the extradition “of the offenders that, after trying to subvert with violence the established order

[1] *P*, 21/05/1970, p. 9; *ABC*, 22/05/1970, p. 19; *DN*, 22/05/1970, p. 1.
 [2] *DN*, 21/05/1970, p. 8.

in one of the two countries, were sheltering in the other country”³[3]. The draft of this secret protocol was written by the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, José Antonio Giménez Arnáu, who was also author of the III Additional Protocol to the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty⁴[4]. He received instructions from Franco during the first days of March in 1970 about the organizational details of the visit of Caetano, which was already confirmed in December of 1969⁵[5]. The warlord was a supporter of updating the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty when he understood it was justified by “the communist conspiracy”, and considered that the new text should establish “reciprocity in repression with the communist offenders of both countries, as well as the obligation of punctually informing in a similar way as it was done in the historical Anti-Comintern Pact”⁶[6].

According to the ambassador, the minister of Foreign Businesses, Rui Patrício, had his doubts of signing the secret protocol and believed that the “issue” should have been solved in Madrid by “the two leading figures”⁷[7]. In fact, two days before the state visit, high-level officials responsible of several ministries were urgently requested by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to speak out about the subject, even if they had been warned before “that said protocol would not be signed”⁸[8]. The people who were there reunited expressed that the best thing to do was “not to get to any written agreement”. The press did not publish anything about this matter. Only the journalist of *ABC* in Lisbon, José Salas y Guirior, claimed in an early statement that “as a kind of rumor, they are talking about possible conversations addressing children protection, extradition, etc.”⁹[9].

The newspapers said that the visit was intended to update the Portuguese-Spanish treaty, achieve a closer relation between both countries and explore combined actions for developing and establishing jointed forces¹⁰[10]. They assigned an important role to the minister and commissioner of the Development Plan, Laureano López Rodó, old University friend of Caetano who wrote the prologue of his book “*Escritos Políticos*”, who he labeled as “a man loyal to his convictions”, who presented himself with “renovation spirit”¹¹[11].

They would reproduce verbatim the speeches given by Carrero Blanco and Marcelo Caetano. While the vice-president was focusing his participation on the friendship of the peninsula, Caetano was introducing one of the leitmotifs of his visit: the defense of his colonialist policy overseas to protect “the different races that form the Portuguese nation and that want to remain in it”¹²[12]. With the occasion of the Mayor of Madrid, Arias Salgado, handing over the golden key to the city, it would have an impact on another recurrent topic: the touristic promotion of the “African spaces”, where there was no “racial discrimination, people live in peace and work intensively”¹³[13].

[3] Secret Additional Protocol to the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty of friendship and Non-Aggression 8/04/1970. Ministry of Culture and Sports (M.C.S.), General Administration Archive (GAA) (10) Leg. 11532, file: 1.

[4] Letter of the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Lisbon, 31/03/1970. Ibid.

[5] Letter of Marcelo Caetano to the Minister of Foreign Affairs accepting the invitation to visit Spain. Lisbon, 15/12/1969. M.C.S., G.A.A. (10) Leg. 11531. File: 40.

[6] Letter of the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Reserved and personal note N°221. Lisbon, 10/03/1970. M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) 82/23975

[7] Letter of the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Confidential note n° 33. Lisbon, 24/04/1970. . M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) leg. 11532. File: 1

[8] Secret informative note of the meeting held at the General Direction of Foreign Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the content of the Additional Protocols to the Portuguese-Spanish treaty. Madrid, Madrid, 18/05/1970. Ibid, file: 40.

[9] *ABC*, 5/05/1970, p. 19.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *DN*, 16/05/1970, p. 1, 5.

[12] *DP*, 21/05/1970, p. 11.

[13] *DN*, 23/05/1970, p. 1.

Diário de Notícias interpreted the inauguration of the Casa de Portugal on the Gran Vía of Madrid as “one of the most exciting moments of the visit”. Under the headline “*Emoción hasta las lágrimas*” [EN: “Tears of joy”] appears the photograph of Caetano kissing a boy ¹⁴[14]. *Diário Popular* preferred to highlight the “monstrous traffic jam” ¹⁵[15] that occurred in that central place that was literally collapsed by the assistance of 700 people.

When the end of the visit was announced, the newspaper of Augusto de Castro exclaimed “mission accomplished” ¹⁶[16], and it would refer to the peninsular treaty as the “indispensable” instrument for the collaboration and international projection of the two countries. The newspapers would reproduce the common communiqué that was distributed to the press ¹⁷[17], as well as the full text of the III Additional Protocol to the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty that was renewed for another ten years and had incorporated, by the suggestion of Portugal at the last minute, a paragraph in which “the common desire of intensifying the economic relations between both countries” was expressed” ¹⁸[18].

The chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, had been informing Foreign Affairs of the great impact the visit had on the Portuguese media. “The press –he claimed- kept the trend and extraordinary arrangement of these past days, with full pages, big headlines and photographs dedicated to Caetano”. The radio and television offered “their very especial attention” with “extensive reportages” and “very favorable” comments ¹⁹[19]. The ideological alignment of each one of the newspapers quoted was present in the reviews he made. That way, for example, he would label *Diário Popular* as “non-governmental”; *Novidades* as “catholic”; *O Século* as “Republican-independent”; *A Capital* as “pro-government”, and *Diário da Manhã*, “governmental”. He did not use any ideological tendency when referring to *Diário de Notícias* ²⁰[20].

4.2. An army of propaganda

The Spanish newspapers, although narrowly, were the ones using chronicles more, despite the fact this event occurred in Madrid. The pieces by José Salas y Guirior stand out with the headline “ABC in Lisbon” and in italics. For *Pueblo*, Conchita Guerrero reported from Lisbon, and Pilar Narvión from Paris. The only two women we noticed signing. *Diário de Notícias* highlighted typographically the texts from their special envoy, Fialho de Oliveira, reproduced in italics under the title “*Diário de Notícias in Madrid*”. The experienced journalist was one of the few authorized people to sign his parliamentary chronicles and with access to the comments of Portuguese television, RTP. He would keep contacts with the Franco official press, in both *Arriba* and *Pueblo*. *Diário Popular* included the pieces by Eduardo Corregedor da Fonseca under the heading “The visit of Marcelo Caetano to Spain”. The special envoy was one of those newly hired young people specialist in Economy that would know about the situation in Spain. He collaborated sporadically with *information*.

Caetano arrived in Spain with an “army of information” ²¹[21] comprised by 59 journalists ²²[22] from Portugal, from the colonies and from Brazil ²³[23]. They would develop their work in the

[14] *Ibid*, p. 8.

[15] *DP*, 23/05/1970, p. 7.

[16] *Ibid*, p. 1.

[17] Common Spanish-Portuguese communiqué distributed to the press M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) Leg. 11531, File: 40.

[18] III Additional Protocol to the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty of friendship and Non-Aggression. *Ibid*.

[19] Report of the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, Fernando Benito, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lisbon 24/05/1970. *Ibid*, file: 39.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] *DN*, 19/05/1970, p. 1.

[22] *P*, 21/05/1970, p. 1.

International Press Club and would organize meetings with representatives of the Spanish press. Augusto de Castro and Emilio Romero assisted to “the fraternity night between Spanish-Portuguese colleagues [...] Emilio Romero led the night with singing and flamenco dances”²⁴[24].

The press conference called by Caetano on the last day of his visit was the most crowded event. The writer for *Pueblo*, J. M. Salgado, pointed out that the Portuguese president answered the questions of journalists following an “effective and rational” system: “They posed the question, wrote them, he read them, grouped them and answered them”. Despite the fact that the minister of Information and Tourism, Sánchez Bella, limited the topics to the Portuguese-Spanish treaty, Caetano was “willing to answer any type of question”²⁵[25]. In addition, “14 journalists” could ask him directly, which is why he received a prolonged ovation from over 200 journalists from numerous countries”²⁶[26]. This behavior implied a novelty for the Spanish press, whose role was limited to publishing communiqués distributed by the authorities.

The commercial relations between Spain and Portugal repeatedly peeped out in the chronicles, which stated they had evolved “back to back on each other” in a time marked by internationalization. It was necessary now, based on the judgment of *Pueblo*, “an authentic action, with no gimmicks or catches, without tricks and no rhetorical and opportunistic ornaments”²⁷[27]. *Diário Popular* was the first one publishing the scoop of the agreement that had been completed between a commercial Portuguese bank and Spanish banks and companies to invest 15 million Portuguese escudos in the construction of highways in Portugal²⁸[28], a scoop that was later collected by the other newspapers.

Pilar Narvi3n reported that people from France were monitoring closely this event from which “practical results” were expected²⁹[29]. It was precisely from this desire that Caetano emphasized that the visit would lead to concredited actions in all of his speeches. Jos3 Salas y Guirior paraphrased him to indicate that “what was important was implementing all that was agreed”. *Di3rio de Not3cias* was inviting them to put into practice the cooperation agreements reached³⁰[30] and demanded the disappearance of the “improvised Don Quixotes”, referring to the inactivity of the Portuguese businessmen. The assessment given by the correspondent of the visit was summarized like this: “humanly impossible to open more paths”³¹[31].

In genres like interviews, the one granted by Marcelo Caetano to the director of EFE, Alejandro Armesto, stood out. He reiterated his intention of not recognizing the independence of the colonies, despite the international condemnation: “We cannot abandon the men and values that translate the presence of Portugal overseas into anarchy and to foreign envy”. When asked about the new Press Law that was already under discussion in Portugal, he answered that the steps they were going to take needed to be carefully planned between “the prior restraint system and total freedom”³²[32].

The visit coinciding with the Saint Isidro Celebration was exploited by *Di3rio Popular*, which displayed a full page with the heading “Bulls of death, yes, but slowly...” under which they included

[23] “List of representatives from the information entities that will go to Madrid as retinue elements of this president of the Council” M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) Leg. 11531, file: 40.

[24] *DN*, 24/05/1970, p. 8.

[25] *P*, 25/05/1970, p. 4.

[26] *DN*, 24/05/1970, p. 8.

[27] *P*, 21/05/1970, p. 10.

[28] *DP*, 21/05/1970, p. 1, 9.

[29] *P*, 19/05/1970, p. 6.

[30] *DN*, 20/05/1970, p. 9.

[31] *DN*, 24/05/1970, p. 8.

[32] *DN*, 17/05/1970, p. 1, 7.

the opinion of several Portuguese people about the Spanish bull show “where bulls are killed”³³[33]. The scarce reports that were published date back to the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression, on March 17th of 1939³⁴[34]. *ABC*, through a great graphic display, showed the modernity of the neighboring country, the Portugal of “a hopeful future”³⁵[35].

Along with chronicles, the preference will be for editorials -*Diário Popular* did not use them-. *Diário de Notícias* considered the bilateral meeting as “a huge personal success” for Caetano³⁶[36] and believed the extension of the Portuguese-Spanish treaty to be appropriate as a “peace guarantee”³⁷[37]. The references to Salazar in *ABC* were a constant, and who, between the lines, advised Caetano not to confine himself “to repeat the lesson of the master”³⁸[38]. He was presented as “the man of continuity, but for that he must be the man of changes; as a conservative he knows what it is necessary to evolve in order to consolidate”³⁹[39].

Pueblo praised the Portuguese governor for having proven “that the best continuity is that that is carried out based on evolution and not on hardening” and they would attribute him a “liberalizing and openness” mood. It would compare the economic situation in Portugal to the Spanish one during the sixties and would advocate its admission in the European Economic Community -“making Europe”, he said- although this objective must “coexist with his problem overseas”⁴⁰[40].

4.3. Control of the information sources

An important number of the texts are anonymous or come from a news agency, the two outstanding authorships, followed by the ones signed by special envoys or chroniclers, and to a lesser extent by writers or collaborators (Graphic 3). *ABC* led the “Does not say” (51.4%), it led the pieces signed by chroniclers (17.1%) and it had the highest number of collaborators (11.4%). The newspaper with a predominance of agencies dispatches was *Diário Popular* (61.3%). *Pueblo* held the first position when identifying its writers (17.4%).

[33] *DP*, 22/05/1970, p. 11.

[34] *DN*, 20/05/1970, p. 7, 13, 16.

[35] *ABC*, 22/05/1970, p. 14-15.

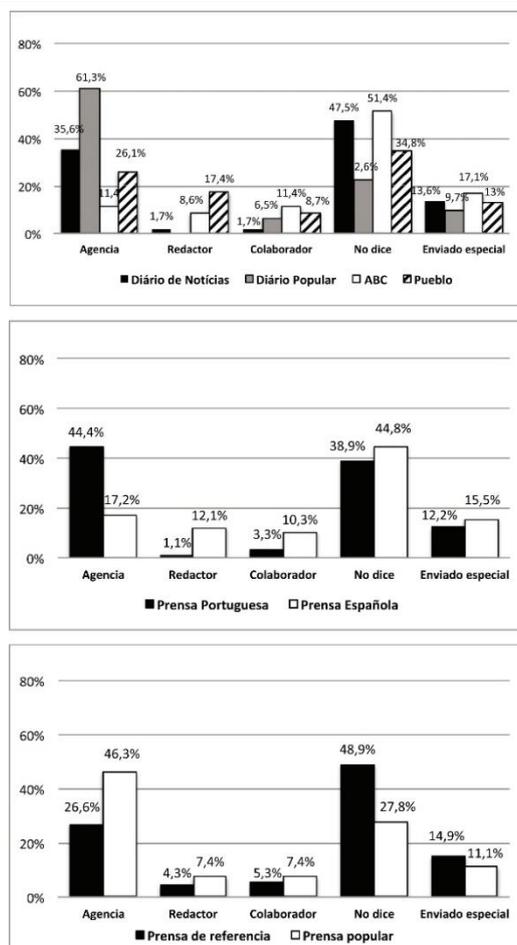
[36] *DN*, 20/05/1970, p. 1.

[37] *DN*, 23/05/1970, p. 1.

[38] *ABC*, 22/05/1970, p. 18.

[39] *ABC*, 20/05/2019, p. 10.

[40] *P*, 22/05/1970, p. 2.



Graphic 3: authorship.
Source: authors' own creation.

While in the Spanish press the “does not say” was the predominant authorship (44.8% against 38.9%), in the Portuguese one this predominance was for the agencies, present in 44.4% of its news, a quite superior percentage to the Spanish newspapers, in which the agency news represented 17.2%. This datum may seem logical if we take into account that Madrid newspapers covered the newsworthy event with Editorial staff, while the Portuguese did it with special envoys. The results obtained reveal that the Portuguese press made little use of its notable journalists in Madrid, since agency news prevailed. The press of record had more anonymity than popular press (48.9% against 17.8%). These last ones stood out for the authorship of news agencies, which represent 46.3%, while in the press of record this percentage is reduced to 26.6%.

Spanish newspapers would publish, mainly, dispatches from EFE and its subsidiary, Cifra. They were predominant in *ABC*, while *Pueblo* would also turn to the Pyresa agency, which supplied to the Movement Press. The Fraga Law reserved the exclusive distribution of international information in Spain to EFE agency, created in 1939, which is why foreign news were still “controlled and monopolized” (Barrera, 2002, p. 415).

Portuguese newspapers would opt for the National Agency of Information, ANI, under whose signature there were Artur Pedro Gil and José Manuel Pintassilgo ⁴¹[41]. Its presence was

[41] “List of representatives from the information entities that will go to Madrid as retinue elements of this president of the Council” M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) Leg. 11531, file: 40.

predominant in *Diário de Notícias*, not so much in *Diário Popular*, which would add others like France Press or Reuter. The journalists from *Diário Popular* were motivated to search for relevant news and not to waste time with the official propaganda. “Leave that to ANI”, Balsemão used to say to them (Baptista and Correia, 2007).

The news of agencies would be of any kind: from the anticipating news, going through the very development of the occurrences, to the press magazines. Also the distribution of opinion columns, like the one ANI published in *La Vanguardia*, by Manuel Aznar directed to Augusto de Castro. The figure of Marcelo Caetano -he commented- represented a hope for the “new men”, those who “without contradicting the dogmas, must abolish currently meaningless interpretations”⁴²[42].

The marquis of Quintanar appeared in the payroll of the collaborators who were published in *ABC*, evoking the friendly relationship between both countries⁴³[43]; Pedro Rocamora, who bet on relations “with an authentic European spirit and under the freedom sign”⁴⁴[44], or the very Marcelo Caetano, who in a message directed “to the Spanish nation”, assured that the Peninsula Pact embodied “the fraternal friendship and Spanish Portuguese understanding”⁴⁵[45].

The cadre of signatures in *Diário Popular*⁴⁶[46] would step away from political profiles and would opt for professionals and experts in different subjects. Among them, the very Corregedor da Fonseca who suggested the political openness of the Portuguese regime and to stop with exiled politicians. He remembered that, moments prior the arrival of Caetano, “representatives of the Spanish democratic opposition were spotted in Madrid and the authorities were fully aware of it, with the Foreign Affairs German minister, to whom they expressed their points of view”. He considered that “these types of issues” should be present when adapting the Portuguese-Spanish treaty. Francisco Cabral laid particular stress on the “absurd and obsolete economic divorce” that both countries maintained “in a time of accelerated international integration”, and Alberto Machado Da Rosa, Portuguese professor but with North American nationality, who was attributed being a “bold debater” for his “original”⁴⁷[47] points of view, advocated a congress of Portuguese and Spanish writers and editors and the incorporation of studies of Spanish in the Portuguese Faculties of Humanities, and vice versa. Mário Henriques referred to the keys for improving tourism; he explained that since the arrival of Fraga in the Ministry of Information and Tourism, a sense of “frustration” had been building up, even if some exchange of ideas and projects “with plenty of words” were fostered, the subsequent reality did not confirm “the initial enthusiasm”. With Sánchez Bella the “the big affirmations from the beginning and the long doses of optimism” returned, said Henriques, who recommended to open borders and take care “attentively” of the “poor” conditions of the Spanish roads that lead to Portugal. It was clear from the Embassy in Lisbon that these articles were in the interest of “a spirit of peninsular collaboration”, although within the “non-governmental orientation” of *Diário Popular*⁴⁸[48].

While examining the writers, José Baro Quesada appeared in *ABC*, signing in “*La semana política*” [EN: The political week], or Miguel Torres. In *Pueblo*, the information was covered by J. M. Salgado, while the short opinion pieces were initialed by Martínez Reverte within “*La criba*” [EN:

[42] *DN*, 25/05/1970, p. 1, 7.

[43] *ABC*, 19/05/1970, p. 7.

[44] *ABC*, 22/05/1970, p. 3.

[45] *ABC*, 21/05/1970, p. 21, 23.

[46] *DP*, 19/05/1970, p. 7, 9.

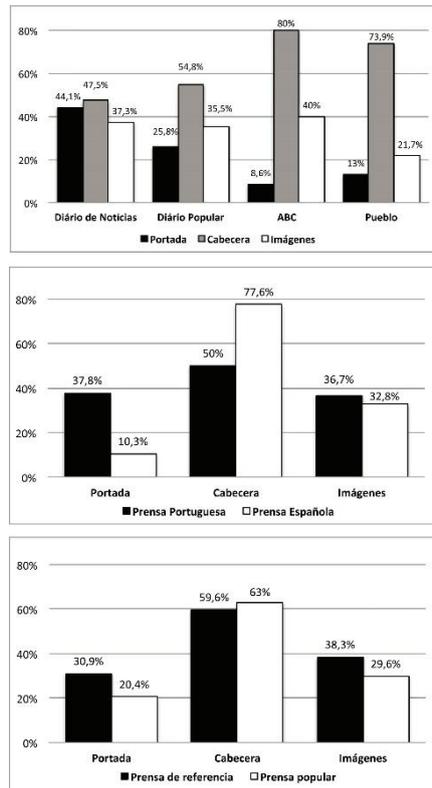
[47] Report of the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, Fernando Benito, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lisbon 20/05/1970. M.C.S., G.A.A., (10) Leg. 11531, file: 39.

[48] *Ibid*.

The sieve] or “*La semana política*”. In *Diário de Notícias* we only found “R.” and in *Diário Popular* this authorship was not registered.

4.4. Caetano opens covers and stars in the photographs

Diário de Notícias is the most prone to highlight the state visit on its front pages (Graphic 4), therefore it placed in the first one almost half of its news (44.1%). Although *ABC* is the newspaper that fewer pieces placed in this section, it leads the ranking in Headings. To this privileged place of the page it displayed 8 out of 10 news pieces (80%). As for the use of images, *ABC* (40%) is the most visual followed closely by *Diário de Notícias* (37.3%).



Graphic 4: news on front page, heading and with image.

Source: authors’ own creation.

Both the Spanish and Portuguese press chose the heading to highlight their news, although the former one in greater proportion (77.6% against 50%). The Portuguese media emphasized the event placing it on the front page (37.8%) or introducing graphic material (36.7% against 32.8%).

The two newspaper models placed the majority of their news on the heading, 63% for the popular press case and 59.6% regarding the press of record. It was only this Heading category in which the popular press is positioned in first place, since in both Front Page (30.9%) and images (38.3%) the press of record took the lead.

The Portuguese president was the center of attention in the snapshots, for both the ones opening the front pages and those together with information in the inner pages. In the background there would be Franco and Carrero Blanco, and in the far background, the prince D. Juan Carlos. The photos of *Diário Popular*, whose authorship corresponds to the graphic of the UPI-Teleimprensa agency,

Manuel Moura ⁴⁹[49], portrayed the departure of Caetano from Lisbon along with his daughter, Ana M^a Alves, who “was wearing a golden yellow outfit” and that “in spite of her always discreet and simple aspect, drew the general attention by the uniqueness of her attire” ⁵⁰[50]. Regarding Pueblo, the pictures were by E. Verdugo. Most of the photographs were of official nature, except some of them, like the one together with “*Perfil humano de un gobernante*” [EN: Human profile of a governor], which portrayed Caetano surrounded by his grand siblings ⁵¹[51].

The photograph of the house, Manuel Sanz Bermejo, and the graphic Cifra agency and Radial Press signed the photographs of the Spanish Press newspaper. In general, they presented a formal turn, in line with the information offered. In *Diário de Notícias*, Alberto Santos captured the main moments: Caetano together with the Spanish head of State, the vice-president of the government, the heir prince and other personalities. Some snapshots were less formal. The Portuguese prime minister was portrayed at the Prado Museum or at the bullfighting arena, holding a montera ⁵²[52]. It also depicted the ceremony bestowing on him the *honoris causa* at the Law Academy, the inauguration of the House of Portugal or the moment in which the Foreign Affairs ministers and retinue signed the III Protocol of the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty ⁵³[53]. When the visit was over and Caetano had just arrived in Lisbon, the “affectionate popular demonstrations” that Portuguese people showed when receiving him at the airport would be portrayed. ⁵⁴[54].

5. Conclusions

The journalistic environment of the Spain of Franco experienced significant changes during the sixties in parallel with the profound transformations that were happening to the economy and society. The regime was torn between the openness, motivated by the economic optimism and the necessity of a reputation makeover for a hypothetical integration to the European Community, and the fear of being overwhelmed by that very development. The new 1966 Printing and Press Law reflected these doubts. Something similar was occurring in Portugal. Caetano proclaimed himself winner in the 1969 legislative elections, tracked down oppositionists, forced the majority of them to go into exile or to go hiding and kept all of the repression instruments of his predecessor, including the political police and prior restraint for the press. These measures did not stop the renovation movement that characterized the Portuguese journalism during the sixties and seventies. New escape routes were opened in the controlling relation imposed by the regime between the political power and the media. The evening and private newspapers were significantly more visual, led by progressive leaders who motivated their editors to write in a more autonomous way. *Diário Popular* is part of these examples.

The journalistic coverage of the state visit of Caetano to Spain proved these tensions, and news would sway between censorship and propaganda. The newspapers would perform a great deployment and keep track of this event in their pages for several days, even more the Portuguese ones, and especially *Diário de Notícias*, which would be positioned as the advocate of the policy of the Council president. Its role as ideological press was very notorious. Its comments were more controlled than the ones from *Diário Popular*, which circumvented the restraints of censorship and kept a clearly differentiated stance. It was the press of record on which the weight of this information rested, and to a lesser degree on the popular ones, which paid less attention to it.

[49] “List of representatives from the information entities that would go to Madrid as retinue elements of this president of the Council” Ibid, file: 40.

[50] *DP*, 20/05/1970, p. 9.

[51] *P*, 19/05/1970, p. 6.

[52] *DN*, 22/05/1970, p. 8.

[53] *DN*, 23/05/1970, p. 8-9.

[54] *DN*, 24/05/1970, p. 1, 9.

The news genre was the most used, especially by the Portuguese press, while the Spanish one bet on articles and chronicles. The use of reportages and interviews was meager. The news was predominant in both models, and while the press of record bet on chronicles, articles had greater presence in the popular press. The seeming impartiality that three of the four newspapers demonstrated in their informative texts was significant -*Diário de Notícias* was the exception-. We attribute this circumstance to the emerging self-censorship as a strategy to avoid reprisals. Journalists had to act cautiously so they would not be punished. For this, the aspects around the visit of Caetano were not addressed in depth; either anodyne news containing a little more than the textual transcription of the speeches or press communiqués were provided or it was not valued whether the turnout for an event was high or low. Simply, they used encoding to avoid offending the authorities. *Diário de Notícias*, in its “informal newspaper” role, would maintain a propaganda line in all the genres.

The chronicles—more editorializing than interpretative- and the articles content would expose the intentions of each newspaper. While *Diário de Notícias*, *Pueblo* and *ABC* would keep tight their ranks in support of Caetano, *Diário Popular* would step aside from this uniformity. It implemented a more interpretative journalism, and between the lines, it is possible to discern criticism about the Portuguese dictatorship. The differences between *Pueblo* and *ABC* are insignificant and the editorial treatment is very coinciding. In any case, the one directed by Emilio Romero, due to its official nature, would show itself triumphalist valuing the Spanish government action. Also, as a result of being part of the popular press model, the language used would be less formal than the one of *ABC*, and would be simultaneously more direct and incisive.

While in the Spanish press the news without signature predominated, the agencies dispatches were prominent in the Portuguese one. The “does not say” characterizing *ABC* and *Pueblo* can be explained by the publication of notes of mandatory insertion, established in the Fraga Law as substitute for the instructions of the 1938 Press Law. They were distributed by the Press General Direction, which were reproduced verbatim, and therefore, not signed. Regarding the role the agencies played, mainly EFE for the Spanish case and ANI for the Portuguese one, their relevance in the standardization of the messages and as an echo chamber to boost the official propaganda of both regimes was reflected.

Although the four newspapers preferred the upper part of their pages to emphasize their news, the Portuguese press would underline them taking them to the front page and using a greater number of images. Here we are highlighting the striking front pages of *Pueblo*, which stands out from the others for its use of big headlines, photographs and the red color. *Diário Popular*, whose front pages also meet the characteristics of the popular press and coincide with *Pueblo* in the chromatic range, present, however, a more traditional arrangement of its textual and graphical elements.

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AUTHORS:

Clara Sanz-Hernando

She has a Degree in Information Sciences from Complutense University of Madrid and a PhD. In Journalism with Extraordinary Prize of Degree mention. She is a PhD Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Documentation and Communication Sciences in the University of Extremadura (UEx). She has practiced the journalistic profession over thirty years, in both private media and Public Administration, where she has done tasks as Communication Manager. As a professor, she lectures subjects related to press and radio. She is part of the Research Group ARDOPA of the UEx. Her main lines of research are focused on the media during the Civil War and Francoism; the compared analysis of censorship during the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships, and the configuration of the news ecosystem after the changes occurred as a consequence of the digital journalism implementation.

clarasanz@unex.es

Índice H: 2

Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3127-8876>

Google Scholar: <https://scholar.google.es/citations?hl=es&user=kwMiJ58AAAAJ>

Ana Cabrera

She has a Degree in History from the University of Lisbon, a Master's Degree in Communication Sciences and a PhD in Contemporary Political History from the NOVA University of Lisbon. She is a researcher at the Contemporary History Institute of the NOVA University of Lisbon. As a

researcher she has a long career in political communication. Her works are developed on studies of the mass media representation of politics and politician women in the press and television. Additionally, she has led several projects financed by the FST (Foundation for Science and Technology) in the field of mass media representations and the studies of censorship and press freedom in consonance with big changes in contemporary society. In the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the NOVA University of Lisbon she lectured the History of the Media subject.

anacabrera@fcs.unl.pt

Índice h: 6

Orcid ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2372-5165>

Google Scholar: <https://scholar.google.es/citations?user=Z8H69h8AAAAJ&hl=es&oi=ao>

Carla Baptista

She has a degree in Communication Sciences from The NOVA University of Lisbon, a Master's Degree in African Studies from the ISCTE-University Institute of Lisbon and a PhD in Communication Sciences from the NOVA University. She is a freelance journalist, collaborates with the *Jornais e Jornalistas* magazine and with the Portuguese edition of the *Le Monde Diplomatique* newspaper. She has been a professor at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the NOVA University of Lisbon since 2004, where she lectures the "Journalistic Genres" and "History of the Media" subjects and the "Ethical and Deontological Matters of Journalism", and "History and Theories of Journalism" seminars in the Master's Degree in Journalism. Her research interests are focused in the history of the media and journalism during the transition periods of the regime, as well as in the field of cultural journalism and the role of the media in the identity and gender constructs.

carlamariabaptista@gmail.com

Índice h: 6

Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8188-3567>

Google Scholar: <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=QJ1F3LsAAAAJ&hl=es&oi=ao>