Introduction

THE COVER image of a wire-and-bead-art radio embodies some of this book's key themes. I purchased this radio on tourist-thronged Seventh Street in the Melville neighborhood of Johannesburg. The artist, Jonah, was an immigrant who fled the authoritarianism and economic collapse in his home country of Zimbabwe. The technology is stripped down and simple. It is also a piece of art and, as such, a representation of radio. The wire, beadwork, and swath of a Coca-Cola can announce radio's energy, commercialization, and global circulation in an African frame. The radio works, mechanically and aesthetically. The wire radio is whimsical. It points at itself and outward. No part of the radio is from or about Angola. But this little radio contains a regional history of decolonization, national liberation movements, people crossing borders, and white settler colonies that turned the Cold War hot in southern Africa.

Powerful Frequencies focuses on radio in Angola from the first quarter of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Like a radio tower or a wire-and-bead radio made in South Africa by a Zimbabwean immigrant and then carried across the Atlantic to sit on a shelf in Bloomington, Indiana, this history exceeds those borders of space and time. While state broadcasters have national ambitions—having to do with creating a common language, politics, identity, and enemy—the analysis of radio in this book alerts us to the sub- and supranational interests and communities that are almost always at play in radio broadcasting and listening.

This is true not just for radio in Angola but more generally. Radio's history is international. Though national broadcasters may first come to mind

when we think of radio (the British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] in the United Kingdom; Central Broadcasting Service [CBS] in the United States; or Rádio Nacional de Angola [RNA]/Angolan National Radio), radio's beginnings suggest something else. From its early days in the hands of amateur and ham broadcasters, to the military's adoption of radio in World War I, to the Cold War broadcasters like Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Radio Moscow, radio has been manifestly inter- and transnational. White settlers in Angola, for example, broadcast to connect the different areas of white settlement and to speak to other settlers in the region. National liberation movement radios beamed their programs across international borders and sometimes spoke to audiences in their immediate locale. RNA station employees traveled far and wide, on the continent and throughout the Angolan territory as well as overseas, to get training and report the news. UNITA's Vorgan radio station hailed audiences in the zones it controlled while simultaneously addressing foreign listeners as a regional conflict reverberated with international geopolitics.

War and conflict shape radio's history. Radio's relationship with propaganda emerged forcefully in World War II in the hands of Germany's Nazi propagandists. It developed to new levels in the Cold War, used by both the Soviet Union and the United States (and Western European states more generally), and by countries in the Third World that fought for decolonization, at faster and slower rates. While most African countries declared their independence by the early 1960s, southern Africa's countries fought long and arduous armed liberation struggles. Southern Africa remained a bastion of white settlers. South Africa and Rhodesia, ruled by white supremacist states, as well as the Portuguese-ruled Angola and Mozambique, which also had sizable white settler populations, used Cold War discourse to protect their interests. So, too, did national liberation movements. Radio stations and counterinsurgency projects in the region rang with "creolized" versions of these bipolar vocabularies.

Writing from the other end of the African continent as decolonization and the Cold War kicked off decades earlier, Frantz Fanon observed Algeria's National Liberation Front at work and said this about radio propaganda and listenership:

> Claiming to have heard the *Voice of Algeria* was, in a certain sense, distorting the truth, but it was above all the occasion to proclaim one's clandestine participation in the essence of the Revolution. It meant making a deliberate choice, though it was not explicit during the first months, between the enemy's congenital lie and the people's own lie, which suddenly acquired a dimension of truth.[1]

Fanon emphasizes the dialogic nature of these lies—the truth of one is revealed in its opposition to the other. He highlights agency. People make a "deliberate choice" between one lie and the other, indicating a changed consciousness, a new political alertness. Belief can make a lie true. "True lie" embraces propaganda and also captures all those strategic claims and mythologies that structure official imperial and nationalist narratives wherever they are.

Powerful Frequencies: Radio, State Power, and the Cold War in Angola, 1931–2002 uses radio to recount contemporary Angolan history. It tells the story of the messiness created by old and new states, their "true lies," and the people that run state bodies. It tells the story of the meaning broadcasters and listeners make of radio and its contents. It is a particular history. It is also one that resonates more widely. First, because it is a story implicated in Portuguese imperial history, in Third World decolonization movements, and in the southern African fight against apartheid complicated further by Cold War alliances; and second, because radio is a resilient medium that can also tell us about state power, listener agency, and the people that make states work (or not).

In this book, "radio" refers to a technology with particular properties and to the institution and infrastructure of radio that make broadcasting possible. The representation of radio in other media, whether wire and beads, film, music, or literature, is also a key element to understanding radio. Since I started this project, I have made particular notice of radio in African films, photography, and literature. Media scholars call this phenomenon "remediation."[2] While that is not my focus here, the remediations are significant because they help me talk about radio's meaning as much as its mechanics and politics. I use these cultural representations of radio to open most of the book's chapters.

An analysis of radio and the state in Angola raises issues that echo in contemporary life and politics. In the United States, despite the consolidation of media in a handful of large corporations (or because of it), small, noncommercial radio is growing. A January 2018 article in the *New York Times* reported that in the northwestern United States, community radios, once the bastion of rural broadcasters, are now popping up in urban neighborhoods. Low-powered, often with small transmitters and limited broadcast range, they are a quirky, local alternative to corporate-dominated radio.[3] These community radios may embody what Bertolt Brecht imagined radio could be in the 1930s:

> Here is a proposal to give radio a new function: Radio should be converted from a distribution system to a communication system. Radio could be the most wonderful public communication system

imaginable, a gigantic system of channels—could be, that is, if it were capable not only of transmitting but of receiving, of making the listener not only hear but also speak, not of isolating him but of connecting him. This means that radio would have to give up being a purveyor and organise the listener as purveyor.[4]

Corporate, state-run, and public service radios are predominantly distribution systems, despite talk radio's popularity and the growth of podcasting. The low-power-radio operators across the United States and many community stations on the African continent show us, though, that Brecht's proposal is neither outlandish nor dated.

Old technologies such as radio are finding new uses, not obsolescence. The interface of old and new communications technologies with humans and institutions continues to bedevil human society (think: bots). As I was writing this introduction, Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook CEO, was attempting to get ahead of a problem. The problem was the infiltration of foreign (likely Russian state-financed) hackers. In the US 2016 presidential election and again in the summer of 2018 as the country was in the heat of campaigning for midterm elections in November, hackers opened false accounts on Facebook. They mobilized people on different sides of debates over gun control, immigration, and policing. They promoted white supremacist marches and counterprotests. As a result, Americans have been debating the power of media to convince, rally, and deceive audiences. And the role of corporations, the state, and individuals in producing, regulating, and interpreting media.

Commenting on Facebook's situation, *Recode* e-magazine editor Kara Swisher said, "Their problem is that they [Facebook executives] are not trained in the humanities."[5] How and why people use technologies, and what meanings they produce and how, are not questions with technical answers. They are human problems. I couldn't agree more with Swisher. State regulation, communications policy, and even foreign infiltration all have a human dimension. This book asks questions and tells stories about both the human and the technological stakes of radio broadcasting to understand radio's power, its frequency, and why states, guerrilla movements, scattered communities, and individual listeners have turned to radio.

RADIO'S TRUE LIES

"Lie" is shorthand for "propaganda." Since the advent of radio in World War I and its fatal uses by Hitler in World War II, propaganda is how we talk about the trafficked and dangerous intersection of human behavior, mass media forms,

and state power.[6] Propaganda, the dissemination of ideas by the interested and powerful, has been around much longer than that, though. Papal bulls and encyclicals are just a couple of examples of centuries-old propaganda.[7] "Lie" as a substitute for "propaganda" carries the mid-twentieth-century worries and hopes about new mass media technologies.[8] At the height of the Cold War, analysts referred to totalitarian state propaganda as "brainwashing."[9] These concerns ripple through the work of the Frankfurt School and also through the writing of proponents of public diplomacy.[10]

Approaching Angola's contemporary history through radio draws our attention to colonial and postcolonial "lies," their dissemination and effects. Throughout the book, the term "true lies" also refers to the cliché that one person's or one state's lie may be another's truth. "True lie" indicates that state propagandists and broadcasters believe what they are saying and/or the big ideas they are defending. It underscores how interpretation and narrative matter in human and political lives.

In using a specific technology to think about independence struggles and postcolonial state-making, this book reveals how communications matter to colonial and postcolonial state policies, histories, and propaganda. Focusing on radio and the effects of sound, I move between state and society actors. The everyday work of state functionaries, national movement militants, and citizens sometimes takes center stage so that we can hear the interaction at work even in top-heavy, authoritarian states, be they colonial or postcolonial.

The story I tell here transforms the standard nationalist and Cold War chronologies and spaces that structure Angolan history: the attempted coup in 1977, rather than independence in 1975; and Cuban and South African troop withdrawal from Namibia in 1989 (after the 1988 battle of Cuito Cuanavale), instead of the fall of the Berlin Wall, prove key. With radio at the center, I torque nation and sharpen region to contour a flat story of superpower- funded civil war and show that quotidian listening practices and the decisions of radio journalists shape national broadcasting as much as geopolitics. Former Angolan National Radio (RNA) employees remember, for example, creating an efficient, socialist-minded, state institution that embodied their commitments to radio professionalism, the new nation, and workplace social services even as war imposed material and sonic limits.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ANGOLAN
INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

Angola's long history contains many of the processes and themes that define current US African history syllabi: Bantu migrations, politically complex

centralized states, participation and subjugation in the transatlantic slave trade, and uneven, shifting colonization that used white settlement, concessionary companies, and forced labor regimes to control African lives and extract resources. Angola's history and that of the southern African region depart from the continent's history. When other countries on the continent were busy fighting for and negotiating independence from their colonizers, the Portuguese state acted forcefully to suppress nationalists in its African colonies, and the apartheid state in South Africa had cemented extreme racial segregation in law and violently attacked resistance to it.

Portugal, even in the post-Bandung world, still needed the colonial territories to fuel its economic growth and political imagination. A newly expanded United Nations and a new zeitgeist drew attention to the Portuguese colonies. To mitigate the pressure, Prime Minister António Oliveira Salazar turned to Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre and his theory of lusotropicalism. Initially invented to explain Brazil's national cultural specificity, lusotropicalism argued that the Portuguese were naturally suited to creating harmonious, multiracial societies in the tropics. When Salazar sent Freyre on a tour of Portugal's African colonies, his experience showed otherwise. Nonetheless, Salazar turned Freyre's work into a retroactive ideology of Portugal's empire.[11]

Portuguese regime defenders insisted that Portuguese rule was an exception. Nationalists, scholars, and journalists who researched and wrote in the late 1960s and early 1970s knew better. National liberation movement intellectuals, including Amílcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, and Mário Pinto de Andrade, argued that rather than a tame lusotropicalist rule, Portuguese colonialism was especially violent, anchored in forced labor regimes, in de facto segregation, and only marginally less virulent than South Africa's apartheid rule. Producing empirically grounded social scientific work, Gerald Bender, Allen Isaacman, John Marcum, John Saul, and journalists such as Augusta Conchiglia and Basil Davidson followed their lead. Theirs was also an exceptionalist argument, one meant to overturn the "colonizer's congenital lie," if you will. Differences of language and the slow nature of change in the academy preserved this exceptionalism and isolationism in the scholarship on Portuguese-speaking Africa until recently. Scholars from and of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tome have now begun to think of the histories of these places across a range of languages and in relation to other colonial histories.[12]

Angola's late colonial period and struggle for independence, especially in the context of this book, have similarities not only with histories of other places on the African continent and especially the white settler states

(Algeria, Kenya, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia), but also with white settler societies in other places and times, as well as with other liberation movements around the globe. Guerrilla warfare became the predominant mode of armed conflict after World War II, often as a way to demand decolonization and then to contest power in new states. Many liberation movements turned to radio to supplement their ground wars.[13]

On the African continent, 1960 was the year of independence (Ghana and Guinea preceded by gaining their independence in 1957 and 1958, respectively). Seventeen countries won their freedom from colonial overrule that year, after periods of negotiation and ongoing struggle in some places (like Cameroon) but relatively rapidly in others (like the Republic of the Congo). As Angola's neighbor, the sounds and sentiments of Congo's independence rippled across their shared border. In 1961 three revolts shook the Angolan colony and initiated the anticolonial struggle's armed phase. The year began with workers in the cotton-producing region of Malanje, in the area known as the Baixa do Kassanje, revolting against forced cotton production and protesting colonial administration of their lives and land. The Portuguese reacted with violence. On 4 February a group of people armed with machetes attacked the main prison in Luanda. Again, the state and the white population reacted violently. On 15 March, the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA; the predecessor of the FNLA, National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and local activists violently attacked village border posts, white-owned coffee plantations throughout northwest Angola, and commercial establishments. Portugal sent troops and reinforced police activity, spreading terror. Angolan nationalist movements went into exile and undertook armed struggle. The year 1961 put Portuguese colonial rule to the test. Not only did Angola explode, but Indian nationalists took over Goa, and anticolonial protests and wars erupted across Portugal's African colonies.

In 1961 in Angola, the Portuguese army fought the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by Holden Roberto, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by Agostinho Neto. In 1966, Jonas Savimbi broke from the FNLA and founded the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), adding another set of combatants and ideas. Across the fourteen years that separated the explosion of war and Angolan independence in 1975, these movements fought the Portuguese military and they fought one another. The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) overthrew the Salazar/Caetano regime in a coup on 25 April 1974, ushering in a transition of power and intiating decolonization. The Alvor Accords, an agreement for tripartite rule and then elections in Angola, broke down. In its wake, fighting among the movements

(now formalized as political parties), polarization, and the intervention of foreign powers unfurled. With the help of Cuban troops and Russian armaments, the MPLA managed to control Luanda and fight off South African troops that invaded from the south to help UNITA secure the capital. Independence emerged in a Cold War–amplified civil war. The civil war continued after Cold War actors officially exited, ending only after the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) caught and killed Jonas Savimbi in 2002.

I explore this whole period in more detail across the book's chapters. I discuss the post-2002 developments in the epilogue. The first half of the book, chapters 1 through 3, covers the late colonial period, and the second half covers the period after independence. The themes of the first three chapters—whiteness, nervousness, and technopolitics—elaborate radio in settler life, guerrilla warfare, and counterinsurgency. The themes of chapters 4, 5, and 6—state/party consolidation, propaganda, and institution-building—expose the contested terrain of radio after independence and its use in local, regional, and Cold War battles.

The book's cadence is uneven. It might feel a bit like shortwave broadcasting's skip propagation. It tunes in and out of spaces in the colonial and independent territory, sometimes exploring relations between people and sometimes worrying about what the colonial and the postcolonial states are doing. I dash over certain periods quickly, and at other times I hover over a few months (e.g., the time period around 27 May). I am interested in the choppy, dissonant story of how Angola sounded out and what meanings people made of that, why the colonial state and the independent one invested in radio, and how liberation movements and rebel movements used it to destabilize the sonic sureties of their political foes, both near and far.

The rest of this introduction situates the book in contemporary Angolan politics, delineates sources, and explores methodological issues.

THE WHY: WHY THIS BOOK NOW?

This book originates in the memories of Angolans who tuned in to *Angola Combatente*, the radio program of the MPLA guerrilla movement. Memories of listening secretly, thick with fear, brimming with the energy of the illicit, still enliven and punctuate conversation fifty years later. As scholars and students of radio have pointed out for years, reception is a key element in conceptualizing and analyzing how radio works. The very fact of the interest in listening shown by the PIDE (International Police for the Defense of the State) recenters the state in the history of Angolan radio. Two other

dynamics keep the state at the center of the book: (1) political events in Angola since the end of the civil war in 2002; and (2) the research process.

The first dynamic, the centralization of power, increasingly executivized—focused in the office of the president of the republic—demands renewed attention to Angola's postcolonial state. Scholars need to think more carefully and critically about the history of the state, its fictions, and its fantasies. Work on Angola's postwar oil boom has carefully analyzed the dynamics of postcolonial statecraft.[14] The ways in which the state and former president dos Santos have handled not just the formal political opposition since 2002, but the informal movements that have taken to the streets and to social media since March 2011, require new, more historically attentive modes of analysis. Current president João Lourenço has introduced important and popular changes made possible by concentrated executive power, but he has not yet acted to decentralize power. Studies that can analyze relations between the colonial state and its postcolonial successor; that consider how people make up and contest the state from within its institutions; and that attend to the history of media and mediation can illuminate the exercise of power. What continuities exist in institutional practices? Where did change take effective hold? What is the role of state functionaries? How and why have institutions (ministries, parties, political cultures, communications practices, etc.) shifted or not shifted? What is the relationship between capitalist practices ("the market"), the state, and the media?

The second dynamic—the research process—requires more elaboration. It exposes some of the concrete operations of how the first dynamic operates in everyday life (for example, in the life of one researcher intersecting with different state bureaucracies and functionaries). No matter how well-planned, research is unpredictable. Though seemingly fixed in documents, archives, and memories, the past echoes differently depending on where and when we encounter it. You may not get to hear it at all. Sometimes the call is faint, distortion interferes, voices slip away, translation fails. At other times, sounds boom, actions clatter, and the din of grand gestures deafens the plodding, everyday work of people.

Oral historical work is fundamental to historical research even as it has its critics.[15] In investigating the history of RNA, the national broadcaster after independence, I rely on the accounts of individuals who worked at the national station, and I often use documents from their personal archives. RNA does not maintain a documentary archive. It has a documentation center, a pre-internet relic that served as a resource library for journalists. A thin, one-notebook collection of news clippings about RNA and a copy of an important dissertation on broadcasting in Angola by historian Júlio

Mendes Lopes constitute the station's written history. The sound archive (which labels their own recordings as "RNA Historical Archive"), from which I collected hundreds of recordings, holds an incomplete collection of previously broadcast material and a scattering of files related to programming, primarily from the 1980s. The collection of recorded materials concentrates on the speeches of Angola's first and second presidents: Agostinho Neto (1975–79) and José Eduardo dos Santos (1979–2017). The RNA is now recording and storing the speeches of President João Lourenço, elected in August 2017. This official sound archive guards the most significant official pronouncements since independence. Among them are a number of MPLA Party Congress openings and closings. A few recordings from the era prior to independence exist: one MPLA *Angola Combatente* guerrilla radio broadcast, the coverage of Agostinho Neto's arrival in Luanda in February 1975, the announcement of the cease-fire between the Portuguese troops and the MPLA in 1974, speeches by Portuguese general Spínola and Agostinho Neto at the Alvor Accords, a recording of Che Guevara from January 1965 during his visit to Brazzaville, and a couple of recordings of Nito Alves before his expulsion from the MPLA.[16]

RNA computerized and digitized daily paperwork beginning in the 1990s, making much material inaccessible to me. RNA bureaucrats refused my requests to see information about personnel, simple intake documents, or statistics on staff, for example, on the basis of violating the right to privacy. Doing research for my dissertation in the late 1990s, I had regularly visited RNA to meet with broadcasters and journalists who worked with musicians and to consult the station's music collection. Entering a state radio station is never easy. But access to RNA has tightened over time. When I returned to do formal research on radio in 2010–2011, I was told I needed permission from the Ministry of Social Communication. The ministry granted my request three months after I submitted a letter describing my work. This had little to do with me or the nature of my research and everything to do with internal politics (or so my journalist friends assured me): a newly appointed director of the RNA (recently renamed PCA, president of the administrative council) and tensions between the radio station and the Ministry of Social Communication.

The PCA's office sent me to work in the documentation center and the sound archive. On the floor of the sound archive, I found piles of binders full of programming plans, some correspondence between the MPLA party headquarters and the RNA management, and many binders of radio department paperwork from the 1980s. Precisely the kind of material now stowed in computer files, saved to external hard drives, or entirely

lost to posterity, it is rich in detail about the radio station's operations. Abandoned in untidy stacks, this informal archive languished, sometimes teetering next to dust-covered, exposed vinyl records and mouse-infested boxes, alongside the original instruction manuals for Phillips and Nagra equipment purchased in the 1970s and pamphlets about agricultural outreach from the late colonial period. It offered the material, gritty pleasures of the analogue in jumbled chronologies. I worked for a couple of weeks, relatively undisturbed, left to myself among the dust, bug detritus, and organograms, in the capable hands of Maria Helena and Antónia, the women who ran the recording center.

One day, the director of the documentation center came to check up on me in the makeshift photo area I had set up under a channel of natural light on a couple of old chairs. He closed the top of the binder and read the title card aloud: "Correspondence: MPLA Headquarters and RNA." "No," he said. "You cannot read or photograph this. Those documents belong to the PCA's office." He looked nervous. Extremely nervous. Two weeks of attempting to convince the PCA's associate director that I should be allowed to read the rest of the notebook ensued. Two weeks to get an appointment. Ten minutes of discussion. An ambivalent answer, with a clear meaning: no.

I presented the following argument to both the director of the documentation center and the associate director: These documents were more than twenty-five years old, the standard time before declassification in official state archives. Neither cared about archival practice. The rules and practices of this system did not overlap with the protocol of other professions or disciplines.[17] The associate director stressed the possibility of finding "secret" information. But even as I noted that this was a different government (the third republic, not the second), that the war was over, and that since I had read half the material in the binder I could promise him there was nothing juicier (and nothing less surprising) than journalists playing hooky from ideological education classes at party headquarters, he was not convinced. The past we do not know is safer. Do not meddle.

This episode underscores the danger that some Angolans believe the recent past poses to the present. It likewise points to the entangled postcolonial history of the radio and the MPLA. In no sense is RNA an independent, public broadcaster. In law, RNA exists as a public institution, but in practice, it operates as an organ of the party, albeit a complex one, shot through with contradictions and exceptions. Every level of the radio's organization has its party informers, even today. They keep tabs on the station's employees

and an eye on the leadership. The radio also employs collaborators from other parties. One or two of them have been integrated into the highest echelons and serve or served on its administrative council. But organograms and bylaws aside, RNA functions according to MPLA party logic and practice. Some employees who are or were UNITA members recount being shunned and called names, even as RNA leadership invested them with significant responsibilities and enticed them with good pay.

The political tensions that structure work at RNA help explain why the director did not want files opened, especially by a foreigner. The PCA's papers, perilously stacked, left for lost in the sound archives in the RNA basement, along with the documentation center director's "no," scream a nervousness that ripples across the colonial divide. It echoes the nervousness of the PIDE and military when they listened to and transcribed guerrilla movement broadcasts. It replays the nervousness Vorgan, UNITA's radio station, produced.

THE HOW: SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The two single largest collections from which I draw are that of RNA in Luanda and that of the PIDE housed at the Torre do Tombo, the National Archive in Lisbon. At the Torre do Tombo, I consulted the PIDE and António Salazar collections, which hold a wealth of material on the radio, as well as on broadcasting and listening in the late colonial period. I also studied documents from the Arquivo Histórico Militar (Historical Archive of the Military); the Biblioteca Nacional (Portuguese National Library); the Centro de Informação e Desenvolvimento Amilcar Cabral (CIDAC; Amílcar Cabral Center for Information and Development); the Hemeroteca (an archive dedicated to newspapers); the Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros (Ministry of Foreign Relations); and Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa (RTP; Portuguese Radio and Television), all located in Lisbon and storing material on the late colonial period. UNITA holds no archives since the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) confiscated much of what they did have. Oral historical work was critical. I spoke with a number of UNITA members who had been active in radio. The Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a division of the United States Central Intelligence Agency committed to monitoring radio and television broadcasts and newspaper reports by foreign governments and entities, offered key, if partial, sources on UNITA broadcasts.[18] Research on this project began in 2005, but I undertook the most concentrated work from 2010 to 2011 in Luanda and then again on short research trips

to Luanda in 2012, 2013, and 2015, and to Lisbon in 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018.

If oral sources such as interviews suffer the pockmarks of selective memory and reconstruction in the service of the present self and interests, secret police documents pose their own distinct set of challenges. Produced by a bureaucratic system in the throes of archive fever, they proliferate. Each memo written by a police officer is reproduced in sextuplet. Words and information papered over the void of the Salazar Estado Novo's (New State) lack of knowledge.

The government ministry born from the coup that overthrew the Salazar/Caetano dictatorships preserved the documents of the PIDE. The military junta dissolved the PIDE/DGS (International Police for the Defense of the State/General Directorate of Security) on the day of the coup, 25 April 1974. The democratic Portuguese state moved and stored PIDE documents for twenty years (some destroyed by former officers; some ruined in the process) before opening them for consultation on 26 April 1996 at the National Historical Archive. This is an archive that promotes transparency about the Salazar/Caetano Estado Novo regime but that also induces nervousness. The history of *bufos* (informers), what the colonial state knew when about which national liberation movement, about its collaborations, and the interrogations of those arrested are often politically contentious and personally tender topics. A different kind of nervousness permeates the documents about the guerrilla radios of the MPLA and FNLA. For the book's chapters on nervousness to make sense, I detail how the colonial state collected and used information.

INFORMATION COLLECTION IN THE ESTADO NOVO

Understanding the structures of information collection and distribution—and sketching the relations between the military and the secret police (PIDE), in particular during the war (1961–74)—contextualizes the surveillance files at the center of chapter 2 and the debates around the radio and counterinsurgency in chapter 3. Conflicts traversed the relations between different state bodies conducting the war. Disagreements over approach, personalities, and egos shaped the working environment.[19] The Portuguese military and intelligence bodies, like much of Portuguese colonial rule after World War II, were not exceptional in this regard. Interinstitutional relations were tense. Salazar's autocratic impulses threatened command structures. He regularly overruled legislation and plans concocted by military intelligence experts.[20]

Four government bodies collected information on the war in Angola: the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA); the Angolan Services for the Centralization and Coordination of Information (SCCIA); the Ministry of Foreign Relations (via the Department of Political Affairs, GNP—diplomatic envoys, missions); and the PIDE/DGS.[21] Miguel Jerónimo Bandeira and António Costa Pinto argue that the key institutional and legal innovations of the post–World War II period aimed to align Portuguese colonial and imperial rule with international trends. New policies and institutions emphasized developmental colonialism, first implemented in the interwar period, and adopted specialized knowledges that circulated internationally to justify and execute those programs.[22] Pressures to decolonize from within the Portuguese territories and from external, international bodies, Portugal's commitment to NATO, and the war compelled these changes.

In 1959 the Portuguese state opened a new department specifically tasked with information collection: the GNP in the Ministry of Foreign Relations. This ministry "was a keystone of the new institutional network of information and intelligence gathering, which aimed to promote a new information empire" that could respond to a postwar world in transformation.[23] The GNP stood at the apex of information. It coordinated government ministries meant to transform colonial governance into a rational, technical, modern, and scientifically based practice.[24] These government bodies eventually included the PIDE, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; SCCIA; and the Angolan Center for Information and Tourism (CITA). Under this arrangement, information funneled in and expertise flowed out, or that was the idea. Counterinsurgency militias, built on this novel information regime, "became the backbone of the 'repressive version of the developmentalist colonial state.'"[25] Counterinsurgency depended on information and communication.

The PIDE/DGS, formed in 1954, began operating in the African territories three years later; and in 1961 the state united the PIDE/DGS in Portugal and those in the "overseas territories" into one body.[26] In 1968 the state created a new position: subdirector of the PIDE for operations in Angola and Mozambique, occupied by the infamous Aníbal São José Lopes.[27] In 1969, when Marcelo Caetano assumed power after Salazar´s disabling stroke, he introduced a cosmetic change, renaming the PIDE the General Directorate of Security (DGS).[28] At the time of the Portuguese military coup in April 1974, Angola had 1,119 people working for the PIDE/DGS, more than any of the other territories.[29] Unlike in Portugal, where the Armed Forces Movement immediately dismantled the PIDE/DGS, in the colonies, it

remained as the Military Information Police (Polícia de Informação Militar; PIM) through the transition period and until 1975.[30]

The Overseas Ministry and the Minister of Defense drafted the legislation creating SCCI in 1961 with offices to open in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea.[31] The Angolan office (SCCIA) opened in 1962 with a mandate to collect, coordinate, and disseminate information relevant to policy, administration, and defense.[32] Based on training in England at the British military's intelligence school on information and counterinformation, SCCIA would centralize and circulate information.[33] SCCIA collected information from the different police forces (PIDE among them), from the Angolan Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defense (Organização Provincial de Voluntários e Defesa Civil; OPVDC), administrative authorities, military commanders, and the Overseas Ministry.[34]

The military's Second Division undertook information collection and distribution, both at the battalion level and at the higher level of the whole military region.[35] This division, which produced information on neighboring countries and nationalist movement activities, centered on strategic and operational questions. It published and circulated a PERINTREP (periodic information report) every two weeks, analyzing the information.[36] The reports included maps, topographical sketches, and aerial photos. Psychological action formed part of the Second Division's remit until 1966 when that charge passed to the planning and studies office in the military headquarters for the region.[37]

PIDE/DGS in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, in distinction to its operations in the metropole, worked with the Portuguese military, even if not always well. In the metropole PIDE agents worked to hide their identity, but in the colonies, everyone identified them as civil servants and, like soldiers, as representatives of the state: they were "a pillar of the colonial system and the information they provided for the military, gained through various violent means, constituted a valuable instrument in the war."[38] Despite the PIDE/DGS's successes in supporting military operations, its capacity for information collection fell short of the challenge at hand.[39] Possessing the powers of a judicial police unit, the PIDE/DGS used arrest, confiscation, interception, and interrogation to repress the liberation movements and obtain information. In addition, the organization conducted operations with the *flechas* (African militias recruited in Angola) to undermine the movements; infiltrated, sabotaged, and assassinated movement members based in neighboring countries; and ran a network of prisons where they held and tortured political detainees, who often died in detention.[40] Using the flechas

yielded some results, though it moved the PIDE out of strictly information collection and into policing operations.[41]

Recent work identifies the tensions between the various bodies of information collection central to fighting the war. SCCIA never possessed the mechanisms to coordinate information, for example, though the service did what it could, as the hub of information from the PIDE/DGS, the military, and other sources of intelligence, to share the information it received.[42] It was a part of the military but fell under the colonial governor's command. In 1962, the position of governor-general was split into two: governor-general and head of the Angolan command, creating ambiguity in SCCIA that remained unresolved throughout the war.[43] Furthermore, opposition from, even obstruction by, the PIDE limited SCCIA's effectiveness.[44] The PIDE/DGS was known to initiate operations with the flechas without informing anyone, and when rivalries developed between bodies they rarely resolved easily.[45]

The PIDE/DGS worked closely with Rhodesian and South African police forces and secret services. Relations with the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) and its director, Ken Flower, had their roots in this cooperation and information-sharing.[46] The PIDE/DGS and the South African Police (SAP) signed a protocol for information exchange and the capture of insurgents in 1955, shortly after the PIDE began work in Angola and Mozambique.[47] Relations tightened with collaboration between the PIDE/DGS and the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) from 1962. Daily contact via equipment offered by the SAP facilitated information exchange on the actions of the MPLA and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).[48] The Portuguese Overseas Ministry kept this alliance a secret, knowing that public knowledge of joint activities would attract criticism in a decolonizing world.[49]

Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal found common cause in opposing what they described as a communist threat, though the ideologies of the national liberation movements and other activist groups in the region were diverse. These three countries met regularly between 1962 and 1968 to share information. Collaboration with South Africa intensified in 1968 in eastern and southern Angola. Between 1970 and 1974, the three countries engaged in a secret, joint military alliance—ALCORA—formalizing earlier cooperation in order to defeat the liberation movements.[50] Military and police information collection and sharing, in and outside the Angolan territory, proved critical to executing the war. Archives containing the documents offer a complex and important set of resources for this period in the region.

Throughout the book I touch on radio broadcasting range and radio reception. Settlers, the colonial state, liberation movements, the postcolonial state, and UNITA all broadcast but did not necessarily keep records about broadcasting equipment or range, nor did they collect statistics. Outside of listening to the movement radio stations, which the PIDE and military followed, most information on listenership is anecdotal. Poor and partial in coverage, though rich at times in irony, nervousness, and bravery, together these stories and written sources present a picture with some clear lines, many yawning empty spaces, and splotchy connections.

Radio broadcast range and radio reception, despite their bundling with modernity and their supposed technological simplicity, are not straightforward. Broadcast range depends not just on the strength of a transmitter but on the height of the transmission tower and on atmospheric and topographical conditions. Shortwave broadcasting and range are particularly hard to measure. Shortwave's skipping propagation, the way it drops in and out, pinging off the ionosphere, is what allows it to cover great distances, though not necessarily to blanket them in sound. FM (frequency modulation) uses "line of sight" propagation. The higher the tower, the greater the range, though transmitter strength and frequency also matter. In late colonial Angola, the EOA broadcast in FM, but all the other radio stations—clubs, commercial, private, and religious—broadcast in shortwave and/or medium wave.

Data on radio range and reception is essential to understanding radio's work and power, and though insufficient, I used it when I could find it. Radio's magic and charm come from the gap between what science can explain, fluctuating atmospheric conditions and physical obstructions, and how human perception operates. This book happily inhabits that murky terrain. It rests in the folded wire and beads of the artist's radio and the way it represents the aspirations to modernity, the desire to embellish the machines of everyday life with imagination, and the fact that it is a working radio, albeit with limited reception.

White settlers in Angola thought about broadcast range and reception. They thought about those questions across overlapping local, regional, and imperial maps. Chapter 1 lays out the early days of amateur and then colonial state broadcasting in Angola. I explore the relationship among white settler identity, the occupation of sonic space, and whiteness between the 1930s and 1970s. This is a world regularly invoked in former settlers' nostalgic reveries of

the colonial period. One woman, who was born and raised in Angola and then left as a young adult but continues to identify as Angolan, told me, "Radio was our oxygen," leaning on metaphor to express why and how radio's immateriality breathed life into a white world on the edge of empire.