

INTRODUCTION

When the young Brazilian journalist and aspiring author Antônio Carlos Callado arrived in England to work at the recently founded BBC Latin American Service (LAS) in December 1941, he encountered a thriving scene for drama broadcasting. Callado had signed a six-month contract to broadcast news and features in Brazilian Portuguese; he was only twenty-four years old and was still far from celebrity. His experience in journalism in Brazil had started only four years earlier—in 1937, working for *Correio da Manhã* (The Morning Mail) and, occasionally, also for *O Globo* (The Globe), both important national papers with considerable reach. Nevertheless, creative writing was already his aim and, as he made clear in an interview with Lígia Chiappini Leite in 1981, journalism was as close as he could get at the time: “Literature was always my true calling. I found in journalism, as many people did, a profession in which I could earn a living while doing something that was not too different from what I really wanted to do” (L. C. Leite 1983, 249).¹ In Britain, Callado became a leading voice in the Brazilian section of LAS, and his dramas are representative of the best productions transmitted by the Latin American Service during the war.² He stayed for more than five

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years in the country, witnessing the worst moments of the Second World War, as well as its immediate aftermath, returning to Brazil only in May 1947. Back in Brazil, where he returned to with Jean Maxine Watson, a British citizen and BBC LAS staff member he had married in 1943, Callado enjoyed a prominent position as a cosmopolitan intellectual and journalist. In the 1950s he became an award-winning theater playwright and well-known novelist, and in the 1960s and 1970s he was arrested several times by the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964–1985) for his political and cultural activism.³ He published nine novels, but it was *Quarup* (1967) that became a bestseller and his most acclaimed work of fiction. Several of his novels were translated into English, Italian, French, and German. Critics such as Raymond L. Williams consider Callado one of the most important Latin American novelists of the twentieth century (Williams 2007, 72).

The fact that Callado spent this time in Britain in his twenties was relatively well-known to his critics and biographers, many of whom have argued that his experiences during the war left a lasting impression on him (L. C. Leite 1983; Von Brunn 2004; Martinelli 2007; Ridenti 2011). What was unknown until very recently, not only to scholars and readers but even to Callado's family, was the nature of his work for the BBC. It was the opening of sealed files under Callado's name at the BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC) in Reading, UK, in May 2014 that brought about an opportunity to reassess his work and formative experiences in Britain in the 1940s. The research that culminated in this book has developed as a result of the discovery of a series of documents produced by Callado and about Callado—letters, BBC internal memos, and copyright receipts—through which I was able to track down a body of original radio drama scripts written by him to be broadcast by the LAS to Brazilian audiences during and immediately after the Second World War. These dramas, and the other BBC documents, were unknown to those who have studied Callado's work previously. Their analysis has been complemented by material from the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa archives in Rio de Janeiro, including letters, personal documents, and diaries of the period, which were equally unexplored.⁴

In this book, I analyze material that provides new insights into the institutional context in which Callado was writing his radio dramas, including minutes of the BBC Latin American Service Propaganda Policy meetings, and reports produced by the BBC staff members on programs broadcast by the LAS. To my surprise, there was a considerable gap in the literature about the BBC World Service concerning the Latin American Service.⁵ This book addresses the gap, and the material analyzed

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here is yet to be further explored by media historians. The research that resulted in this book has made accessible original pieces of fiction by Callado that were unknown to Brazilian audiences. In 2017, to celebrate Callado's centenary (1917–1997), I organized a volume collecting together the drama scripts written by him while he was living and working in Europe. The volume was published in 2018 in Brazil: *Roteiros de radioteatro durante e depois da Segunda Grande Guerra* (Radio dramas produced during the Second World War and in its aftermath). For a list of Callado's scripts, see the bibliography.⁶ This research has also contributed to a greater appreciation of the nature of Callado's links with Britain and the BBC, demonstrated, for example, by the decision of the Embassy of Brazil in London to name a room after Callado.⁷ The discovery of these documents and scripts has become part of an academic endeavor that I believe will stimulate interest in Antônio Callado's work and encourage others to explore his intellectual links with Britain as well as his role in the BBC's anti-Fascist propaganda campaigns during the Second World War.

The documents analyzed here shed new light on Callado's work, especially when considered in terms of three important aspects: dating, themes, and style. First, the discovery of these radio drama scripts written in the 1940s debunks official chronologies, which usually present Callado's literary debut as taking place in the 1950s, with the performance of his first theater play in Brazil, *O figado de Prometeu* (Prometheus's Liver; 1951), and the publication of his first novel, *Assunção de Salviano* (The Ascension of Salviano; 1954). Secondly, the analysis conducted in the following chapters reveals that many of the themes that appeared in Callado's works in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s were already present in his scripts from the 1940s. For instance, the relationship between mysticism and politics explored through the characters and plots of novels such as *Assunção de Salviano* (1954) and *Quarup* (1967), and the connections between intellectual work and political engagement in *Bar Don Juan* (1971) and *Reflexos do baile* (Reflections of the ball; 1976), were already being problematized in many of the drama scripts he wrote for the BBC. This is crucial because it reveals the formative influence of his experience at the BBC on his future literary trajectory. Finally, the analysis of these scripts and documents now makes it possible to consider the contributions of BBC radio language and style to Callado's writing. Critics such as Paulo Hecher Filho and Carlos Heitor Cony have raised questions about how cinema and even comics might have had an impact on Callado's writing (see Martinelli 2007, 45–46). Indeed, at the beginning of his career in 1937 Callado worked as a translator of American comics

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for the newspaper *O Globo*. He was also close friends with key figures in Brazil's Cinema Novo movement, such as film director Glauber Rocha. Nevertheless, now I can make a very strong case in support of the view that his work at the BBC, and especially his encounters with the work of Anglo-Irish modernists such as James Joyce and Louis MacNeice, had a considerable influence on Callado's writing and aesthetic strategies. Ultimately, Callado's radio scripts support a radical reassessment of his work, and his story offers the unique opportunity to rethink the role of Latin American intellectuals during the war, which also includes the possibility of looking at one of the most important geopolitical events of the twentieth century from the perspective of an intellectual from the Global South.

Antônio Callado's work represents a very interesting case of journalism and literature feeding into and influencing each other. As a journalist, Callado covered major events of the twentieth century in Brazil and abroad, such as the Second World War in Britain in the 1940s; and the foundation of the Organization of American States in Colombia in 1948. In 1952 he undertook an expedition to the Xingu region to search for the remains of British colonel Percy Harrison Fawcett, who disappeared in the Amazon rainforest in 1925. He also covered the agrarian conflicts in the Brazilian Northeast in the 1960s. He reported on the Vietnam War in 1968 as a correspondent for *Jornal do Brasil*. He was the only Latin American journalist, and one of the few Western reporters, to cover the war from North Vietnam's perspective. These experiences culminated in fascinating nonfiction books, which were basically edited collections of his news articles. Some examples are *Esqueleto na Lagoa Verde* (A skeleton in the Green Lake; 1953), based on his experience in Xingu; *Os industrialistas da seca* (The drought industrialists; 1960) and *Tempos de Arraes* (The Times of Miguel Arraes; 1965), based on his experiences in the Northeast of Brazil; and *Vietnã do Norte* (North Vietnam; 1969), following his work as a correspondent in this country.

In 1954 Callado published his first novel, *Assunção de Salviano*, about a carpenter, Salviano, who is co-opted by the Communist Party to lead a peasant revolution in Brazil's Northeast disguised as a messianic Catholic preacher. Salviano, nevertheless, succumbs to his disguise and is converted by the very ideas he pretended to hold. This novel was well-received by the influential Brazilian critic Alceu Amoroso Lima and was followed by the publication of *A Madona de Cedro* (The Cedar's Madonna; 1957), a story about a man who is commissioned by a mysterious criminal organization to steal a statue from a Baroque church and is subsequently haunted by guilt. This first phase of his fiction-writing ca-

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reer is usually characterized by critics as deeply marked by his Catholic background (L. C. Leite 1983; Martinelli 2007) and reveals a particular combination of neorealism, elements of modernist formal experimentalism, and the psychological exploration of characters' existential anguish. However, it was *Quarup* (1967) that became his most acclaimed novel. It was translated by Barbara Shelby and published in New York by Alfred Knopf in 1970. It centers on the protagonist, Nando, a Catholic priest who dreams of founding a utopian Indigenous community in the Brazilian Amazon rainforest. After losing his faith, the protagonist engages in guerrilla warfare against Brazil's Military Dictatorship. The novel is also said to mark Callado's political radicalization and his turn to socialism in the aftermath of the right-wing military coup of 1964.

In the 1970s Callado published novels that referred directly to the historical context in which he was writing. Both *Bar Don Juan* (1971) and *Reflexos do baile* (1976) center on guerrilla fighting against the dictatorship and reveal an attempt to reflect on a rather painful and traumatic moment in Brazilian history. Callado himself was arrested three times during the dictatorship due to his political opposition to the regime. Lígia Chiappini Leite (1983), Davi Arrigucci Jr. (1997; 1999; 2001), Marco Martinelli (2006), and Marcelo Ridenti (2011) have already emphasized the close links between fiction and journalism in Callado's work, as well as the relationship between literature and political engagement throughout his development as an author. In fact, many elements of his novels can be traced back to his experiences as a journalist and young intellectual. In his novels of the 1980s, Callado's pessimism about the possibility of radical changes in Brazilian society acquired a new dimension, leading to a darker and more sarcastic tone. This can be seen in *Sempreviva* (1980), a novel about a political exile's return to Brazil; *A expedição Montaigne* (The Montaigne expedition; 1982), a Rabelaisian satire of the Brazilian left that depicts a disastrous expedition organized by a journalist who aims to engage Indigenous peoples in a revolution against white men; and *Concerto Carioca* (1985), a narrative that features a protagonist who is an Indigenous hermaphrodite rejected by their tribe. Callado's bitterness reflected his disillusionment after all his dreams of social change were smashed by the Military Dictatorship (1964–1985), as well as by the very conservative process of democratic transition, which was led by the same political actors who had ruled the country during the military regime.

Nevertheless, Callado's efforts to elaborate through fiction the events that he experienced as an intellectual and reported as a journalist reach a different level in his last novel, *Memórias de Aldenham House* (Memories of

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Aldenham House; 1989), where he explicitly fictionalizes his experience as a journalist working for the BBC LAS during the Second World War. The plot begins by focusing on Perseu, a Brazilian journalist persecuted by Getúlio Vargas's dictatorial New State (1937–1945), and Facundo, a Paraguayan intellectual escaping the political police of Higinio Morínigo's dictatorship (1940–1947). Both characters flee their respective countries in the early 1940s to work at the BBC in Britain. At the BBC LAS the protagonists work alongside other Latin American and British staff. Perseu has several love affairs and discovers European art and literature, while Facundo becomes the enemy of one of their English colleagues, the fiercely nationalist Herbert Baker. The tension reaches its climax when Baker is found dead in the gardens of Aldenham House, the location of the BBC Overseas Service during the war, and Facundo appears to be the obvious suspect. Although Facundo does not defend himself against the accusations, the mystery surrounding Baker's death is solved: he suffered a heart attack, but Facundo performed a bizarre satire of noir detective novels by altering the crime scene. After the imbroglio is resolved, the Latin American characters move to Paris to report from the city just after its liberation by the Allies, and at the end of the war they return to their respective countries. Facundo and his British wife, Isobel, go back to Paraguay, where he is finally arrested and killed by Paraguay's political police. Perseu, back in Brazil, is also arrested and brutally tortured for campaigning with the Communists, but he survives.

In an entry in his notebooks from 1985, at a very early stage of the novel's preparation, Callado defines the theme of *Memórias de Aldenham House* thus:

Maricá, 24 Dec. 1985

The story takes place in London at the BBC (perhaps mainly at Aldenham House) during the war. It's about the Latin-Americans being at war with the Germans as a result of the conflict; the Latin-Americans were also at war with the English, up to a point; they were at war, above all, among themselves, fatally humiliated by the English, by the Germans and even by the French. (FCRB, AC-PI/256-1102)⁸

Callado's notes from 1985 are revealing of his intention to foreground issues of national identity and the cultural clashes between Europeans and Latin Americans at the BBC. These were marked, on the one hand, by resentment about British imperialism in the region, and on the other, by a series of disputes and cultural tensions between the Latin Americans themselves. The resentment regarding the position assumed by Brazil as

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a power in the region since its independence in the nineteenth century was another contributing factor. This aspect did not go unnoticed in the critical literature on *Memórias* as most critics highlight the novel's political dimension (L. C. Leite 2001; Agazzi 2003; 2011; Von Brunn 2004). Some pages after the above-mentioned note in Callado's notebook, there is a melancholy sentence that sits alone on the whiteness of a blank page: "We march without ever getting anywhere" (FCRB, AC-PI/256-1102).⁹ The metaphor of paralysis, of people marching without being able to make any progress, is a critical element for understanding the novel, since many of the characters are trying to escape the arbitrariness of political persecution by authoritarian regimes in Latin America, although they end up trapped, imprisoned and, in some cases, killed by those regimes, regardless. Furthermore, the verb "marchar" has a clear military connotation, which is not difficult to understand when considering that authoritarian regimes in Latin America during the twentieth century were usually imposed or backed by military coups d'états. The idea of circularity contained in this image—of ending up in the same place no matter how hard one walks or fights—structures the novel's denouement and plays a crucial role in creating the dark atmosphere of its plot. References to James Joyce in the novel, which have already been analyzed by Albert Von Brunn (2004), and the presence of oneiric images (Facundo has terrible nightmares) seem to be Callado's way of stressing the tragedy of Latin America's trajectory in the twentieth century. In fact, all the characters in the novel are trying to escape or, to put it in Joycean terms, to wake from a nightmarish history. Considering that Callado was sixty-eight years old in 1985, when he began making notes for the novel, and had already been fighting cancer for a year,¹⁰ it is not difficult to understand why in his notebook he seems so concerned with the theme of death: "How to depart life? How to circumvent the expectation of ending up in hospital, on a drip?" (FCRB, AC-PI/256-1745).¹¹ Bearing this in mind, it is not hard to imagine the reasons why he felt so compelled to revisit, reelaborate, resignify, and in fact renarrate his youthful experiences. He was looking back on his career, and like a writer finishing a long narrative, he seems tempted to do a bit more editing of the first chapters: his early experiences as a young intellectual working for the BBC during the Second World War.

Brazil and the War

As we have seen, Callado started working as a journalist in Brazil in 1937, the year that also marked the beginning of a particularly turbulent

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period in Brazilian politics: Getúlio Vargas's New State (1937–1945), a dictatorship marked by censorship and the political persecution of the opposition. *Correio da Manhã* took an editorial line that was opposed to Vargas's regime, although due to the fierce censorship by the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), the newspaper had to use very subtle techniques to denounce the government in indirect ways. Callado became, due both to his work at *Correio da Manhã* and to his own experience living in Brazil under dictatorship, very critical of the New State, which can be verified by the veiled criticisms of Vargas in his scripts, as will be shown in the following chapters.

On 22 August 1942, after three years of neutrality under Getúlio Vargas's dictatorial regime, Brazil declared war against the Axis powers. In July 1944 Brazil was the only South American country to send troops to the Italian Front, with 5,081 soldiers sent in early July (Bonalume Neto 1995, 119), and about 25,000 soldiers sent in total—of whom 471 died in the conflict on European soil and another 1,074 perished in vessels torpedoed by German submarines along the Brazilian coast (Fortes 2017, 179). The declaration of war in 1942 was the result of many factors. The project of state-led industrialization conducted by Vargas in the 1930s and '40s included a plan to consolidate Brazil's status as a regional military power, which demanded huge investments in heavy industry and infrastructure (McCann 1995, 46). Vargas saw the war, and the American alliance with Britain (even before the US's official declaration of war in 1941), as an opportunity to promote his national project. The attempt to attract investments for his project of creating a steel plant to process the product of Brazil's intensive iron ore extraction was frustrated at every step by US authorities, which led Vargas to attempt a bold maneuver. In June 1940, on board the Brazilian warship *Minas Gerais*, he made a speech that was considered openly sympathetic to the Axis powers. This led British intelligence agencies to argue with the US authorities about the real possibility that the Germans might use the explicit sympathy of key members of the New State administration in order to establish Axis bases in northeastern Brazil, which had the potential to control a large and highly strategic area of the Atlantic (Fortes 2017, 180). This certainly made the US government keener to find a solution to the negotiations with the Vargas regime, as well as to plan a military alternative in the case of an unsuccessful outcome (McCann 1995, 41). In September 1940 Brazil finally sealed an agreement with the US authorities, including the investment of \$20 million, among other measures, which contributed toward the building of Brazil's first steel plant (Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional) in April 1941 (Seitenfus 2003, 238).

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In truth, Vargas's government was composed of officials and high-ranking staff members who held different ideological positions. On the one hand, certain government members were openly sympathetic toward Nazi-Fascism, including the minister of justice, Francisco Campos, and the minister of war, Eurico Gaspar Dutra; on the other hand, there were also pro-Allies staff members such as the labor minister, Marcondes Filho, and the foreign minister, Oswaldo Aranha; this had resulted in a very delicate balance of power in Vargas's regime. If, in the beginning, the balance was tipped in favor of the Fascist influences inside Vargas's administration, the agreement sealed with the US in 1940 marked a key change in the regime's alliances. An authoritarian figure, Vargas was above all a great strategist, and a cunning opportunist.

Brazil took part in the Second World War in three main ways: providing supplies of raw materials to the US and the Allies (particularly minerals and rubber), making its own territory available for the installation of US military bases in the northeast after 1940, and sending troops to the Italian front in 1944. Nevertheless, the country's role in the conflict was overlooked by historians for a long time, although this tendency has been radically reversed since the 1980s, and an increasing number of publications on the topic have since appeared.¹²

Some key investigations into the participation of Brazilian intellectuals in the conflict, and their work at the BBC, paved the way for this book. This is the case with Laurindo Leal Filho's *Vozes de Londres* (Voices of London; 2008), a summary of the BBC Brazilian Service's development from its inception in 1938 up until the early twenty-first century. It includes informative interviews with key figures who worked for the Corporation. This is also the case with Rose Esquenazi's *O rádio na Segunda Guerra: No ar, Francis Hallawell, o Chico da BBC* (Radio in the Second World War: On air, Francis Hallawell, the Chico of the BBC; 2014), about the role played by BBC Anglo-Brazilian producer and journalist Francis Hallawell during the war; and Lia Calabre's *O rádio na sintonia do tempo: Radionovelas e cotidiano (1940–1946)* (Radio in tune with time: Radio soap operas and daily life [1940–1946]; 2006), which examines radio soap operas written and broadcast in Brazil during the war. Other works were also important in enabling me to establish a critical dialogue with existing research on cultural productions during the war. The volume edited by Cida Golin and João Batista de Abreu, *Batalha sonora: O rádio e a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Sonic battles: Radio and the Second World War; 2006), comprises a collection of articles about radio stations in Brazil and about features that were broadcast during the war. It includes an article by Calabre (2006a) that examines references to Nazi-Fascism in

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Rádio Nacional's soap operas, while Irineu Guerrini Jr. (2006) offers a brief account of the BBC's transmissions in Portuguese. Apart from the above-mentioned works on the Brazilian section, I was surprised by the lack of published research on the role of the BBC LAS within the broader context of the Overseas Service during the war. In contrast, works about radio under the Vargas regime—and specifically about the role of state propaganda in broadcasts during this period—are abundant and will be discussed in the next chapter.

The BBC LAS

During the Second World War, Latin America was a region of strategic, economic, and military interest (Bratzel and Leonard 2007, 9) and also a source of concern due to its large German and Italian migrant communities (Foote and Goebel 2014). The Italian station EIAR (*Ente Italiano per le Audizione Radiofoniche*) and the German Radio Berlin had been broadcasting content in Portuguese and Spanish to Latin American audiences since the mid-1930s, which led the British authorities to decide that action should be taken to counter Nazi and Fascist propaganda in the region and to captivate audiences' sympathy and support for Britain (Seul and Ribeiro 2015, 369; Mansell 1982, 197). As a result, the BBC World Service, created in 1932 as the Empire Service to broadcast content internationally to the colonies and ex-colonies of the British Empire, extended its reach in 1938 to other regions and languages, such as Arabic, Portuguese, and Spanish. The first transmission in Spanish and Portuguese of the recently created Latin American Service took place on 14 March 1938, announcing Hitler's invasion of Austria (Leal Filho 2008, 13). In this sense, the BBC LAS was, from its inception, part of a propaganda war between Britain and the future Axis powers, which had been joined even before war had been declared.¹³

In 1939, when the UK declared war against the Axis, the BBC was already operating in nine languages and the Empire Service was renamed the BBC Overseas Service. Due to its strategic importance during the war, the BBC's headquarters, Broadcasting House in central London, became one of the targets of German bombing. In the summer of 1940, some precautions were taken to ensure that broadcasts could continue in case the building was hit. Underground studios were created to be used in case of emergency. Some of the services were also transferred to other venues in order to make sure that a bomb in one place could not dismantle the whole of the BBC's output. The European Service was transferred to Bush House on 8 December 1940. In September 1940 the Latin Amer-

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ican Service was transferred to a building in Evesham, in Wychavon, Worcestershire. This transfer spared its staff from the bombing of Broadcasting House on 15 October 1940, when seven people died. In 1942 the BBC LAS moved to Aldenham House. This was where Callado worked during his BBC years. A former manor house in Elstree, Hertfordshire, built by the Gibbs family in 1672 and reformed in 1870 by the First Baron of Aldenham, the building was used by the BBC as the overseas broadcasting station during the war. It was evacuated after the conflict had ended and stood empty until 1961, when it became the head office of two schools, one for boys and the other for girls, called Haberdashers' Aske's.

The programs in Portuguese that were broadcast by the BBC LAS varied in duration, from only thirty minutes in 1938 to two hours in 1940, and then four hours every evening in 1943, usually between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. (Leal Filho 2008, 26–28). The increase in time was the result of both technological improvements and the fact that Brazil joined the war on the Allied side in 1942, which drew more attention to the Brazilian section and allowed it to develop more programs.¹⁴ In addition to reports on the war—fifteen-minute-long bulletins broadcast every evening—musical interludes, press reviews, book reviews, and commentary on the daily life of Britons during the conflict became part of the transmissions. Variety programs such as *Radio Magazine* and *A Voz de Londres* achieved considerable success with audiences (Leal Filho 2008, 26). In the Spanish-speaking section, there was *Carrusel Londinense*, broadcast once a week from Cine Paris, with the presence of an orchestra and comic sketches. As part of *A Voz de Londres*, Callado broadcast his dramas; for *Radio Magazine* he wrote features with commentaries about daily life during the war and curiosities about British culture, among other *fait divers*. In terms of reception, the case of Brazil is particularly illustrative; with a population of approximately forty-one million in 1940, the number of radio sets in the country was relatively small but increased considerably during the late 1930s and early 1940s, from 357,921 in 1937 to 659,762 in 1942 (Capelato 2009, 88). These numbers were, nevertheless, much lower than the estimates for the United Kingdom, where there were over 9 million radio sets in 1939 among a population of 46.5 million (Whittington 2018, 6). Considering the limited access to radio sets, LAS programs were clearly targeted at middle- and upper-class audiences, following a “policy of cultural enlightenment” that was also a mark of the Home Service and its “highbrow selection of programmes” (Whittington 2018, 7). By 1944 BBC LAS had agreements with ninety-seven Brazilian local stations to rebroadcast BBC content on medium wave, which helped LAS to achieve greater pen-

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etration in Brazil. Similar arrangements were in place for other Latin American countries.¹⁵

In order to write, produce, and broadcast these entertainment programs in Portuguese and in Spanish, a plethora of Latin American and Iberian intellectuals were hired by the BBC, making them key players in Britain's war propaganda and cultural diplomacy. LAS functioned as a cultural "contact zone" where peripheral intellectuals could creatively interact and exchange references in an environment marked by cultural diversity but also by power asymmetries based on geopolitical and colonial imbalances, which were characteristic of the BBC's "corporate cosmopolitanism" (Gillespie and Webb 2014, 11; Gillespie and Nieto McAvoy 2018, 192). These intellectuals were hired not only to translate from English or to deliver original programs but also to supply the Corporation's transmissions with the "accent, tone and cadence" believed to legitimize the BBC's cultural authority and British cultural diplomacy (Gillespie and Nieto McAvoy 2018, 194). However, the authors commissioned to write, produce, and deliver these programs were not simply responding to BBC guidelines, nor were they acting as the "puppet of a ventriloquist," merely reproducing in local language the voice of the BBC Overseas Service (Hill 2010, 25–38). They were responding to the demands of the Corporation and the war effort while also pursuing their own commitments and literary ambition. This is clear in the case of Antônio Callado, as the following chapters will explore and discuss.

From the documents in the BBC Archives, there is evidence that the tensions and the potential for cultural clashes between Brazilians, other Latin Americans, and British staff members—all of whom are portrayed in Callado's *Memórias de Aldenham House*—might have been an integral part of the daily experience of those working for the BBC LAS. In fact, when Brazil joined the war in 1942, it is clear that more resources and attention were directed toward the Brazilian section, intensifying an atmosphere that was probably already quite competitive. In a letter dated 27 August 1942 from the Ministry of Information (MOI) to a member of the BBC LAS Propaganda Committee, the possible risk of rising tensions between different Latin American countries is ascribed to the attention being paid to Brazil and Brazilian issues during the LAS broadcasts, rather than to Hispano-American ones: "I am aware that the objection may be made that other republics such as Argentina and Chile are regular eavesdroppers on the Brazilian Service, and may possibly be offended by certain things we might say to Brazil, arising out of this. I feel, however, we ought not to take this into too serious account. It seems to me that the right, frank and honest course is henceforward to handle

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our broadcasts to Brazil on the basis that they are in with us in the same conflict” (BBC WAC, E2/380). The potential for cultural conflicts and clashes between British directors and LAS staff members, represented in *Memórias* by the relationship between Baker and Facundo, is also clear in the documents. Callado himself had a series of disagreements with British BBC staff members in May 1944 regarding the payment for two radio drama scripts translated from English into Brazilian Portuguese. After a good number of letters between himself and the Copyright Department, Callado wrote, on 11 May 1944, seemingly annoyed, “As I do not wish to enter into a long argument, I would rather give up my fees altogether for both ‘The Maquis’ and ‘The blue scarf—O Talismã’” (BBC WAC, RCONT 1: A. C. Copyright). The response from the Copyright Department clarifies that the fees for translations followed by adaptation were higher than for translations alone. The debate about Callado’s reimbursement for the translation work reached a peak on 23 May 1944, when he wrote a furious missive to the BBC Copyright Department, stating, “I have never received such a low fee for translating a half hour feature. I am, therefore, not interested in undertaking in the future any half hour features that fall under the classification of straight translation. In my opinion they are all too lengthy to correspond merely to a fee of £ 3.13” (BBC WAC, RCONT 1: A. C. Copyright).

In *Memórias*, Callado’s characters also mention the use of derogatory terms employed by Britons to refer to Latin Americans in general: “Dago. It’s like calling a Black person nigger. Dagos are all of us, latinos, didn’t you know, Perseu?” (1989, 25).¹⁶ The character Perseu then confirms that he is aware of the ethnic slur “dago,” and tells the reader its origin: “Dago, as I already knew, is the English way of pronouncing Diego” (1989, 25), Diego being a very common Latin American name.¹⁷ It is not difficult to imagine that Callado himself, when living in Britain during the war, could have experienced moments in which he was confronted with this expression. In fact, there is a passage in a memo that circulated in the BBC where one of the producers actually refers to Latin Americans as “dagos” (BBC WAC, RCONT 1: A.C. Talks). In 1958 Callado, by then an experienced journalist, was consulted about the political situation in Latin America for the program “BBC Talk.” He wrote a letter in which he explained the political instability that was taking over the region, marked then by the Cold War. In an internal memo, the producer, N. P. MacDonald, summarizes points raised by Callado in his letter, but expresses them in a particularly derogatory way: “Nationalistic feeling is not restricted to Latin America or to backward areas: It is a feeling of resentment which comes from the fact that the world in gen-

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eral, following the Western lead, is tied up to a feeling of national pride. N.B.: *Even Britain reacts like a dago country sometimes*” (BBC WAC, RCONT 1: A.C. Talks; my emphasis). Even if he was addressed pejoratively as a dago during the 1940s, we can also surmise that Callado was successful at integrating with British culture in general: in 1943, he married a BBC British staff member, Jean Maxine Watson, who accompanied him back to Brazil in 1947. They had three children and were happily married until her death in 1973 (A. A. Callado 2013, 89). Moreover, the experience of working for the BBC during the war had a great impact on Callado, leading him to state in an interview that his experience in Britain was similar to “attending a university” (Ridenti 2000, 26). This educational and cultural aspect of life in Britain is also highlighted in passages where Perseu is delighted by theaters, art bookshops, and literature in English, and especially by his encounter with the work of James Joyce: “I got off the tube at Piccadilly for a walk around the book shops at Charing Cross, and from there, as always, I went to have a look at Zwemmer’s art books. That is when I saw it, imposing and bound in red leather with a golden inscription and decoration on the spine: *Finnegans Wake*” (Callado 1989, 106).¹⁸ Albert Von Brunn (2004) draws attention to Callado’s absolute fascination with European culture. He establishes a link between Perseu, Callado’s persona in the *Memórias*, and Homer’s *Ulysses* (2004, 108). Von Brunn also relates Callado’s experience in Britain with the trajectory of Brazil’s colonial elite, for whom being able to spend a season in Europe, immersing oneself in European culture and adopting local manners, was a crucial marker of social status:

The voyage to Europe was, in the 19th Century, one of the inevitable vestiges of colonialism: in order to establish a clear idea of his position in the world, the inhabitant of the former colonies had to internalise the perspective of the coloniser and position himself in relation to Europe, like a subject at Court. The use of words, the intonation, the mode of dress—everything revealed his desire to learn from a position of inferiority. This European journey was a rite of passage that culminated when he finally came home. The return represented a social triumph and the conquest of a privileged social position. (Von Brunn 2004, 107)¹⁹

The perception of European culture as somehow superior mirrors and reflects cultural hierarchies introduced and embedded by the modern/colonial experience (Quijano and Ennis 2000; Mignolo 2011) and the naturalization of what Walter Mignolo has called a “geopolitics of knowledge” (Mignolo 2002). This internalization of European culture as a model seems to explain not only Perseu’s quest but also Callado’s,

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shedding an interesting light on one aspect of his Anglophilia (a theme to which I will return later in this introduction). It was probably with this mindset, as an intellectual who saw himself as coming from the periphery to the center of colonial power, that Callado was exposed to Anglo-Irish modernist ideas and authors, immersing himself in the culturally rich and cosmopolitan environment of the BBC World Service.

Modernisms and Radio

As argued by Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gąsiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker, the field of modernist studies has experienced a radical transformation in the last twenty years (2010). This transformation has resulted in new debates on different dimensions of modernism (aesthetic, intellectual, cultural, and material), which identify the phenomena of modernism as the consequence of “overlapping, criss-crossing, and labile networks” (2010, 4), thus leading to the use of “modernisms” in the plural, instead of the singular term. The radical plurality and diversity of modernist experiences could risk rendering the term too vague and thus inoperative. But there is a relatively well-established consensus around the fact that not only are modernisms a response to different experiences of modernity, they also share an “aesthetic commitment”: the desire to challenge established forms and break with tradition (see, for example, Eysteinsson 1990; Halliwell 2006). In terms of modernist enterprises, another contentious debate centers on periodization. Regarding the experience of Anglo-Irish and North American modernisms it seems relatively safe to follow the timeframe suggested by Morag Shiach (2010), who sees modernism in this context taking place between around 1910 and the end of the Second World War. According to Michael Bell, it is also possible to locate its roots in the nineteenth century, particularly in the philosophical and cultural turmoil provoked by the works of Nietzsche and Freud (Bell 2011). Nevertheless, due to the aforementioned plurality of modernist experiences, it is clear that Brazilian modernism does not fit into this chronology. The Modern Art Week of 1922 is usually taken as the symbolic starting point of Brazilian modernism (Bosi 1986), and its length also complicates the North American and European timeframe, as authors of the Brazilian modernist canon were still publishing key works in the 1950s and 1960s (such as in the case of Guimarães Rosa and Clarice Lispector) (Santiago 1989, 75).

I have opted to use the term Anglo-Irish modernism to refer to the works of Joyce and MacNeice (both Irish, writing in English), following previous studies that have also employed this terminology (Stubblings

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2000; Bloom 2017). As I argue in the following chapters, these authors directly influenced Callado's writing throughout his time in Britain during the war. In doing so, I try to differentiate it from the work of Brazilian modernists, including those associated with the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922, as well as those who rejected it and contested the magnetic leadership of Mário and Oswald de Andrade. Callado was not visibly influenced by Brazilian modernists in the 1920s and '30s (when he was probably too young to engage in those aesthetic debates). However, when he returned to Brazil in 1947, he settled in Rio de Janeiro, a city whose cultural life was strongly influenced by the intellectual leadership of Catholic and modernist literary critic Alceu Amoroso Lima. At this point, Callado had to integrate himself into the city's intellectual community, and his encounter with Anglo-Irish modernism was resignified. In fact, the influence of Irish modernists on his early writing is acknowledged by Callado himself; he argued that Ireland's peripheral position, and the experience of British colonialism, meant that the Irish shared certain cultural sensibilities with Latin Americans: "Latin America is an Ireland made into a continent" (Callado 1989, 117).²⁰ Nevertheless, it is clear that Joyce and MacNeice were far from being marginal authors in the broader context of English-speaking modernism. Although Callado was inspired by his encounter with the work of Anglo-Irish writers, I would not call him a modernist author, unlike critics such as Alceu Amoroso Lima (see his preface to Callado's reedition of *Assunção de Salviano* in 1960). As I argue in chapter 4, Callado developed a particular blend of modernist influences, political commitment, and Catholic mysticism, which gave his work characteristics that are very different from those of canonical modernists such as Clarice Lispector and Guimarães Rosa, who were his contemporaries.

Regarding the relationship between modernisms and radio, I follow the reassessment of the relationship between modernist aesthetics and mass culture in the works of Todd Avery (2006), Debra Rae Cohen (2010), and Melissa Dinsman (2015). Avery undertakes a retrospective analysis of the abundant critical literature on the relationship of Anglo-American modernists with radio, showing that, in recent decades, a vast amount of material has been published on the matter, which suggests that radio functioned as a medium through which "modernist writers forged their aesthetics and, often simultaneously, promoted their social and moral beliefs" (Avery 2006, 3). Avery deconstructs the traditional critical tendency that regards high modernist art, literature, and cultural theory in Britain as expressions of "intellectuals' hostility to mass culture and, by extension, to the masses" (2006, 33). He reveals that the relationship

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between modernists and mass culture was more fluid and complicated than had previously been assumed: “The Bloomsbury Group’s involvement in radio during the 1920s and 1930s is a key example of how an important collection of modernist intellectuals strove to preserve their deeply held ethical and aesthetic beliefs between the world wars while adjusting them to fit the demands of an increasingly technologized mass culture—and more specifically, the demands of a new and, in terms of its capacity to enable connection with vast numbers of people, unprecedented medium of mass communication” (Avery 2006, 35). Similarly, Cohen argues that recent research in the field of modernist studies has reassessed the role of radio: “A new attention to radio is part of the more general ‘new modernist’ reevaluation of traditional models that stressed perceived anti-technological bias and rejection of mass culture; modernism is now often read not in opposition to mass modernity, but as an interactive part of a newly complex media ecology that transformed both subjectivities and the public sphere” (Cohen 2010, 582–83). This perception is radicalized in Dinsman’s work (2015), where she analyzes not only how modernists such as Ezra Pound and Bertolt Brecht experimented with radio, but also how many writers of the period, including Orwell, MacNeice, Pound, and others, were part of the Second World War propaganda efforts. In her chapter about the radio work of Louis MacNeice, she argues that his radio dramas can be perceived as attempts to adapt modernism for the radio, creating a modernist aesthetic fit for the new medium (Dinsman 2015, 28). These are crucial issues that I will return to in the following chapters when analyzing Callado’s scripts and the modernist influences that shaped them.

Radio Dramas

Radio dramas were already an established genre in 1941, when Callado started working for the BBC. The trajectory of radio drama productions at the BBC starts in the early 1920s, in fact, just a couple of months after the BBC’s very first transmission. According to John Drakakis (1981), the BBC’s first drama broadcast took place on 16 February 1923 with a performance of three scenes from three Shakespeare plays that had been adapted by Professor Acton Bond of the British Empire Shakespearean Society. Three months later, on 28 May 1923, the first full-length play, Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*, was broadcast; it was produced by Savoy Hill and included Nigel Playfair, Gerald Lawrence, and Catherine Nesbitt in its cast. These first drama broadcasts were produced in a context of intense literary experimentation, marked by the publication of radical

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modernist pieces in prose and poetry a year earlier, in 1922—namely, Joyce’s *Ulysses* and T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*. For Drakakis, the use of radio to broadcast Shakespeare could be understood as forming part of a series of theatrical experiments, undertaken since the late nineteenth century, to remove naturalistic stage-settings in an effort to recreate the conditions of original Shakespearean performances. This indicates a connection between literary experimentation and the inception of radio drama productions. In fact, these experiments in the staging of Shakespeare’s plays involved, as directors and actors, individuals such as Tyrone Guthrie and John Gielgud, who themselves became associated with radio drama in the early stages of its development (Drakakis 1981, 2).

In April 1925, the first novel adapted for radio went on air: Charles Kingsley’s *Westward Ho!* (1855); this was followed by Joseph Conrad’s *Lord Jim* (1900) in February 1927. At its beginning, radio was being used mainly to afford wider access to canonical works of literature and drama. Apart from *The Truth about Father Christmas*, broadcast on 24 December 1922, Richard Hughes’s *A Comedy of Danger*, transmitted on 15 January 1924, is considered the first play produced especially for radio. However, it was only in July 1924 that a separate department for broadcasting dramas was set up at the BBC. In the early days of radio drama, the productions were very much shaped by literary and theatrical conventions, and some actors were known to “broadcast in costumes” (Drakakis 1981, 4).

The development of radio dramas’ particular language, or a basic grammar of radio production, took a big step forward in 1928 with an important technological innovation: the dramatic control panel (Wood 2008; Drakakis 1981). Previously, drama productions had been confined to single studios, which limited the cast and the possibilities for the creation of sound effects. The control panel permitted the use of a number of studios simultaneously, since a central panel could now control the sound from various rooms, allowing the “fade in” and “fade out” of different microphones, opening up the possibility of a much more complex relationship between characters’ voices and sound effects. This innovation affected not only the presentation but also the structure of drama broadcasts, as writers could now draw on more sophisticated technical possibilities.²¹

In the 1930s, following the experiments and technical developments of the 1920s, radio dramas acquired their own form and structure. Nevertheless, the vocabulary of radio drama productions was borrowed mainly from film, literature, theater, and psychology. Drakakis states that “while sound effects could be regarded as aural transformations of the films’ camera angle and focus, forms such as ‘stream of consciousness’ found their way from psychology through expressionistic drama, and the

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prose of writers such as James Joyce, and the poetry of T. S. Eliot, into radio's rapid expanding lexicon of terms and structural concepts" (1981, 7). From 1931 to 1941, the year Callado arrived at the BBC, the number of radio dramas being produced had increased radically (sevenfold). It was also in this period, and particularly during the war, that the "feature"—a dramatized documentary tailored to the medium of radio—gained the status of constituting a genre of its own. Laurence Gilliam defined the two genres rather plainly: "Features deal with fact, Drama with fiction" (quoted in Drakakis 1981, 8), but the fact that features could contain dramatized reenactments, while dramas could be based on historical events, complicates this definition. Between 1934 and 1936 dramas and features were moved to different sections of the Drama Department (Drakakis 1981, 7–8), and by 1945 they would be produced in completely separate departments dedicated to documentary (Features Department) and fiction (Drama Department) (Whittington 2018, 65). In 1945, twenty-one years after its inception, radio drama, now a well-defined genre in all its variety, "had come of age" (Drakakis 1981, 12).

In order to understand Callado's starting point as a radio dramatist in 1943, it is important to take the structure of the BBC Latin American Service into account. When it was created in 1938, transmissions in Portuguese and Spanish were made simultaneously due to technical limitations. This required extra effort (and patience) from the audience, since the content of the fifteen-minute news bulletins, translated from English, was read twice: first in Spanish, then in Portuguese. By 1941 the Brazilian Portuguese department was already producing original content, as well as broadcasting material that had been translated. In 1943 a series of technical improvements were introduced with the installation of new short-wave transmitters in Skelton, Cumbria, making it possible to completely separate the BBC's transmissions in Portuguese from those in Spanish (Leal Filho 2008, 28). In addition to this technical advance, there was also a strong political motive for supporting this development: Brazil's declaration of war against the Nazis in August 1942.

Therefore, from 1943 onward, separate transmissions were made for Spanish and Portuguese content, and a relatively autonomous Brazilian section was created within the LAS to broadcast news, features—and, from that point on—dramas in Portuguese for Brazilian audiences. As a consequence, transmissions in Portuguese increased substantially—from the fifteen-minute-long bulletins in early 1938 to four-hour-long broadcasts in 1943, which created greater demand for dramas. It was also in 1943 that Callado married his first wife, his colleague from the LAS, Jean Maxine Watson. His marriage directly affected his work, since after

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the wedding Callado was given more freedom to contribute to the BBC as a writer, probably due to issues related to his work visa. This is implied in an internal memo dated 9 December 1943, which was marked “confidential” and addressed to both the BBC drama booking manager and the feature booking manager, and signed by the program contracts director, W. L. Streecon: “Mr. Callado through his recent marriage enters the category of artists and speakers who are related to a member of staff. [. . .] In practice, it is not proposed to introduce any restriction on the number of engagements he may receive over and above engagements at the rate of those hitherto offered him” (BBC WAC, RCONT 1: A.C. Talks).

The increase in the demand for dramas in Portuguese, following the expansion of the Brazilian section in 1943, combined with Callado becoming eligible to sell more works to the BBC at this time, provided a justification not only for his debut as a drama script writer—which occurred in that year—but also for this being Callado’s most prolific period as a BBC drama writer: ten of his scripts were broadcast in 1943. In fact, in 1944 there was a decrease in the demand for radio dramas overall, since due to the progress of the war the transmissions were more focused on operational material, which included reports, news, and talks related to the war effort (Holme 1981, 42). This might also explain why the number of Callado’s dramas broadcast in 1944 decreased by 40 per cent to only six scripts.

Callado’s Anglophilia

Callado’s fascination with the UK gained clear expression in his novels, which feature many characters who are, if not British, at least English native-speakers, such as Mr. Smith in *Assunção de Salviano* (1954); Leslie and Winifred in *Quarup* (1967); Doris Devon in *Reflexos do baile* (1976); and Herbert Baker and Judy Campbell (among many others) in *Memórias de Aldenham House* (1989). Callado’s Anglophilia has been noticed and noted, not only by scholars who study his work (L. C. Leite 1983; Ridenti 2011; Martinelli 2007) but also by his friends and colleagues. His obituary, published in 1997 by the Brazilian weekly magazine *Isto É* carried the highly expressive title “Um gentleman indignado” (An indignant gentleman): “Admired by his friends, he was a gentleman who was made indignant by Brazil’s endless social problems. The sarcastic Nelson Rodrigues defined him as ‘the only true Englishman,’ while another friend, the psychoanalyst Hélio Pellegrino preferred to characterise him as ‘a sweet radical’” (*Isto É* 1997).²² In this passage, Callado’s Anglophilia is presented as a sort of counterpart to his political engagement. He built

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for himself the image of an engaged intellectual, particularly after the military coup of 1964, when many intellectuals in Brazil abandoned a more moderate political position to stand against the far-right authoritarian regime. A progressive Catholic liberal in the 1950s, Callado became a loud supporter of socialism in the 1960s. He was arrested at least three times during the dictatorship: for protesting against the military government in 1965, for writing articles that publicly criticized the army in 1968, and for accepting an invitation to travel to Cuba as a member of the jury for the Casa de las Américas Prize in 1978.

His Anglophilia was also occasionally the object of jokes. Journalist Millôr Fernandes, for example, when interviewing Callado in 1972 (and, thus, almost thirty years after Callado's residence in England), said provocatively, "Antônio Callado, when was it that you arrived in Brazil?" (*O Pasquim* 1972).²³ Later on in the interview he commented, "Look, Callado, I joked about this because we consider you an Englishman, because of your manners, your politeness, and because you lived in London for a long time" (*O Pasquim* 1972).²⁴

Throughout his life Callado made strategic use of his experience in Britain, capitalizing on his international career and his transatlantic network of contacts with the BBC to establish himself as a cosmopolitan and well-connected journalist. Indeed, the BBC World Service operated as a very important hub of transnational networks (Gillespie 2010; Gillespie and Webb 2014). It was the cultural and social capital Callado gained in Britain that made it possible for him to choose the most interesting stories to cover as a journalist. As soon as he returned to Brazil he became a reporter, traveling around the country and abroad. In 1954 he was already the editor in chief of *Correio da Manhã*, probably the most important Brazilian newspaper at that time. The long-lasting impact of his initial experience in Britain on his personality is also mentioned in another obituary, this time for the British newspaper *The Independent*, in which Bolivian journalist Hugo Estenssoro describes Callado thus: "This elegant, witty, handsome man cultivated a British image as a private and public joke. He worked for the BBC during the Second World War, married a Briton, had the thin moustache of a retired colonel of the shires, and shared his drinking tastes between whisky and well-chosen port vintages" (Estenssoro 1997). Callado's Anglophilia was thus perceived as a distinctive part of his persona, something that he could use occasionally with irony, as a "joke," but also strategically to reaffirm his position as a cosmopolitan intellectual.

In fact, the importance of his stay in Britain was something that Callado himself emphasized at different times. In an interview with Marcelo

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Ridenti in the 1990s, he said that his experience in the UK during the war had been extremely formative (Ridenti 2011, 26). Callado also confessed to Lígia Chiappini Leite that it was during the years he spent in England (from 1941 to 1947) that he fell in love with Brazil:

Suddenly, I was missing Brazil . . . so much, and my nostalgia expressed itself in various different ways, one of which was going to a street full of secondhand book shops—some of them were huge—and picking up everything I could find about Brazil. When I went back to Brazil, as soon as I could, I found a way, as a journalist, to travel around the country. I went to Xingu to meet the indigenous people there, and it made me really passionate about Brazil, and gave me the desire to see the kinds of things that Brazilians themselves rarely see.²⁵ (L. C. Leite 1983, 235)

The distance from home and the nostalgia he felt while in exile in Britain was later transformed, in Callado's novels, into the pursuit of a utopian homeland, which became associated with his political project. In fact, Callado's literature often problematizes elements of national identity by drawing on Indigenous themes. This Brazilian Romantic motif appears in many of his novels, such as *Quarup*, *A expedição Montaigne*, and *Concerto Carioca*, leading Lígia Chiappini Leite to see "Alencarian" elements in *Quarup*—a reference to Brazilian Romantic José de Alencar and his project of forging a post-independence national literature through idealized Indigenous characters (L. C. Leite 1983). However, this utopian national project was complicated by Callado's increasing skepticism about the real potential for radical change, something which is already palpable in certain passages of *Quarup*, but that became dominant in his works throughout the 1970s and '80s. His experience abroad deeply shaped the way he looked at Brazil's problems, producing what Marco Martinelli has termed an "ethnographic perspective" (Martinelli 2007). This refers to his capacity to consider Brazilian issues with both the warmth of the engaged intellectual and the fresh perspective of someone who has traveled extensively and is able to look at the country's problems with a multireferential gaze. Indeed, Britain became a constant point of reference in Callado's journalistic works, and in many of his articles and nonfiction books he used British history and society as a model against which the Brazilian case could be judged and measured (Antônio Callado 2005; Martinelli 2007).

Critical Literature and the Structure of this Volume

Callado himself never mentioned his radio dramas from the 1940s in interviews. There are two possible reasons for this. First, he might have

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thought that these dramas were not relevant to an understanding of his identity as a writer of “serious” literature, as it is clear that radio dramas were considered to be of little artistic significance by critics of his time. Secondly, the dramas he wrote for the BBC LAS were clearly influenced by pro-British propaganda, and although they were also fundamentally anti-Fascist, he might have considered these scripts contradictory to the image of a socialist (and anti-imperialist) engaged writer, which he fashioned and presented for himself from the 1960s onward. Consequently, this book represents the first account and critical assessment of Callado’s BBC radio dramas.

As it would be expected for an author who has become such a canonical figure, a myriad of academic articles, theses, dissertations, and conference papers have been published about specific aspects of Callado’s work.²⁶ Most of this critical literature discusses particular themes in one or more of his novels and explores their reception, usually referring to the pioneering newspaper critics who wrote reviews on Callado’s novels in the first hour of their publication in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, such as Amoroso Lima, Ferreira Gullar, Hélio Pellegrino, Werneck Sodré, and Paulo Hecher Filho.²⁷ Nevertheless, when it comes to analyses that assess Callado’s work and life across time and aim at providing a broader account and interpretation of his oeuvre, it is possible to identify some trends.

The critical and biographical literature on Antônio Callado can be categorized by its development across three periods. During the early 1980s, Lígia Chiappini Leite conducted a series of interviews with Callado that became a reference for other critics (Martinelli 2007; Agazzi 2011; Mandur Thomaz 2015). These interviews were published as an annex to her work “Quando a pátria viaja: Uma leitura dos romances de Antônio Callado” (When the fatherland travels: A reading of Antônio Callado’s novels; 1983), which became a milestone in scholarship about Callado. Writing during the Brazilian democratic transition (1979–1988), Leite was interested in contesting previous readings of Callado’s works, particularly *Quarup*, which had been undertaken by critics from the 1960s and ’70s. For them, Callado’s literature had represented the epitome of the “national-popular” project developed by the Brazilian left. He was viewed as a writer capable of producing a literary synthesis of the dreams of social transformation that had been halted by the military coup of 1964. In contrast, Leite argued that Callado, although a socialist, had developed an increasingly skeptical approach to the “national-popular” project, which assumed a particularly satirical tone in novels such as *Bar Don Juan* (1971) and *A expedição Montaigne* (1982).

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In this sense, Leite presents Callado as someone who had anticipated the limitations of the Brazilian left in the 1960s and '70s. According to Leite, Callado's aesthetic and political projects were fundamentally informed by his Catholic background.

In 1996 Marcelo Ridenti undertook another important interview with Callado just one year before his death, revealing, for example, Callado's indirect involvement in guerrilla fighting during the 1970s. Ridenti wrote a series of works and articles from the perspective of cultural sociology, which emphasized Callado's political role in antidictatorship movements; he defended the importance of Callado's novels as unofficial histories of the fight against authoritarianism in Brazil (Ridenti 2000; 2005; 2011). According to Martinelli (2007), Ridenti's accounts of Callado's work are heavily influenced by the context of Brazilian neoliberal reforms in the 1990s, when intellectuals were looking back to the 1960s and '70s in search of inspiration for the political struggles of Brazil's New Republic (the political regime established after the Constitution of 1988). In this sense, Ridenti's approach to Callado's work is in direct contrast to the position adopted by Leite: "Ridenti's interpretation revisits the national-popular aspect of Callado's fictional work—something that Chiappini Leite had criticised—considering it the expression of a positive revolutionary dream that was characteristic of his time" (Martinelli 2007, 14).²⁸ The critical work of Davi Arrigucci Jr. on Callado is also relevant and was mostly written during the same period. Arrigucci contributed to an understanding of Callado's oeuvre through an assessment of how his journalistic experiences (particularly his trips to Xingu in the 1950s) impacted his realism and the themes he developed in his novels in the 1960s and 1970s (Arrigucci 1997; 1999; 2001).

In 2007 Marcos Martinelli published a monograph, adapted from his PhD thesis, on the life and work of Antônio Callado, focusing on his writing during the 1950s and '60s. For him, the defining element of Callado's work is the impact of his political engagement and worldview on his aesthetic output: he defines Callado as a "sermonário." The term (derived from "sermon") is related to Callado's Catholic upbringing, but also to his belief in the didactic role of his novels and journalism in terms of their potential to inspire a liberating form of citizenship in Brazil. Martinelli, a historian, emphasizes the historical and sociological context of Callado's work, occasionally placing great importance on biographical information, which informs his analysis of Callado's texts. He criticizes both Chiappini's and Ridenti's analyses as overly celebratory, even accusing them of complicity with Callado's own self-image and political views. Martinelli, in contrast, combines a literary analysis

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of Callado's first novels and an intellectual history of his generation without, however, adding substantial new data or proposing a fundamentally different reading of Callado's work. Notwithstanding the crucial contribution of Leite, Ridenti, Arrigucci, and Martinelli, the critical literature on Callado has, so far, paid very little attention to the archives, which could have brought new material and new perspectives to the debate.

Transatlantic Radio Dramas analyzes unexplored sources located as a result of intense archival work. In order to interrogate these sources, I make use of concepts and theoretical tools that will be defined and discussed throughout the following chapters. Rather than applying abstract theoretical notions to the documents, which would run the risk of producing schematic results, I use questions that arose during the study of the documents to shape the approaches deployed in each chapter. This enables the book, on the one hand, to explore the distinct themes identified across the scripts and, on the other hand, to situate this body of documents in historical and theoretical perspective.

In the following chapters, I cross-reference Callado's scripts with other documents such as minutes of meetings, internal memos, copyright receipts, reports, personal diaries, and even school assignments in order to shed light not only on Callado's writing, but also on the historical and institutional contexts in which these documents were produced. I also operate on different levels and scales, from undertaking close reading and engaging in discourse analyses of scripts and documents, to tracing intertextualities between Callado's works and those of other authors, thereby emphasizing a complex network of institutions, material practices, and beliefs, which conditioned and made the very existence of these documents possible.

It is important to note that I was unable to locate any archival recordings of Callado's plays as broadcast by the LAS. Because of this, our knowledge of how they were performed and how they sounded to the LAS Brazilian audience is limited, and likely to remain so.²⁹ Nevertheless, the scripts themselves include useful information about the plays, such as the date on which they were broadcast, the name of the producer, and occasionally even the cast list, which was frequently made up of journalists from the Brazilian section (including Callado himself).³⁰

In the first chapter, entitled "Dramatizing Politics: Propaganda and Radio Entertainment in Brazil and the UK," I explore how BBC propaganda policies shaped Callado's scripts by providing guidelines that influenced his approach to themes, characters, and plots. I introduce and define the concept of "propaganda" and provide contextual background for understanding the authoritarian New State in Brazil, during which

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the use of radio as a means of state propaganda was widespread. Moreover, I analyze the minutes of the BBC LAS Propaganda Policy meetings, where guidance on propaganda policies was established in cooperation with the Ministry of Information (MOI) and the BBC. By comparing the minutes of these meetings with Callado's scripts, it is possible to understand how the policies set by the MOI and the BBC influenced his work, and how Callado was testing the boundaries of these policies in order to deliver his own ideas and experiment with new aesthetic influences.

In the second chapter, entitled "Leading the Story: The Narrator in Callado's Scripts," I discuss the function of the narrator in Callado's scripts. I argue that by analyzing the evolution of his narrators it is possible to chart his progress as a writer for the specific medium of radio. The narrators in his early works betray the ideas and influences that Callado brought with him from Brazil, including from his schooling and intellectual background. The developments in the language and function of the narrator in his later pieces make it possible to identify the impact of the literary experiences he underwent during his years in Britain, when he read extensively and had access to the work of other radio drama authors employed by the BBC. When analyzing these texts chronologically, it becomes evident that from the first scripts, produced at the beginning of 1943, to his later works, produced in 1946 and 1947, Callado became increasingly skillful in dealing with the limits and possibilities afforded by radio writing. By analyzing diaries and letters found in Brazilian archives alongside his scripts, this chapter shows how Callado's encounter with the work of Anglo-Irish modernists impacted his own writing. Consequently, I trace the evolution of Callado's narrators and narrative structures in order to assess how the experience of working for the BBC shaped his approach to script writing, something that also had a clear impact on his future novels.

In the third chapter, entitled "Broadcasting Brazilianness: Callado's Foundational Dramas," I focus on drama scripts in which Callado revisits and reinterprets key passages of Brazilian history. I dialogue with historiography and theories of the nation and nationalism to understand how Callado addressed ideas of belonging and national identity in his plots. Callado introduces and refers to many of Brazil's foundational myths in his scripts, thereby broadcasting to Brazilian audiences alternative versions of national narratives that he believed were better attuned to the country's new position in the Second World War. Brazil is a country marked by a long authoritarian political tradition, and between 1937 and 1945 it was under the New State dictatorship. In this context, Callado's enterprise appears to have been twofold. First, he used his nar-

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ratives to resolve symbolically a clear contradiction captured in a simple question: How could Brazil, a country ruled internally by a dictatorship, fight for freedom in Europe? Secondly, Callado had to justify in his dramas why an imperialist and colonial power, Britain, should be seen as the model of democratic values to be followed by a postcolonial nation such as Brazil—a narrative that the BBC propaganda machine encouraged him to adopt.

In the fourth and final chapter, entitled “Mysticism, Political Commitment, and Modernist Aesthetics,” I analyze how Callado developed a very personal blend of mystical Catholicism and antiauthoritarianism, while at the same time integrating Anglo-Irish modernist influences into his writing. Raised as a Catholic and deeply influenced by Catholic mysticism, Callado was also a politically committed writer throughout his literary career. In this chapter, I discuss how Callado used this combination of beliefs and traits to produce a highly personal approach to modernist aesthetics. Mystical imagery, political principles, and aesthetic influences were linked in an original way in his drama scripts, and an analysis of how Callado combined these elements is crucial to understanding how he crafted his own personal literary voice. This chapter shows how the experiences he had in Britain during the war impacted not only his radio dramas but also his future novels.

In the conclusion I emphasize the connections between the themes developed in the different sections of the book and reflect on the impact that Callado’s experiences at the BBC LAS had on his journalistic and literary career after his return to Brazil in 1947. Callado continued contributing to the BBC and other British institutions throughout his life. He gave talks and worked as a consultant for the BBC on Latin American politics in the 1950s and ’60s; he was also a visiting scholar at the University of Cambridge in 1976, teaching Latin American literature. In 1988 he was celebrated by the BBC and was invited by the Corporation to come to Britain once more to participate in the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the BBC Brazilian section. Callado was a crucial figure in the formation and maintenance of transatlantic networks that connected intellectuals from different continents and made it possible for political and aesthetic ideas to be shared across the world.

Ultimately this book interrogates the work of a key Brazilian novelist and playwright who was employed in the BBC’s propaganda machine, broadcasting to Latin America during a geopolitical conflict that had a long-term impact on the continent and throughout the world. It develops a transnational perspective on the relationship between media, culture, and politics during the Second World War and its aftermath.