

# AIRGRAM

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A-674

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE JAN 16 AM 8 24

JOINT EMBASSY/USIS

RM/AN  
ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION  
BRANCH

FROM : AmEMBASSY RIO DE JANEIRO

DATE: January 7, 1966

SUBJECT: Charges That U.S. Interests Seek Media Domination

REF : Rio Embtel 1576, 1/7/66 *W/C?*

David Nasser of the magazine O CRUZEIRO has this week written an attack against alleged attempts by North American interests to take over Brazilian publications and other media, making them "political and intellectual colonials" of the U. S., with the insinuation that the State Department supports such activity. João Calmon of the Diarios Associados group amplified the same accusations in a television-radio program on the evening of January 6th. A week earlier, the leftist FOLHA DA SEMANA carried an article devoted to the same theme and citing the same instances of U. S. business interests in the Brazilian media field.

These developments and a commentary on them have been reported to the Department and USIA by the referenced telegram. The purpose of this airgram is to supply translations of the texts as follows:

Enclosure 1 - Text of the David Nasser article appearing in O CRUZEIRO dated January 22. (This issue appeared on the stands January 5.)

Enclosure 2 - Text of the story in JORNAL DO BRASIL,  
January 7, reporting on the television interview of João Calmon.

Enclosure 3 - Text of the story appearing in FOLHA DA SEMANA, issue of December 16-22, 1965. 107-1

Philip Raine  
Chargé d'Affaires a. i.

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Drafted by: *1006*  
USIS: FBEvans: nek  
Clearances:

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
USIS:RCWooton

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Airgram A-674  
From USIS Rio de Janeiro

Enclosure 1

TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE (AND INTRUDUCTORY  
EDITORIAL NOTE) BY DAVID NASSER, IN O CRUZEIRO  
ISSUE OF JAN. 22, 1966. (THIS ISSUE APPEARED ON  
STANDS JAN. 5, 1966.)

Editorial Note:

David Nasser, who with this article is beginning his last year of regular journalism, is also beginning a new campaign which could be one of the greatest of his life: the fight against the crushing of the Brazilian press and other organs that form the national conscience by powerful foreign groups, notably the North Americans. It was not for this that Brazil has always been on the side of the United States. It was not for this that we carried out against the common enemy a revolution that did not cost anything to the rest of the continent.

Begin Nasser Text:

An old newspaper closed its doors. The Diário Carioca has stopped circulating after 37 years. For the young this does not mean much. But we know of the deep sorrow of its founder, J. E. de Macedo Soares when he heard this news in his apartment in Flamengo. The old newspaperman who wrote so many tempestuous articles in calm language looked like a commander watching his ship sink - so says the reporter who interviewed him. All the more so, because he retired from active life four years ago and now at the age of 82 lives exclusively for his books. In Brazil the newspapers which survive their founders are rare.

A newspaper that fdies requires an autopsy - even for those who never were on its staff. Of what did the Diário Carioca die? Why did the Diário Carioca die? What strange, mysterious, contradictory reasons brought down the old warrior of the newstands after 37 years of survival, after humiliations and successes, after periods of calm and agitation? How they will understand in the future the death of a newspaper in the middle of these tranquil days of Castelo when the fiery and obstinate platform from which spoke Macedo Soares, Carlos Lacerda, Danton Jobim, Pompeu de Souza and so many other great newspapermen had resisted even the dry winds of the getulian dictatorship which swept away our liberties?

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The case of the Diário Carioca seems to me much simpler than we might think. Until World War II, and even for some time afterwards, the Department of State agreed that democratic principles do not permit direct intervention in organs of public opinion. Expounding a legitimate cause - the permanent establishment of the American nations within the system of freedom offered only by democracy - the United States used its influence through its news agencies, its ambassadors, through all media within its reach, so that the democratic system would continue to be carried on in the countries of the continent. It seems that the failure in Cuba discouraged this indirect approach and - against all national regulations - there began the direct conquest of the organs that formed public opinion in the American countries and the purchase of these media.

The buyers, obviously, were and still are American-born enterprises. The ones bought up were, and still are, obviously, native enterprises of the countries thus changed into political and intellectual colonials of the United States. Both of them, - the purchaser as well as the purchased - not only show unsavory character but also gross stupidity. They do not know, they cannot see in the shortsightedness of their greater and lesser ambitions, that this kind of bargain works only in the short run.

There exists something called national conscience - a kind of nationalism cleansed of jacobine impurity. The instant this sentiment awakens no fraudery which had ignored it can survive.

The survival of Diários Associados, in the course of a history which at certain points is identified with that of the country itself, is that of a nationalism without boundaries. Its pillar of strength, the man who dug in every province, the foundations of that wall where human interests, democratic interests, Brazilian interests, find shelter, its founder never accepted into his own machine imported gears. A powerful humanist of Renaissance dimensions, he always despised and still despises sordid racial feeling or regional irritations in relations between peoples, but under that florentine shell, the "jagunço" has never ceased to exist.

Today, I confess, the Brazilian press is facing an unprecedented crisis. Either it must sell out to foreign groups or it will die like the Diário Carioca. The author of this article is a disciple of the master -

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or rather, in the repetition of his habits - a student of his course on cheap anti-nationalism. Like Chatô, like Calmon, I also defend the Brazilian position at the side of our geographical brothers and because they are geographical, also political and ideological brothers. Like them, I defended the Brazilian position during World War II. We are all in the same boat.

But even so, before the motionless and indifferent eyes of the governments of Brazil and of the United States to permit powerful foreign enterprises to come here and with their credits, their machinery, and their advertising crush our organs of public opinion simply because they do not believe in unconditional fidelity - and are afraid that a new Cuba could happen here - that would be the end of the world.

A nation does not survive if it does not have its own conscience. If it does not have a press of its own. They want to destroy ours. The problem is to decide where the United States begins and where Wall Street ends in this objective. No nation thinks as a whole except on international problems. We cannot possibly permit American newspapermen to think for us on problems which are exclusively our own business. To permit - by way of mysterious accounting networks - American magazines to come out with Brazilian names is a challenge to good sense, to the patriotism and the courage of our revolutionaries. It means wanting to turn Brazil into a bigger Puerto Rico. And the United States of Brazil into Brazil of the United States.

Calmon likes to tell Edmundo Monteiro the little story of the girl who proposed to a priest that they jump off the roof of the A Noite building, and the priest rejecting the double suicide said: - "Instead of dying together, why can't we live together?"

This is the question which we of the democratic press of Brazil must ask our wartime ally at whose side we played what could have been the final card. And now we are getting paid.

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From USIS Rio de Janeiro

Enclosure 2.

TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN JORNAL DO BRASIL,  
JAN. 7, 1966, DESCRIBING JAN. 6 TELEVISION  
INTERVIEW OF JOAO CALMON, PRESIDENT OF THE  
BRAZILIAN ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TV STATIONS  
AND A DIRECTOR OF DIARIOS ASSOCIADOS

Deputy João Calmon, president of the Diretório Capixaba of the ARENA and of the Union of Radio and Television Organizations, denounced yesterday "the tremendous invasion of magazines of foreign ownership in Brazil, which represents a serious danger to the nation," and declared he felt it was his duty to "alert the government and denounce the agents used by alien powers."

The representative said that the infiltration of foreign magazines started between 1961 and 1962, with authorization from the General Attorney of the Republic for the publication of Seleções of the Reader's Digest in Brazil, alleging that the publication would not handle political matters.

Shortly after, once the door was open, the invasion became more serious, with the launching of the magazine Visão, a weekly magazine, belonging to the Vision Inc. group, which expresses its opinion on national subjects. Following this the Mc-Graw Hill group launched Dirigente Industrial, and the magazine Direção was also absorbed by the same group.

João Calmon also cited Editora Abril -- which publishes the magazine Claudia -- and other publications of publisher Victor Civita, as examples of the invasion of foreign magazines in Brazil.

He stressed that "this danger is extremely serious" and pointed out that he is not engaged in a campaign because of business interest, but because he feels that this is a "question which involves a manifestation of patriotism." He reminded of an earlier charge on this same subject made by deputy João Dória, who had his civil rights cancelled and now is in exile in Europe.

It does not matter who made the denunciation. What matters is the denunciation in itself, and that an authority will take charge of investigating the truth and taking the necessary measures, once the crime is proved -- said Calmon, stressing that a Parliamentary Commission

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of Inquiry, then presided over by Deputy Getulio Moura and having for relator Deputy Father Godinho, died at birth. Thus this crime remained without the necessary investigation, but, next month, with the reopening of the Congress, another Parliamentary Commission will be requested to investigate to the core the infiltration of foreign groups in the various media of communication - magazines, radio and television.

If the legal procedures that project this sector of the national interests are not put into action we will have foreign domination of the press, foreign domination of radio and television and we will have, against the media of communication with the masses, the blow of state monopoly -- he added.

João Calmon, after referring to the Nazi techniques of using collaborationist elements like Quisling for the invasion of France, said that also the foreign groups in Brazil do not present themselves, as far as the publications are concerned, with their real names.

These foreign magazines always have a figurehead. Of course they are not going to repeat the story of the spy who upon arrival in a certain country distributed his calling card with his status as spy inscribed in it. But there is no reason for doubting the foreign origin of the groups that direct Editôra Abril and Visão, for the informative documentation can be obtained in the Registry Office of Decrees and Documents. It is up to the authorities now to make a discerning and detailed investigation to unmask those figureheads, - he said.

João Calmon also said that he has already warned the highest Brazilian authorities, including President Castello Branco, of the importance of the problem and showed his disposition to start a campaign towards the mobilization of consciences, to make the national interest prevail in this patriotic matter.

The slowness I've been observing does not result from negligence, fear, remissness or laziness. These processes in Brazil are a little slow. Before the shouting -- which is what I am doing right now -- there is no action. I am not the pugnacious type, but I cannot get discouraged in this campaign, whose magnitude no Brazilian can underestimate.

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The president of the Union of Empresas de Rádio e Televisão professed his nationalist faith, but he explained he is not a xenophobe "because I am convinced that any attack on foreign capital is the prelude of the extermination of national capital." He recalled, as an example, the Nasserism of the United Arab Republic, where there occurred first the expropriation of foreign enterprises, then the nationalizing of local enterprises which obtained high profits, and finally reached all the other sectors of the economy of the country, complemented by the nationalizing of the media of communications, radio, television, and newspapers.

I am not a xenophobe, but I understand that foreign capital should be directed to the sectors of the Brazilian economy which needs it more and not invested in sectors already in the hands of national capital. I condemn the wave of nationalizing in which we are living, which has left outside the government only the equivalent of 42% in the private economy, of which only approximately 20 to 25% is left to the Brazilian economy.

In João Calmon's opinion, since 1961-1962 "the invasion of foreign magazines has been growing bigger and bigger." He referred then to the agreement signed between Roberto Marinho and the American group of Time-Life, though he does not believe that Roberto Marinho "has deliberately and consciously offended the Constitution, which prevents the access of foreigners in the control of media of communications in Brazil."

He revealed that for two years there has been delayed in the Conselho Nacional de Telecomunicações and in the Banco Central (the former Superintendência da Moeda e do Crédito) the answer to the consultant from the Roberto Marinho group about the legality of the Constitution and of the laws that govern this sector.

I've been noticing the interests of the Time-Life group in expanding in the field of mass communication. If there is any guilt, it should be attributed exclusively to the government of the revolution, which has showed great timidity in this sector.

João Calmon revealed the rumors according which the Piratininga network (radio network) and the Excelsior television group were negotiated for or are being negotiated for with foreign groups, either American or European.

"I have no doubt that, once these reports are confirmed, I shall fight the facts that are as yet hidden" - he said.

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Enclosure 3.

TRANSLATION OF AN UNSIGNED ARTICLE  
APPEARING IN FOLHA DA SEMANA, ISSUE  
OF DECEMBER 16-22, 1965.

The indifference and even the complicity of successive (Brazilian) governments have contributed to making a dead letter out of the constitutional prohibition forbidding the ownership of journalistic and radio enterprises by foreigners. Notwithstanding the clarity of Article 160 of the Federal Constitution, foreigners, especially North Americans, are rapidly acquiring the control of the media of communications in Brazil.

The abuse, which started with authorization for the publication of the magazine Seleções, widened later on with the publication of Visão, and following this it became a general rule in the field of technical magazines. Today, in spite of the constitutional prohibition, the large majority of these magazines are in the hands of foreigners who try to mould the readers' minds into alien conceptions.

The next step was taken in the field of broadcasting. With the complicity of O Globo, the Time-Life group dominated TV Globo and purchased the broadcasting stations of the Organização Victor Costa, including one TV station in São Paulo and several broadcasting stations in the Northeast. Thus one of the most powerful and wide-reaching instruments of information is dominated by the North Americans.

Newspapers and Magazines

By now, the North American ambitions have no limits. Sure of the complicity of the government, they try to expand their dominion to the daily newspapers and the illustrated magazines. About two years ago, on the occasion of his visit to Brazil, Mr. David Rockefeller approached directly Messrs. Julio de Mesquita Filho and Adolfo Bloch proposing to them the purchase of O Estado de São Paulo and Manchete for millions of dollars. Rebuffed, he does not seem to have given up. The Folhas de São Paulo changed ownership some time ago and have started a phase of great expansion. They have bought the afternooner Última Hora and the morningner Notícias Populares, both in São Paulo. It is said that they are interested in the purchase of Diário de Notícias, in Rio, and that recently they bought the registration of Folha Carioca which they plan to re-open

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in this capital. Where does the money for this expansion come from? The press circles of São Paulo are convinced that behind all this are the North Americans, more precisely, the Time-Life group. There is often mentioned a press pool with the participation of O Globo, the Folhas and Time-Life.

In the field of illustrated magazines there is common knowledge of the intention of O Globo, or rather of Roberto Marinho, to publish a great magazine, in the Manchete mould, with the support of Time-Life. The negotiations on this subject had made much progress, including the announced hiring of well-known professionals for the publication. Then, there was a pause that still lasts to this day.

In recent weeks, however, there have been mentions about the selling of O Cruzeiro to the Time-Life group. The tremendous pressure exercised a few years ago by the North Americans, and their success in stopping the publication of O Cruzeiro-Internacional, which was competing with Life-International in Latin America, is well known. The Brazilian publication, with practically no advertising, had to stop for the lack of financial resources.

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