

The Production of the Press and Propaganda Department (DIP) in US collections: a case study¹

Tania Regina de Luca*

RESUMO

A ação do DIP tem recebido particular atenção, sobretudo quando se trata de evidenciar o caráter repressor e controlador que o órgão de fato exerceu. Menor ênfase tem sido dada a sua ação enquanto editor e financiador de obras favoráveis ao regime: no mais das vezes, não se vai além da citação de uma lista de títulos favoráveis ao regime, que comprovam o investimento na imagem do chefe. Pesquisa realizada em dois acervos norte-americanos permitiu manipular um rol significativo de obras publicadas no período, que apontam para uma trama complexa entre autores, editores e gráficas. Além disso, a presença desse material no exterior indica os esforços do regime para atingir uma audiência internacional.

Palavras-chave: Era Vargas; DIP; Propaganda; acervos norte-americanos (Tulane e Vanderbilt).

ABSTRACT

DIP's actions, especially its repressive ones, have attracted considerable attention among scholars in Brazil and abroad. Less emphasis has been put on DIP's efforts as an editor and financier of books that were well-inclined to the government. Most of the time all that is given is a list of titles favorable to the regime, which is considered to prove the investment in the image of the head of the regime, Getúlio Vargas. Research in two north-American collections allowed an ensemble of books published in the period to be put together, which pointed to the complex relations established among authors, publishers and printers. Furthermore, the existence of these foreign materials abroad indicates the existence propaganda efforts of the regime targeted towards an international audience.

Keywords: Vargas's Era; DIP; Propaganda; North-American collections (Tulane and Vanderbilt).

* CNPq Researcher; Professor, Department of History, Unesp. Av. Dom Antonio 2100. 19800-000 Assis – SP – Brasil. trdeluca@uol.com.br

Among the issues which have received a wide-ranging and diversified historiographic production in Brazil, the first government of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) occupies a leading place. Alongside the canonical approaches – the economic and social policy of the period, the relationship between the state and workers, the ideas of the regime and its sources of inspiration, the mounting of a truculent repressive apparatus, the foreign policy –, interest in its cultural project has grown for some decades. The shape of this cultural project became stronger after the coup of 10 November 1937, which created the *Estado Novo*.

Research based on previously unseen documentation and a diversified analytical arsenal has examined the political propaganda and the use of the means of mass communication then available (the press, radio and cinema), the trajectory of leading figures in the regime and the projects they managed, educational proposals and cultural institutions organized in the period, to cite just some examples.

There is no doubt that the regime made a significant effort to justify itself and to diffuse a positive image. It mobilized different types of strategies based on not only trying to control production in various areas, such as literature, theater, music, carnival and other popular manifestations, but also assumed the task of boasting about what it achieved in power and showing itself to be generous to those who made themselves available to contribute to this task.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PRESS AND PROPAGANDA

Although these concerns had been constant since the 1930s, it appears that it after the creation of the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP) by Decree Law 1915, dated 27 December 1939, regulated by Decree Law 5077, dated 29 December of the same year, the question gained greater significance. Given responsibilities that were much more important than its predecessors, the importance of DIP, the censorship authority and active center for the preparation and diffusion of official discourse, has been most often recognized, despite the decline in historiographical emphasis, in the attempts to limit freedom of expression and the circulation of information. Moving the focus to another aspect of the question is interesting to the extent that it brings to the center of the debate the tortuous question of relations between intellectuals and the state.

One of the difficulties in advancing in this direction is the disappearance of DIP files. In the detailed legislation which created and regulated the

Department, there was an explicit order to organize “an archive of newspapers and magazines, propaganda leaflets, etc., both Brazilian and foreign,” while it was also stated that administration services should have a library, film library and music library, to keep and preserve materials purchased or produced by the body.² An indirect indication that this was fulfilled, at least in respect to the library, is that books can be found with the stamp ‘DIP Library.’³

The department’s widespread responsibilities required not only public servants based in the institution, but also a considerable number of occasional collaborators. It is important to emphasize that one of the attributes of the Director General was to organize the “leaflet, book and poster publishing service,” “authorize expenses and order payments within budgetary allocations” and also “to arbitrate payments for extraordinary work, or technical and scientific work, and for expenses incurred.”⁴ It is difficult to specify the amount of funds allocated to DIP. Based on information from the General Accounting Body of the Republic and the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Daryle Williams⁵ reaches the following conclusions:

Table 1 – DIP Revenue

Ano	Contos de réis
1940	6.578
1941	9.573
1942	11.437
1943	14.537
1944	13.591
1945	5.583

Nevertheless, there are also indications that DIP handled other revenues. From 1940 onwards, the Department centralized publicity funds for Banco do Brasil and other institutions, and had the freedom to distribute them to press sympathetic to the regime.⁶ Nor can it be forgotten that the body was directly subordinated to the Presidency of the Republic and that the 1937 Constitution in practice annulled the oversight power of the Federal Accounts Tribunal. A *sui-generis* situation was established, well summarized by Cotias e Silva: “the government’s accounts came to be the subject of the Technical Opinion-Report (*Parecer-Relatório*), approved by a decree law from the president of the Republic. In other words, the president of the Republic rendered accounts for

his administration, the Tribunal issued a non-judgmental technical opinion and the president of the Republic approved it with a decree law.⁷⁷ In this context, which gave the executive wide room for action, it is particularly difficult to specify the effective financial funds of DIP.

In addition to these difficulties, significant in themselves, others have to be added. Officially the Department was terminated by Decree Law 7582, dated 25 May 1945, which created the National Department of the Press (DNI). Months later, following the deposition of Getúlio Vargas, a new political moment opened, marked by the holding of elections and the preparation of the new constitution, which marked the end of the previous experience. The files of the old department now started on a journey whose – prefigured – destination was disappearance.

According to Almeida, in 1946 the government of General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, himself a man of the previous regime, ordered “the burning of the institution’s entire archive. Pages, list of sums paid to cultural producers, and other documents internal to the authorities, as well as pamphlets, books and periodicals edited under its direct responsibility were incinerated or deposited in warehouses as old worthless papers.” The same author asserts that until the middle of the 1960s part of the library was still preserved in the Documentation Service of the National Agency. However, one of its directors authorized the dispersal and dismembering of the collection, thereby sealing the loss of the material produced by the Department and its predecessors. Library bookshelves and cultural institutions, in turn, also were found to be generous with this production, disqualified as of less importance and compromised by its progandistic bias. Thus, they were moved in the frequent renovations of archives, discarded or simply removed from the eyes of readers. It is quite probable that part of this material consisted of pamphlets and leaflets, fragile material which is even more difficult to preserve than books.⁸

Dealing with the theme, Edgard Carone considered it ‘impossible’ to present a complete list of titles published by DIP and emphasized that despite the existence of one or other ‘works of value,’ most often they were sub-literature, “totally secondary, but symptomatic.”⁹⁹ It should be noted that DIP not only published works, but also ordered and supported the publication of texts favorable to the regime, possibly purchasing editions or financing them directly or indirectly. A letter by Lourival Fontes, undated and written on headed paper of the Presidency of the Republic, to José Olympio, the publisher of various volumes of *A nova política do Brasil*, by Getúlio Vargas, is clarifying, since it testifies to the existence of requests of this nature:

I received your letter and you have to understand that I would do anything to help. Unfortunately, the budgetary difficulties in DIP at this moment are numerous and there is no room for any new expenses ... This is the greatest reason, in itself just definitive, that *prevents me from acquiring the books you have published and from which the regime has benefitted so much*.¹⁰

The most systematic study about the 'library of the impossible' was carried out by Almeida. This is a paper written to complete a doctoral discipline in the National Museum which, as far as I can find out, was not published. By an irony of destiny, of the list so patiently gathered by the author in secondhand bookshops, archives, and public and private libraries all over the country, presented in order of date, only four pages were preserved: the twenty-second and twenty-third, with data related to 1934 and 1936; and the seventy-sixth and seventy-seventh pages, which list seven journal titles. There is, thus, no way to know how many books and journals were actually located.

Indirect data about Almeida's survey can be obtained in Gustavo Sorá's thesis, who had access to the complete version and reordered the information in the interests of his own research. The individual catalogue records prepared by Alfredo were grouped per year (from 1936 to 1945), publisher, number of titles, name of authors and printers. In the reworking the title of the work, and in the case of periodicals their specifications, were lost, since in Sorá's thesis only the names were mentioned, while in the original the regularity, directors, address, printers and numbers available were given, as can be perceived in the last two pages preserved from Almeida's work.

Sorá's table contains 331 titles, including books and examples of journals. Nevertheless, the presence of certain authors raises interesting questions that can only be clarified by consulting the original data. By way of example, the presence of the following authors is registered in 1939, all published by the prestigious José Olympio and printed by *Revista dos Tribunais*: Pedro Calmon, *História da casa da torre*, Otávio Tarquínio de Sousa, *História de dois golpes de estado*, works which were part of the prestigious collection *Documentos Brasileiros*, André Carrazone, *Getúlio Vargas*, Gentil Alcides, *As idéias do presidente Getúlio Vargas. Síntese do pensamento da nova política do Brasil*, by Monteiro Júnior. Even though the last three titles can be considered at the minimum to be sympathetic to the regime, in the examples preserved in libraries there is no mention of financial aid, being ordered or bought by DIP, which also did not occur with the *Documentos* titles.¹¹

There are various indications of proximity between José Olympio

publishers and Catete Palace: after all it was responsible for the publication of various volumes of Getúlio Vargas' speeches, which ensured the president a place among the 'immortals' of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. While the editor's letter, sent to Lourival Fontes, certifies its very close relationship with the powerful director of the body. It does not seem disproportionate to advance the hypothesis that certain of José Olympio's publications counted on DIP support, especially because they included titles that contributed to the construction of the hagiography of Vargas. However, it is much more difficult to justify any sort of subsidy for the books by Calmon and Tarquínio, to which the label of propaganda cannot be applied. It must be this supposed that Almeida had found other indications to enlist these works in the 'library of the impossible.'

The example shows how it is difficult to state with certainty whether a book received funding from DIP or not, since these ties are not always made explicit in the work itself. As a result, information obtained from other sources is important, such as memories, biographies, autobiographies, correspondence and/or inscriptions made in volumes belonging to libraries and research institutions. Without the reasons which led Almeida to include the titles cited in his list, we would only be able to speculate...

CROSSING NATIONAL FRONTIERS

The decrees that created and regulated DIP gave the body control over the entrance of printed and radiophonic material coming from abroad, as well as the function of publicizing the image of the country and encouraging its economic relations with other nations. This broad role gained materiality in various articles that stipulated, for example, the multiple activities of the Division of Tourism and in the determinations that obliged the Department to maintain a copyright service for Brazilian and foreign newspapers; promoting exchanges between Brazilian and foreign artists, writers and journalists; organizing regular radiophonic exchanges with official foreign organizations; irradiate in other languages a daily program similar to *Hora do Brasil*.¹²

On 24 June 1940 the Brazilian government signed an agreement with the United States aimed at "*a complete exchange of official publications between the United States and Brazil. Each government agrees to furnish to the other a full set of the official publications of its several branches, departments, bureaus, offices and institutions*", excluding documents of a confidential nature. The

bodies charged with putting this agreement in practice were on the American side the Smithsonian Institute and for Brazil the National Book Institute (*Instituto Nacional do Livro*).¹³

However, research carried out in the Latin American Library, Tulane University, and in the Jean and Alexandre Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, revealed that the sending of books and magazines to US teaching institutions was a practice before the 1940 agreement, carried out both by DIP and its immediate predecessor, the National Department of Propaganda (*Departamento Nacional de Propaganda* – DNP).¹⁴

The catalogues of the institutions allowed the location of a set of books either authored or published under the responsibility of DNP or DIP. In these cases there is no doubt that material was directly financed by the government. As well as the data expressed in the works themselves, at various times staff from the receiving institution noted in pencil *gift*, *gift of issuing Office*, *gift of DIP*, observations often followed by the month and year of the arrival of the work. [See image 1]. Table 2 presents a list of the titles, without any indication of authorship, published by the two departments, and kept in the libraries researched:

Figure 1 – Title page from *Uma grande data*.
Published by DIP, without authorship.

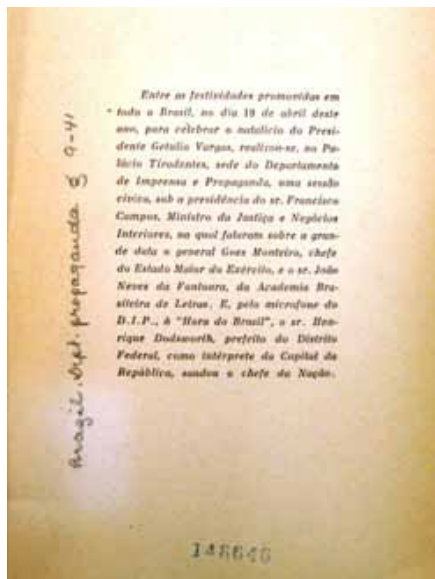


Table 2 – Books without indication of authorship published by DNP or DIP

Title	Publisher	Year	Collection
1. <i>Catecismo cívico do Estado Novo</i>	DNP	?[1938]	Tulane
2. <i>O Estado Novo</i>	DNP	1939	Tulane
3. <i>O Brasil dos nossos dias</i>	DIP	1940	Vanderbilt
4. <i>As colônias agrícolas nacionais e a valorização do trabalhador nacional</i>	DIP	1941	Ambos
5. <i>Uma grande data</i>	DIP	1941	Ambos
6. <i>Constitution of the United States of Brazil</i>	DIP	1941	Tulane
7. <i>Facts and information about Brazil</i>	DIP	1942	Vanderbilt
8. <i>O exemplo da América e o exemplo do Brasil</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
9. <i>Estado Novo. Cinco anos de unidade e ação (1937-1942)</i>	?[DIP or Imprensa Nacional]	1942	Tulane
10. Paz e guerra. A política exterior dos EUA de 1931 a 1941	DIP and Imprensa Nacional	1943	Vanderbilt
11. Quem foi que fez, quem foi que disse	DIP	Not dated	Vanderbilt

The question marks present in the table indicate the probable publishing body and the date of publication, the latter inferred through the topic. The fact that authors' names were not registered suggests that it was the staff of DNP and afterwards DIP who assumed responsibility for the preparation of works, or that individuals were perhaps hired who were willing to place their pen at the service of the needs of the departments. Various of these publications were distinguished by their pedagogical tone, particularly marked in *Catecismo cívico do Estado Novo*, a small sized volume (little more than 25 x 17cm), with around twenty or so unnumbered pages, in which are discussed ten topics including Brazilian nationality, duties to the patria, national organization, the *Estado Novo* and its achievements [See image 2]. *Quem foi que disse, quem foi que fez* can be included in the same category, since it also resorts to the question and answer formula, with the exception, expressed in the preface, that these

Figures 2 A and 2B – Cover and Title sheet from *Catecismo cívico do Estado Novo*, without authorship, published by DNC.



2a



2b

are not directed at the erudite, nor at those who know history, but at men of the people, at the workers, the poor boy who cannot buy books, the soldier and the sailor who defend the patria in moments of dangers and guarantee peace for work, should know who were the great men of Brazil whom we should also love with the same force, the same ardor and the same enthusiasm, with which they all love them.

This sought to contextualize famous phrases ('Put the crown on your head before an adventurer takes it,' for example) and achievements by names such as Caxias, Rio Branco, Santos Dumont, although the main emphasis was given to Getúlio Vargas, to whom many of the 'achievements' narrated were accredited: 'Who dissolved the political parties in Brazil?'; 'Who said that the true sense of Brazilianess is the march to the west?'; 'Who integrated the national army in its true value?'; 'Who made the state flags disappear and instituted a single flag in Brazil?', to cite some examples. In fact it can be noted that the bodies responsible for censorship and propaganda did not lose the opportunity to highlight the figure of President Vargas, and not by chance the

commemorations of his birthday allowed the publication of a volume *Uma grande data*.

Explanations about the regime, its bases and achievements, albeit with another perspective, also distinguish *O Estado Novo, O Brasil dos nossos dias* and the survey work, more in depth, *Estado Novo, cinco anos de unidade e ação*. It does not seem an exaggeration to state that the intention was to reach all the inhabitants, from the poor boy to the educated sectors, without forgetting the international public, at whom was aimed *Facts and information about Brazil*. This presented a panoramic view of the geography, history and economic situation of Brazil at that time, and the translation to the English of the 1937 Constitution.

The change in the international context after December 1941, when the US entered the war, also reverberated in DIP publications, which produced the volume *O exemplo da América e o exemplo do Brasil* during the meeting of the foreign ministers in Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, and another entitled *Paz e guerra* about US foreign policy between 1931-1941.

Alongside this first group, it is possible to distinguish another in which DNP or DIP figured only as editors, in other words, the work was signed by someone, as can be seen below:

Table 3 – Works published by DNP, DIP, DEIP and *A Noite*

Author/Title	Publisher	Year	Collection
1. VARGAS, Getúlio, [interview, Apr. 1938]. <i>O Estado Novo e suas realizações</i>	?[DNP]*	1938	Tulane
2. VARGAS, Getulio, [interview, Nov. 1938]. <i>O Estado Novo e o momento brasileiro</i>	DNP	1938	Tulane
3. BARROS, Jayme de. <i>Ocho anos de política exterior del Brasil</i>	DNP	1938	Tulane
4. BARROS, Jayme de. <i>A política exterior do Brasil 1930-1940</i>	DIP	1941	Ambos
5. ARANHA, Oswaldo; SOARES, José Roberto de Macedo. <i>A revolução e a América. O Presidente Getúlio Vargas e a diplomacia (1930-1940)</i>	DIP	1941	Tulane
6. CARTIER, Horácio. <i>Política sanitária</i>	DIP	1941	Vanderbilt

7. COSTA, Artur de Souza. <i>Panorama financeiro e econômico da República</i>	DIP	1941	Tulane
8. GUIMARÃES, Osias. <i>Amor à terra</i>	DIP	1941	Vanderbilt
9. ROLLEMBERG, Luiz Dias. <i>Aspectos e perspectivas da economia nacional</i>	DIP	1941	Vanderbilt
10. CANDIDO Duarte. <i>A organização municipal no governo Getúlio Vargas</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
11. CARVALHO, Luiz Antônio da Costa. <i>As realizações do governo Getúlio Vargas no campo do direito</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
12. CARVALHO, Menelick. <i>A Revolução de 1930 e o município</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
13. GALVÃO, Francisco. <i>As diretrizes do Estado Novo</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
14. IBIAPINA, J. de Mattos. <i>O Brasil de ontem e de hoje</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
15. MACHADO, Leão. <i>Uma revolução em marcha</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
16. MAIA, Jorge. <i>Um decênio de política externa</i>	DIP	1942	Ambos
17. REGO, Alcides Marinho. <i>A vitória do direito operário no governo de Getúlio Vargas</i>	DIP	1942	Tulane
18. <i>Os grandes problemas nacionais</i> [Various authors]	DIP	1942	Tulane
19. MENEZES, Djacir. <i>O Brasil econômico</i>	DIP	1944	Tulane
20. SODRÉ, Hélio. <i>Quintino Bocaiúva</i>	DIP	1944	Ambos
21. VIANNA, Hélio. <i>Matias de Albuquerque, biografia</i>	DIP	1944	Tulane
22. GIRÃO, Raimundo. <i>Cidade de Fortaleza</i>	Deip Ceará	1945	Tulane

* In the book only the coat of arms of the republic appears, without any indication of the publisher.

Despite being presented as interviews with Getúlio Vargas, the first two works effectively did not have this format and very probably the text was organized for publication by DNP itself. It can be noted that they deal with the initial moments of the regime, when the reasons for implementation still demanded investment and justifications. The presence of three ministers among the authors – Oswaldo Aranha, Macedo Soares and Artur Souza da Costa – also shows the concern with describing the achievements of the Estado Novo with the voices of its own artisans.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this was not the only strategy mobilized. To commemorate Getúlio Vargas' tenth anniversary in Catete Palace, the Department created a competition that awarded monographs that presented an overview of the transformations that had occurred in the country during the previous ten years. Twelve of the works that are part of the table, 4, 6 and 8 – 17, were given awards or honorable mentions and were part of the *Decenal da Revolução Brasileira* collection, formed of small sized books (12.5 x 18cm), with a standardized cover (see images 3A and 3B) and which frequently have the annotation “Gift by the Brazilian government”.¹⁶

The collection entitled *Os grandes problemas nacionais*, from 1942, contained an explanatory note on the first page, according to which the work, for reasons of ‘higher orders,’ was only reaching the public now, despite having been intended to be part of the commemorations to celebrate President Vargas' ten years in government. Also according to the note, this was only the first volume, since under the same title DIP intended

to publish, opportunely, in subsequent volumes, other works inspired by the same purpose of clarifying the public about various achievements and problems in Brazilian life, for which it would count on the patriotic collaboration of sociologists, jurists, economists and specialists renowned in all fields of national activities.

On the other hand concern with the foreign reader was once more demonstrated, now with the publication of *Ocho años de política exterior del Brasil* by Jayme de Barros, later expanded to dispute a place in the collection published by DIP to commemorate Vargas' tenth anniversary in power. It is interesting to register that in the Tulane University archive there is a forty-three page pamphlet entitled *La personalidad del presidente Getúlio Vargas* printed in Mexico in 1938, which reproduces texts published in the *Excelsior* newspaper in September of that year. On the title page there is a camp ‘Distributed freely by the Department of Press and Propaganda,’ a fact that not only reinforces the intention of the body to make its presence felt beyond the

national borders, but also highlights the attention with which the international press was followed.

Decree Law 2557, dated 4 September 1940, instituted and regulated the functions of the State Departments of Press and Propaganda (*Departamentos Estaduais de Imprensa e Propaganda* – Deip), which from then on had their own agencies. The following year Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Piauí, Pará, Rio Grande do Norte, Santa Catarina and São Paulo had organized their own DEIPs which were supported technically and doctrinally by the federal body.¹⁷ Some of these departments in turn also had their own publishing projects, as shown by the volume found about the city of Fortaleza, sponsored by the Ceará DEIP.¹⁸

It is also worth mentioning that a third edition of André Carrazoni's work, *Perfil do Presidente Getúlio Vargas*, dating from 1943, was located with a clearly hagiographical bias and published by the *A Noite* group, which at that time had been incorporated by the Federal state.¹⁹ Another interesting research possibility opens here, since agencies other than DIP can also have acted as spokespersons for the government project.

Sometimes the materiality of the volume, despite a clear propagandistic bias, does not have any indication that can unequivocally connect it to DIP. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that this set of works shared a fundamental absence: the indication of the publisher. Sometimes not even the printer is mentioned. The complete list is given below:

Table 4 – Works with a propagandistic bias without indication of publisher

Author/Title	Publisher	Year	Collection
1. PIRES, Pandiá. <i>Não se compra entrada na história</i> . Evangelho da rua sobre o brasileiro n. 1	?	1938	Vanderbilt
2. SILVA, Alvimar. <i>A filosofia do Estado Novo</i>	?	1939	Vanderbilt
3. SILVA, Alvimar. <i>O Novo Brasil</i>	?	1939	Tulane
4. CASTRO, J. <i>As instituições paraestatais do Estado Novo</i>	?	1939	Vanderbilt
5. PATRIC, Anthony. <i>Toward the winning goal</i>	?	1940	Ambos

6. CRUZ, Dias da. <i>Os morros cariocas no novo regime</i>	?	1941	Tulane
7. MEDEYROS, J. Paulo de. <i>Getúlio Vargas, reformador social</i>	?	1941	Ambos
8. MELLO, Luiz Vieira de; BRANDÃO, Teixeira. <i>A nova política ferroviária do Brasil.</i>	?	1941	Tulane
9. PIMPÃO, Hirose. <i>Getúlio Vargas e o direito social trabalhista</i>	?	1942	Ambos
10. AMARILO JUNIOR. <i>Brasil, suas grandezas e glórias no governo de Getúlio Vargas</i>	?	1942	Vanderbilt
11. KLINGHOFFER, Hans. <i>La pensée politique du président Getúlio Vargas</i>	?	1942	Tulane
12. WANDERLEY, Rubey. <i>Getúlio Vargas, político e escritor. Ensaio de crítica literária</i>	?*	1943	Tulane
13. GUASTINI, Raul. <i>Ideário político de Getúlio Vargas</i> *	?	1943	Tulane
14. BERFORT, Álvaro B. <i>O Estado Nacional e a Constituição de novembro de 193. Para uso da juventude brasileira</i>	?	1944	Vanderbilt
15. SOUZA, Leal. <i>Getúlio Vargas</i>	?	?	Tulane

* The only work published in São Paulo, all the others were published in Rio de Janeiro.

Three titles (numbers 6, 7 and 8) have the same graphic design, small format identical to the *Decenal da Revolução Brasileira* collection, similar covers, just with a variation of color and the presence on the back cover of a type of parchment on which was reproduced the thought of President Vargas (See Images 4 A and B). It is interesting to note that all the examples located contain annotations in pencil, generally on the title page, which state where the copy came from: offer of DIP. Therefore, it is only by consulting the volumes, and thanks to the diligent control of the staff, that common traits can be established that allowed them to be connecting to the Department's publishing policy.

No less important is the information coming from the collection itself, which corroborates this interpretation. Thus, for example, in the Paulo J. Medeyros volume belonging to Tulane, it is stated: “26 June 1941 DIP of Brazil gift”. In the case of the Latin American Library two registers were located which cover the period between 1934 and 1950, when the institution was called the Library Department of Middle America Research in which the new acquisitions to the collection were manually noted. This was a not very systematic or careful control, as can be seen by the low amount of material located in this source compared with the titles present in the catalogue. Nevertheless, one of the few works to figure in the *Accessions* register was Dias da Cruz’s book on Carioca hills, which reached the institution together with Medeyros’ book, in other words on 26 June 1941 and was consigned as *DIP gift*, which corroborates the hypothesis presented.²⁰

Of the list mentioned in Table 4, origin was mentioned for four books: (5, 9, 11 and 14), while for the ninth and eleventh, the latter published by Imprensa Nacional, only *gift* was stated, while for the two other DIP was explicitly cited. In relation to the other works, the collections research did not allow connections to be established with actions directly or indirectly carried out government agencies, nor did the physical characteristics of the works authorize the establishment of any type of relationship between them.

Also in relation to the publishing actions of DIP, a list of periodicals should be mentioned (see images 5A to 5D), detailed below:²¹

Table 5 – Periodicals Published by DIP

Title of Periodical / Volume	Publisher	Period	Collection
1. <i>O Brasil de hoje, de ontem e de amanhã</i>	DIP	1940-1942 15 numbers	Tulane
2. <i>Cultura Política</i>	DIP	1941-1945 Complete	Tulane
3. <i>Dos Jornais</i>	DIP	1941-1942 8 numbers	Tulane
4. <i>Travel in Brazil; afterwards, This is Brazil</i>	DIP	1941-1944 7 numbers	Tulane

5. <i>Revista Estudos e Conferências</i>	DIP	1942 1 number	Tulane
6. <i>Anuário da imprensa brasileira</i>	DIP	1942	Vanderbilt
7. <i>O pensamento político do presidente.</i> Collection of editorials and articles from <i>Cultura Política</i>	DIP	1943	Both

Of the periodicals listed the best known is *Cultura Política*, which was launched in March 1941 under the leadership of Almir de Andrade and aimed at expressing the vision of the regime and its ‘New Brazil.’ Not by chance the monthly publication has been examined by those who have sought to understand the cultural project of the *Estado Nova*.²² In 1943 the material published in the journal gained a new meticulous edition in a book format, to mark the sixtieth birthday of Getúlio Vargas. The valiant volume, *O pensamento político do Presidente Vargas*, did not include texts from the head of the executive, as suggested by the title, but rather was a set of editorials and articles, published in the first twenty-five issues of *Cultura Política*. As was clarified in the dedication, always present in the pages of the journal “were the thoughts and actions of the builder of the New Brazil.”

O Brasil de hoje, de ontem e de amanhã, in turn, was a monthly publication with around 30 pages, closer to a small brochure and without any iconography. Its first issue probably was released in January 1940, which makes this publication the first periodical to be attempted by DIP, at least among the sample studied. The Latin American Library has issues eleven to seventeen, referring to the months between November 1940 and May 1941, and issues twenty-nine to thirty-seven December 1942. The publication consisted of a diversified set of texts, generally short and unsigned, covering the most different aspects of national life, always emphasizing the figure of the president and the achievements of the regime, as shown by the titles of the reports contained in the November 1940 issue: ‘10 November;’ ‘The first decade of the revolution;’ ‘President Getúlio Vargas judged by children;’ ‘The President and aviation;’ ‘The social policy of *Estado Novo*,’ ‘The national book,’ ‘An essentially democratic policy,’ ‘National Unity.’

Dos Jornais, a publication launched in June 1941 which circulated regularly on a monthly basis until at least October 1942, date of the last copy kept in Tulane University,²³ had a different nature. Its format was similar to

Brasil de hoje, de ontem e de amanhã, although it was more daring in terms of the number of pages, since in the first issues there were a little over sixty pages, while in the 1942 issues there were around one hundred. As appropriately indicated by the title the publication's aim was to reproduce either full reports, or extracts from newspapers, both from capitals and small interior towns, similar to what is nowadays called *clipping*. The author of the text, the name of the newspapers and the place of publication were mentioned.

It can be noted that while *Brasil de hoje, de ontem e de amanhã* were run by staff or by individuals rendering services to DIP, *Dos Jornais* intended to provide a monthly vision of what had been published in the press in the country. It involved, once again, exalting the achievements of the regime, the economic advances, the social conquests, the political transformations, vaunted by the press from the north to south of the country. However, it cannot be forgotten that a large part of what was published around the country was provided by the DIP itself, which spared no efforts to control the means of mass communication, whether by force, censorship or by the path of cooption, with favors and benefits for those who bowed down to the demands of power. The main theme of the inaugural issue, which occupied more than half the pages, was the commemoration and the honors paid to Vargas on the date of his birthday. No space was wasted: while the back inside flap always had an extract from the president's speeches, the inside cover and the front inside flap contained during 1941 the list of the conferences sponsored by DIP.

It was to place these activities in the reach of a broader public that in May 1941, the journal *Estudos e conferências* was created, of which the Tulane only has number 18, October 1942. In this publication, although it did not incorporate, at least not in the volume consulted, iconographic material, greater care with the cover and with the design can be observed, which distanced it from a brochure, common to *Dos Jornais* and *Brasil de hoje, de ontem e de amanhã*. In relation to the issues covered, questions related to public service and the conditions of public employees predominated, which divided spaces with historic figures, such as Caxias and Conde d'Eu.

Specifically for the foreign public, DIP printed *Travel in Brazil*, a amply illustrated publication, with texts exclusively in English, colored and attractive covers, and a large number of photographs with an excellent quality and a meticulous graphic project.²⁴ The collaborators deserve to be mentioned: Cecília Meireles, who signed the editorial in the first issue, Mário de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, Tasso da Silveira, José Lins do Rego, Paulo Rónai and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. To judge by the issues available in the Latin

American Library, the periodical was launched in September 1941 and circulated without interruption until at least February 1942.²⁵ In 1944 it emerged with the title *This is Brazil*, of which only the first number is preserved.

Finally, in related to printed periodicals, the *Anuário da imprensa brasileira* has to be mentioned. This was published by DIP only in 1942. It consists of precious material, which presents the actions of each division of the department and pays special attention to the legislation covering the press.

A final set of works has to be mentioned, which are certainly the most difficult to be described, since they involves private publishers who in principle were concerned with the logic of the market and built their catalogue independently of DNP or DIP. In fact, it is very difficult to specific the relations between the government and these companies, above all due to the lamentable disappearance of the governmental archives. It is very probable that these contained correspondence, receipts and accounting data that would have allowed the existence of this exchange and its nature to be specified.

In the collections consulted a group of works was located which praised the regime, its achievement and its supreme leader, Getúlio Vargas, but which saw the light of day thanks to businessmen in the word of books. Although, on the one hand, it cannot be confirmed that these received some sort of support from DIP, on the other hand, their simple existence constitutes a clue that allows us to know that there was interest in collaborating with the executive or in exploiting the rising tide of analyses and descriptions of the New Brazil. Below follows the list of titles that are part of this sub-group:

Table 6 – Works published by commercial publishers

José Olympio	Date	Collection
1-11 VARGAS, Getúlio. <i>Nova política do Brasil</i> , 11v.	1938-1947	Tulane
12. ARRAIS, Raymondo de. <i>O Estado Novo e suas diretrizes</i>	1938	Tulane
13. AMARAL, Azevedo. <i>O estado autoritário e a realidade nacional</i>	1938	Tulane
14. GENTIL, Alcides. <i>As ideias do presidente Getúlio Vargas</i> .	1939	Tulane
15. CARRAZONI, André. <i>Getúlio Vargas</i>	1939	Ambos

16. ALVES, Isaias. <i>Educação e brasilidade</i>	1939	Tulane
17. CAMPOS, Francisco. <i>O Estado Nacional</i>	1940	Vanberbilt
18. SOMBRA, Severino. <i>As novas diretrizes da nova política do Brasil</i>	1941	Tulane
19. ALBUQUERQUE, Epitácio P. Cavalcanti. <i>Getúlio Vargas, esboço de biografia</i>	1941, 2ª Ed.	Tulane
20. ACHILLES, Francisco de Paula. <i>O Brasil em marcha</i>	1943, 2ª Ed.	Tulane
Zélio Valverde		
1. CORDEIRO, Mário. <i>Aspectos econômicos e sociais do norte</i>	1940	Vanderbilt
2. SOMBRA, Severino. <i>As duas linhas de nossa evolução política</i>	1940	Vanderbilt
3. SANTOS, Francisco Martins dos. <i>O fato moral e o fato social da década getuliana</i>	1940, 2ª Ed.	Ambos
4. LOUREIRO, Pizarro. <i>Getúlio Vargas e a política luso-brasileira</i>	1941	Tulane
5. BARROS, Jacy Rego. <i>Do baronato ao Estado Novo</i>	1942	Vanderbilt
6. DEVINELLI, Carlos. <i>Política brasileira. Síntese crítica</i>	1942	Vanderbilt
A. Marçal		
1. SILVA, José Pereira da. <i>As melhores páginas de Getúlio Vargas. Leituras cívicas (didático)</i>	?	Vanderbilt
Americ-Edit		
1. VARGAS, Getúlio. <i>Discurso de posse na Academia Brasileira de Letras</i>	1944	Tulane
2. FRISCHAUER, Paul. <i>Um portrait sans retouches, Getúlio Vargas</i>	1944, 2ª Ed.	Vanderbilt
Civilização Brasileira		
1. PONTES, Eloy. <i>A ação do presidente Getúlio Vargas</i>	1940	Tulane

Coelho Branco		
1. COTRUM Neto, A. B. <i>Doutrina e formação do corporativismo</i>	1939	Vanderbilt
2. CARVALHO, M. Cavalcanti de. <i>Evolução do estado brasileiro</i>	1941	Vanderbilt
Cultura Moderna*		
1. LIMA, Alves. <i>Pátria re florida</i> . Hino ao Estado Novo	1938	Tulane
José Konfini		
1. LINS, Augusto E. Estellita. <i>A nova constituição dos Estados Unidos do Brasil</i>	1938	Vanderbilt
Nacional		
1. FRISCHAUER, Paul. <i>Presidente Getúlio Vargas</i>	1943	Tulane
O Cruzeiro		
1. PERES, Leopoldo. <i>Getúlio Vargas, o homem e o chefe</i>	1944	Vanderbilt
Olímpica		
1. BARROS, Vidal. <i>Um destino a serviço do Brasil</i>	1945	Tulane
Século XX		
1. DINIZ, Zolachio. <i>Getúlio Vargas, estadista, orador, homem de coração</i>	1942	Tulane
Victor Bookstore Publish		
1. JOBIM, Danton. <i>Two revolutions</i> . F. D. Roosevelt e G. D. Vargas. A good neighbor report	1941	Tulane

*The only publisher located in São Paulo, all the others are based in Rio de Janeiro.

In the specific case of José Olympio, the relations with Catete and Tiradentes Palace must have been very close, since it was the publisher of the series *A nova política do Brasil*, of which DIP acquired one thousand copies of each new issue released.²⁶ Perhaps it is not by chance that the publisher accumulated the largest number of works sympathetic to the regime, at least in the sample studied. The successive volumes about government achievements

gave rise to others which sought to summarize, through thematic approaches, the material originally published in chronological order. José Olympio took responsibility for doing this in 1939 with *As idéias do presidente Getúlio Vargas*, a summary of the thought of the new politics in Brazil organized by Alcides Gentil and three years later with *novas diretrizes da nova política do Brasil*, a selection organized by Severino Sombra. However, it was not only José Olympio who exploited this vein: the already mentioned work of Hans Klinghoffer, published by Imprensa Nacional, also joined, this time in French, the list of volumes which thematically reorder the thought of President Vargas. The formula was repeated in *Ideário político de Getúlio Vargas*, dating from 1943 and published in the city of São Paulo, organized by Raul Guastini and with a preface by Osvaldo Orico, without any mention of the publisher.

José Olympio not only published works by Vargas but also included in its portfolio important ideologues – Francisco Campos, Azevedo Amaral, Severino Sombra – alongside other authors who could be considered to be the disseminators of the ideas of the *Estado Novo*, as shown in Table 6. In this sample the comparison between José Olympio and Zélio Valverde, the second publisher in numerical terms, indicates that the latter appears to have published texts closer to the publicity ones, with the exception of the work by Severino Sombra.

The other company which published a work by Getúlio Vargas was Americ-Edit, founded in 1942 by Max Fischer, head of the literary section of Casa Flammarion in Paris and who sought refuge in Rio de Janeiro after the occupation of France by the Nazis. Above all the publisher published works in French in a context in which the importation of books from Europe had practically ceased. Issued under the imprint of America was published in 1944 the *Discurso de posse na Academia Brasileira de Letras* by Getúlio Vargas, and the second edition of Paul Frischauer's work, *Un portrait sans retouches, Getúlio Vargas*. It is curious to note that some authors appeared in the catalogues of more than one publisher, the case of Paul Frischauer, André Carrazoni and Severino Sombra, always with works sympathetic to power.

Another interesting point is related to the almost exclusive presence of Carioca publishers, which in itself is not surprising, taking into account the fact that the most important companies in the sector were based in the federal capital. Nevertheless, the panorama changes when attention is given to the printers, information which is unfortunately not always present in the books. Nevertheless, it can be stated that DIP' orders were filled by Rio de Janeiro companies, notably Olímpica printers, possibly the same that figures as a

publisher in Table 6. The large size commercial houses frequently chose companies from São Paulo, especially Revista dos Tribunais. This observation is impressionistic and is not supported by a specific study, but points to another interesting aspect that deserves attention: the printers and their articulations with the different bodies from the executive power, at a moment when the demand from printing was growing.

Systematic studies which can unveil the networks which involved on the one hand publishers, printers and authors, and on the other the government are fundamental, since they allow new questions to be formulated about the period, as well as opening possibilities to understanding not only DIP's actions and practices, but also the meanderings of the intellectual life of the period. It is certain that this aspect is far from being sufficient to take into account the proposals and the cultural production in circulation during the *Estado Novo*, but it constitutes an important aspect of the question, to the extent that it can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the period.

NOTES

¹ I would like to thank the Latin American Library, Tulane University, which through the Richard E. Greenleaf grant allowed me carried out two months of research in the institution's rich collection and the Dean of Research, Unesp, which made feasible a month's research in the Jean and Alexandre Heard Library, Vanderbilt University.

² According to Article 10, subparagraph d and Articles 14-16 of Decree Law 5077, dated 29 Dec. 1939. The decrees which created and regulated DIP were fully reproduced in *Anuário da imprensa brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: DIP, 1942. The articles mentioned can be found on p.47.

³ This statement is made in ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner B. *Uma biblioteca do "impossível"*. Trabalho de recuperação e ordenação de fontes (livros, folhetos e periódicos) necessárias e imprescindíveis à análise das relações entes os produtores intelectuais do denominado Estado Novo. Rio de Janeiro: Programa de Pós Graduação em Antropologia Social, Museu Nacional/UFRJ, 1981, mimeo, p.22. In this paper produced to fulfill the requirements of a discipline undertaken as part of a doctoral course, the author says he found a book with this stamp. Unfortunately in the files of the National Museum, only the initial (1-23) pages and the last two pages (75-76) of this paper were preserved. The missing part contains the survey of the works themselves. Attempts to contact the author proved to be fruitless.

⁴ According to Article 3, subsection J and 17, subsections E and H of Decree Law 5077, dated 29 December 1939. In: *Anuário da Imprensa brasileira*, respectively, p.43 and 48.

⁵ WILLIAMS, Daryle. *Culture wars in Brazil*. The first Vargas Regime, 1930-1945. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001, p.69.

⁶ LOPES, Sonia de Castro. *Lourival Fontes: as duas faces do poder*. Rio de Janeiro: Litteris Editora, 1999, p.85.

⁷ SILVA, Artur Adolfo Cotias e. O Tribunal de Contas da União na história do Brasil: evolução histórica, política e administrativa (1890-1998). In: BRASIL. TRIBUNAL DE CONTAS DA UNIÃO. *Prêmio Serzedello Corrêa 1998: Monografias Vencedoras*. Brasília: TCU, Instituto Serzedello Corrêa, 1999, p.75-76.

⁸ The information and considerations can be found in ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner B. *Op. cit.*, p.3 and 4. The author describes in details his journey through institutions that were theoretically charged with keeping this material: the National Archive, the Documentation Sector of the National Agency, National Library, the Library of the National Historical Museum, Library of Getúlio Vargas Foundation, Euclides da Cunha Library, Ministry of Finance Library, Library of the Faculty of Law, UFRJ, all from Rio de Janeiro, and the Mário de Andrade Municipal Library (SP), the Library of the Ministry of Justice and Interior Affairs (Brasília), always unsuccessfully.

⁹ CARONE, Edgard. *O Estado Novo (1937-1945)*. São Paulo: Difel, 1976, p.168. '*Biblioteca do impossível*,' Carone's fortunate expression served as the motto for the work of Alfredo Wagner B. de Almeida.

¹⁰ Casa de Rui Barbosa. Arquivo Museu da Literatura. Coleção José Olympio, emphasis added.

¹¹ For a systematic study about the *Documentos*, in which, nonetheless, there is no mention of the publisher receiving funds from DIP, see: FRANZINI, Fábio. *À sombra das palmeiras*. A Coleção Documentos Brasileiros e as transformações na historiografia nacional (1936-1959). Doctoral Dissertation (History). São Paulo: FFCLH-USP, 2006.

¹² In relation to the latter, see: SOUZA, José Inácio de Melo. *A ação e o imaginário de uma ditadura*. Controle, coerção e propaganda política nos meios de comunicação durante o Estado Novo. Masters' Thesis (Communication). São Paulo: ECA-USP, 1990, p.199-208.

¹³ *The Department of State Bulletin*, v. III, n. 55, July 13, 1940, p.27.

¹⁴ DNP was organized in 1938 and replaced the Department of Propaganda and Cultural Division (*Departamento de Propaganda e Divisão Cultural* – DPDC), created in 1934. The first body of this kind was the Official Department of Propaganda (DOP), dating from 1931.

¹⁵ In the cases cited the publications resulted from conferences held in DIP in the 1940s. The Department invited authorities and specialists to participate in these activities, carried out weekly in Tiradentes Palace and later publicized through books, as in the case in question, or in periodical publications, as will be shown below.

¹⁶ Research carried out in the Tulane University database allowed the location, in addition to the twelve works mention in Table 2, of another three, namely: BARRETO, João Paulo de Mello. *Anchieta e Getulio Vargas* (iniciativas e realização). Rio de Janeiro: DIP, 1941; CARNEIRO, Erymá. *As autarquias e as sociedades de economia no Estado Novo*. Rio de Janeiro: DIP, 1941; DANTAS, Mercedes Lacombe. *A força nacionalizadora do Estado No-*

vo (Estudos contemporâneos). Rio de Janeiro: DIP, 1942. Therefore, the collection should consist of fifteen titles.

¹⁷ The decrees that created each of the state departments are reproduced in *Anuário da Imprensa Brasileira*, p.133-142.

¹⁸ The São Paulo DEIP counted on the work of GOULART, Silvana. *Sobre a verdade oficial*. Ideologia, propaganda e censura no Estado Novo. São Paulo: Marco Zero, 1990.

¹⁹ Decree Law 2.073, dated 8 March 1940, created the *Empresas Incorporadas ao Patrimônio da União* (Companies Incorporated to the Federal Union), including Companhia Estrada de Ferro São Paulo – Rio Grande, the Carioca newspaper *A Noite* and the magazines *Noite Ilustrada*, *Carioca* and *Vamos Ler*, as well as Rádio Nacional.

²⁰ Also located in the Accessions Register of the Library Department of Middle America Research were: *O Brasil de ontem, de hoje e de amanhã*, COSTA, Artur da Souza. *Panorama financeiro e Estudos e Conferências*, numbers 18 and 19, though only the first is kept in the collected. One hypothesis for the discrepancy, other than lack of registration, is the possibility that the material was incorporated at a later moment, a rather improbable hypothesis due to the nature of the material, no matter how plausible it might seem. It should also be noted that various other registers were located, from other ministries, departments and institutes, without direct connection with DIP or the DEIPs. Actually the wide range of publications made by different agencies during the first Vargas government requires a specific study, taking into account the great effort made by the different bodies to publicize their actions. The collections of the institutions researched are an important witness to this frenetic activity.

²¹ On p.126 do *Anuário da Imprensa Brasileira*, there is a montage with some DIP titles – *Dos Jornais, Estados e Conferências, Brasil de ontem, de hoje e de amanhã* – which also includes staff analyzing lists of titles. The box above the image reads: “The printing service for DIP leaflets, books and pamphlets has registered until the present [1941], the impressive statistic of 11,520,000 words written in works of that nature. The conferences held regularly since 1940 in the Department have elevated that sum to approximately twice the amount of words which highlight relevant facts in Brazilian life among its different parts. In relation to books alone the examination of the production offers an average of one work published every eight days.”

²² In relation to the publication, see: GOMES, Angela de Castro. *História e historiadores*. A política cultural do Estado Novo. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1996.

²³ The Latin American Library has issues 1-5, June-Oct. 1941, and 15-17, corresponding to Aug.-Oct. 1942.

²⁴ The *Anuário da Imprensa Brasileira* contains propaganda related to the activities of the DIP Division of Tourism, in which is reproduced a cover of the periodical *Travel in Brazil*, p.128.

²⁵ Although the journal was presented as a monthly publication by DIP, the month of publication is not specified. Since volume 1, related to 1941, consisted of issues 1-4, it can be

supposed that it was launched in September 1941. While for volume 2, which began during the following year, three copies were preserved, numbers 1-3, which must refer to the first quarter of the year. The 1944 issue, in which the name changed, has the following indication: vol. 3, no. 1, a probably indication of interruption during 1943. The library thus has seven copies.

²⁶ This information was found in an undated letter which Fontes wrote to José Olympio, previously cited. Arquivo Museu da Literatura. Coleção José Olympio. In the Tulane University collection, volume 11 is one of fifty non-commercial examples, in *verge* paper and signed by the author Getúlio Vargas.