

## The pan-americanist imaginary and O Cruzeiro Internacional (1957-1965)

### Abstract

The article aims to identify the main ideas that supported the launch of the magazine O Cruzeiro Internacional (1957-1965), Brazilian journal published in Spanish and distributed throughout Latin America, Spain and areas of the United States. It tries to understand how these ideas have permeated the diffusion of a specific pan-American imaginary on certain groups and/or governments that guided through texts and photographic images a set of social representations on Latin America. These, in general, were selected for the defense of a Latin American unity under the economic, political and cultural hegemony of Brazil, at the regional level and the of USA worldwide.

**Keywords:** Photojournalism – Latin America; O Cruzeiro Internacional; Journals - Brazil.

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## O imaginário pan-americanista e O Cruzeiro Internacional (1957-1965)

### Resumo

O artigo tem como objetivo identificar as principais ideias que fundamentaram o lançamento da revista O Cruzeiro Internacional (1957-1965), periódico brasileiro publicado em língua espanhola e distribuída em toda a América Latina, Espanha e parte dos Estados Unidos. Busca-se compreender de que forma essas ideias permearam a difusão de um imaginário pan-americano específico, relativo a determinados grupos e/ou governos e que orientou, através de textos e imagens fotográficas, um conjunto de representações sociais sobre a América Latina. Estas, em linhas gerais, foram norteadas pela defesa de uma unidade latino-americana sob a hegemonia, econômica, política e cultural do Brasil, em âmbito regional e dos EUA, em escala mundial.

**Palavras-chave:** Fotojornalismo – América Latina; O Cruzeiro Internacional; Periódicos - Brasil.

This paper discusses the promotion of a Pan-American imaginary in the illustrated Brazilian magazine *O Cruzeiro Internacional*<sup>1</sup> [International Cruiser]. Back in the time, it was one of the two most spread magazines of the whole Latin-American continent. Edited in Brazil between 1957 and 1965, it was published biweekly and commercialized in every country of Latin America, and also in Spain and the USA.

In this study, we focused on the analysis of the first two years of the magazine's circulation, as this is the period that concentrated the largest number of speeches (editorials, reports, articles and advertising) to legitimize the magazine circulation in Spanish and therefore, defend its ideals and goals.

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<sup>1</sup> The magazine started with the name of *O Cruzeiro: edicion internacional* and later came to be called *O Cruzeiro Internacional*. In this article, we choose to always use the name *O Cruzeiro Internacional* to refer to the magazine, as the editors themselves, in general, referred to the magazine.

The magazine had the photojournalism<sup>2</sup> genre as its main attraction, and since the first issue, it had a certain idea of Pan-Americanism as a guiding element of the verbal and pictorial resources published. These, in general, are related to political and ideological conceptions of the journalistic group *Diários Associados* [Associated Newspapers] and its owner, Assis Chateaubriand. However, it is not our purpose here to analyze the images published in the magazine, but discuss the ideas that have led to such a venture. These ideas guided a set of social representations about Latin America in the magazine, as “[...] in photojournalistic image, understood as narrative, the one who narrates is also implied, the narrative context and the very narrate” (FERREIRA, 2013, p. 31).

However, as it is an illustrated magazine with images as the central axis of its statements, visual narrative concentrated most intensely the meaning of these representations. Even if images do not represent reality, they express and act on the process of construction of concepts about the world, because “[...] what we see when contemplating technical images is not ‘the world’, but certain concepts relative to the world [...]” (FLOSSER, 2002, p. 14).

Although a considerable literature about *O Cruzeiro* exists in Brazil, significant studies were not found on the international edition of the magazine. We know two studies, that, however, have different objectives than what we propose here. One of them, by Elisa Bacheaga Casadei (2012), is an article in communication that intends to make the public aware of the existence of this magazine, generally unknown. The other is a book by a professor of the Catholic University of Chile, Alejandro Jiménez Escobar (2004), entitled: *Neruda En O Cruzeiro Internacional*, which does not focus on the magazine itself, but in the publication of Neruda’s writing (*Confieso que he vivido*) on the magazine *Cruzeiro Internacional*, in ten chapters. According to the author, the published chapters constitute the essence of the subsequent best seller with the same title.

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<sup>2</sup> In photojournalism, the emphasis on the photographic image has the same value of the verbal text. Nadja Peregrino (1991) states that in photojournalism there is a preponderance of the image regarding the written text, it is not a simple illustrated verbal piece, but actually a visual piece aided by text. Gava (2003) states that, in this mode, the images do not supplant the text, but the layout is the main factor, i.e., how the photographs and the texts combine and complement each other on the page. For him, this combination is what gives meaning to the text, because neither images nor text function in isolation, but are part of a whole that is more important than the parts.

By studying the circulation of a Brazilian magazine, in its purpose of cultural domain in the Latin American space in the 1950s, the research is part of cultural studies that have the media as source and object of research. It is also linked to inter-American studies that address both relations between the USA and Latin America, and the internal relations among American countries. In this particular case, the highlight is the cultural dimension of Pan-Americanism, Latin Americanism and anti-Americanism without neglecting, however, the materiality of those relationships, as well as their relation with political and economic powers.

The study on the circulation of this magazine in Latin America relates to the understanding of region as “symbolic spaces in which hegemony is both constructed and challenged at the same time, since in all power relations there are, besides violence and conflict, negotiation, exchange and even identification, that affect the very domination structure” (AZEVEDO, 2011, p. 286). In this sense, we observed that circulation of ideas and processes of mediation and cultural representation, in different representation vehicles (various speeches) contribute to the shaping of an imaginary about Latin America.

The articles published in the magazine, both verbal and image texts, have diverse content: science, technology, arts, politics and economics, and especially symbolic themes of modernity that glamorize the lifestyle of the middle class, its values and habits of consumption. However, due to characteristics of the vehicle – varieties illustrated magazine – they appear in a mild form and at the same time, endowed with pedagogical enhance by the resources of new visual technologies, such as composition, montage, foregrounds, etc. This visual pedagogy in *O Cruzeiro Internacional* is directly associated with a civilizing ideal in the proper conduct of world mission explicitly assumed in relation to Brazil in national publication, intending to perform the same role regarding Latin America.

Thus, the relation text/context is essential to decrypt representation of social world conveyed in the magazine, as the relational model suggested by Roger Chartier (2002), which proposes to study the connection between representation of social world through his own social world, for better understanding of the latter. However, the effectiveness of representations to impose certain views of the world, which means,

“establish classifications and divisions, to propose values and norms that guide taste and perception that define limits and authorize behaviors and social roles,” it depends in recognition of its power to create a belief that does not lie in representations, but:

In a particular relation – and through it – among those who wield power and who are subjected to it, that is, in the very structure of the field in which belief is produced and reproduced. What does the power of slogans, power to maintain order or to subvert is the belief in legitimacy of words of the one who utters them, a belief in which production is not a matter of words (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 14).

Based on this understanding, we believe that the strength of social representations in the *O Cruzeiro Internacional* magazine was, on one hand in the fact that it expresses the interest of a powerful group – its readerships, upper classes and middle society, that are sensitive to changes resulting from rapid growth that has been occurring in the last decade – and the other, the prestige enjoyed by the magazine in the journalistic field, inserting the struggle of representations mentioned by Bourdieu, which are:

[...] struggles for the monopoly of seeing and believing, making known, of imposing the legitimate definition of divisions of social world through division of principles that, when it is imposed on the group as a whole, realize the meaning and consensus on the meaning and, in particular, about the reality of unity and group identity (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 113).

The magazine held a privileged position in this struggle as means of mass communication, understood as the main mediator of social representations in the contemporary world. Such media, according to Sandra Jovchelovitch (2000, p. 89), “have become constitutive of social life [...] they have altered interaction modes, have transformed the access to it and to consumption of symbolic goods”, is therefore an important source for the study of social representations, in this case, those related to inter-American relations in the context post-World War II.

This type of magazine had an important political role, as social facts of the period (treaties, wars etc.) were seized, interpreted and disseminated by them. We can mention, besides *O Cruzeiro Internacional*, *Life en Español*, that fulfilled the same functions. We resort to the concept of soft power developed by Joseph S. Nye (1990), in which

international relations are not submitted exclusively to official diplomatic relations, but are a set of official relations, private, commercial and cultural. Essentially, it refers to “a number of general principles, ideas, values or institutions; shared, consensual or considered legitimate by different groups; but at the same time as resources of power, influence or control or one group over another” (RAMOE; ZAHRAN, 2006, p. 134).

This role of the *O Cruzeiro Internacional* magazine did not go unnoticed by intellectuals and country leaders of the Hemisphere. Fernando Diez de Medina, at the time Minister of Education of Bolivia, has published a response to a speech by Assis Chateaubriand published in the same magazine, during the one-year anniversary of the magazine in its international version. For Medina, “Mr. Chateaubriand is a statesman and an opinion driver in his homeland. Bolstered by a powerful chain of newspapers, magazines, radio and television, it seems that he now aspires to guide the American thought according to his own formula: constantly increasing the life cycle of the Brazilian people” (*O CRUZEIRO: International Edition*, 08/18/1958, p. 58)<sup>3</sup>. Further, the author criticizes the imperialist project of Chateaubriand, raising hypothesis about the true meaning of its Pan-American speech:

What is it about? Selling a commodity – *O Cruzeiro* – [...] to open new markets – or expand them – to the powerful industrial expansion of mercantilist interests defending the advertising chain of Senator Chateaubriand? Or is it seriously a defined policy that if it maintains the Itamaraty, at least count on the support of large sectors of the Brazilian opinion? (*O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL*, 06/18/1958, p.58).

Thus, it is possible to say that these magazines exercised what Valente and Santoto (2006) define as “media diplomacy”<sup>4</sup>. Even though not officially linked to the State, they influenced and, in some cases, strengthened cultural values underlying the foreign policy pursued by the central countries. They went beyond the state level, mobilizing public opinion in the process of convincing and opinion formation, act and interfere on foreign policy. In the case of *Life en Español*, many of its publications gave continuity to the civilizing vision of the USA, which means the ideology that underlay its

<sup>3</sup> All citations that have as reference texts published in the *O Cruzeiro Internacional* magazine were translated into English, therefore, we opted not to include an explanation note to all citations.

<sup>4</sup> Even if the authors refer to current media involving new media resources of the information era, we considered their general ideas on the concept useful.

foreign policy. In this perspective, Hunt (1987), using various sources, including iconographic ones, describes the way in which Latin America was represented at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century, reproducing an image, usually linked to femininity, childhood, emotion, grotesque etc.

To Thompson (2005), this form of symbolic power is a specific assignment of the media characterized as “a distinct type of social activity that involves transmission and reception of symbolic forms and involves use of various resources,” all of them arising from any technical way” (p. 24). For the author, “the symbolic actions can cause reactions, lead responses to certain content, suggest ways and decisions, lead to believe and disbelieve, support the state of affairs or stirring up the masses in collective revolt” (p. 24).

These considerations about the importance of media in modern and contemporary society make their study a prime source for historical analysis. It is also constituted by a printed record of the events of a time, without neglecting, however, that it was elevated to this category (of event) by a choice in a multitude of events that permeate social life. Therefore, it is essential for the analysis to unravel this subjectivity, trying to identify the forces that act on a representation and how they could influence the reality or even which relations are maintained with reality. In the case of the *O Cruzeiro Internacional* magazine, this understanding can be found both in the ideas defended by its owner, already quite widespread in literature on the press in Brazil, as the ideology related to the groups it represented.

Paraphrasing Thompson (2005), the media is primarily cultural, and the central issue in studies that take it as their object is the significant character of symbolic forms and its social context. Therefore, the historical knowledge of the American societies of the period, and their internal and external relationships, are fundamental to understand the meaning of the discussed magazines.

The historical context, set in the 1950s, had the backdrop of the Cold War and discussions about Latin American development, culminating in the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and later developments. The period was marked by a series of treaties and organizations aimed at regulating the inter-American relations under the hegemony of

USA in a climate of growing opposition on the part of Latin American countries – the imperialist policy of this country.

Between 1950 and 1970, world capitalism has developed around the United States, which quadrupled its exports to the rest of the world, but also become a major importer of consumer goods from the end of 1950s. In 1952, election of the republican Eisenhower to the USA presidency marked the culmination of this process. According to Muniz Bandeira (1973), Oswaldo Aranha have allegedly referred to Eisenhower as manipulated by the big bankers, industrialists and American traders. For him, the inaugurated period was characterized by the Wall Street area of the state. “Capitalism in power knows no limitations, mainly those of international order” (BANDEIRA, 1973, p. 341).

American multinationals have increased their foreign subsidiaries of approximately 7,500 in 1950 to over 23,000 in 1966. However, companies from other countries started to follow, and their main function as “internalize markets ignoring national borders” become independent of national borders, which means, become independent of state and its territory. Thus, [...] in Latin America, already in 1950, 300 subsidiaries of USA companies accounted for 90% of investments made by USA companies in the region [...]” (FURTADO, 1975, p. 53).

Inserted in the fight against the advance of fascism in the hemisphere in the 1930s, in an attempt to change the USA’s negative image in Latin America, Roosevelt launched the policy of the Good Neighbor – a series of agreements that provided cultural and economic exchange and the suspension of USA’s military interventions in Latin America. Also, the Latin America edition of the American magazine Reader’s Digest was launched, which, with the support of American government, has become a major instrument of American way introduction<sup>5</sup>.

In the context that emerged after World War II, however, the main strategies of the USA focused on removing from the hemisphere any influence of the Soviet Union. However, the exclusion of Latin America of the USA government aid plains in the post-war period, leaving this function only to the private sector, which generated many

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<sup>5</sup> On this subject, see: JUNQUEIRA, Mary Anne. **Ao sul do Rio Grande**: análise de Seleções do Reader’s Digest, Porto Alegre: editora da Universidade São Francisco, 2001.



discontents. The emphasis on national security regarding foreign policy for Latin America was not going to meet the desires of Latin American countries.

Amid reformulations of the USA's policy toward Latin America, new instruments were created to preserve its influence in the region. In 1947, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was established, which required signatories, with a quorum of two-thirds approval, to stop relations with any violator of the sovereign principles of the American countries. In 1948, OAS was established, which had the basic principles of nonintervention, the juridical equality among states, peaceful arrangement of differences and collective defense against aggression. The objective was to maintain inter-American peace, keeping the focus on the common fight against the main external enemy: the communist regime, defined by the United States as opposed to democracy, which should be defended in Latin America. However, the USA did not take long to support the dictatorial regimes that have arisen during the period, such as Fulgencio Batista (Cuba), Pérez Jiménez (Venezuela), and Somoza (Nicaragua).

The USA's war effort in stepping up its hemispheric security policy against the communist threat, and its consequent support of Latin American dictatorships, contributed to the growth of anti-Americanism in the region. The OAS, created as a USA attempt to submit the 21 member countries to American control, became the scene of influences and disputes. The main disagreement was about the different priorities among Latin American countries and the USA. The first had a central concern with financial aid for its development, while the latter is concerned exclusively with hemispheric security.

In the wake of complaints from Latin American countries against the USA policy towards Latin America, there is the proposal of Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek for the creation of the Pan-American Organization, which claimed, ultimately, greater financial support for developing Latin American countries. The idea was a kind of Marshall Plan for the region. PAO was one of the most significant initiatives of the Brazilian policy towards USA's foreign policy, which later gave rise to the Independent Foreign Force. "With PAO, Kubitschek government intended to bring together several Latin American nations, with a clear and strengthened Brazil's leadership" (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 5). While embodying a traditional perspective, PAO brought back "the belief that only economic development could stop the communist evolution, this development could only be

obtained with bonded efforts of Latin American countries and with the decisive participation and USA commitment restoring the Pan-American alliance” (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 5).

So, while anti-Americanism has historical roots in the region during the 1905s, the dispute between the two great powers for world hegemony, together with American effort in the anticommunist struggle in the hemisphere, led to the reissue of interference policies on the continent, contributing to intensification of reactions against USA’s hegemony. Moreover, many Latin American countries were experiencing an urban-industrial growth, due in part to the import substitution policy of the war period. Nationalistic policies promoted heated discussions of national and regional scholars, in the development of Latin American countries, and in general were radically contrary to USA’s instructions sense.

An example of the explosive potential of anti-Americanism in Latin America was demonstrated during the visit of Vice President Richard Nixon to Venezuela in May 1958, when he faced a series of anti-American demonstrations in Caracas and was almost physically assaulted by protesters, exposing the Latin American dissatisfaction with USA’s foreign policy.

This is the context in which *O Cruzeiro Internacional* was launched, the first Brazilian international publishing venture. The Brazilian version of the magazine was already nationally established as the main illustrated magazine of the country, the flagship of the Associated Newspapers communication network, which in 1957 put in place a bold expansions project for the Latin American countries, including Spain and the USA.

*O Cruzeiro* joined the first media conglomerate and the first communication network encompassing different media in Brazil – the oligopoly formed by *Diários Associados* owned by Assis Chateaubriand. Founded in 1928, the magazine was part of the original context in the modernization of media process in the country in the late 1920s, which was consolidated in the 1950s. As a communication leader of a modernizing discourse, the magazine was the first of this genre in national circulation. The great boom of the magazine occurred in the 1940s, when it brought innovative proposals, including

the extensive use of photojournalism, diffusing an editorial ideal of “report” as opposed to the current literary model in the country until the 1930s. The adopted line inspired by the North American journalism, especially in the magazines such as *Life*, which were based on rapidly digestible updates, adapting to modern life. The big difference was the use of photography no longer as mere illustration, but as a construction of a visual discourse on events.

These changes are connected with a renewal of photographic language in Brazil pointed by Fabris (2012), as linked to supporters of New Vision and New Objectivity movements. They “were placed at the center of its program the idea of seeing better: they conceived the lens of the camera as a second eye able to educate the natural eye, making it perceive the world from unusual angles”. This design had as a fundamental principle the idea of documentary objectivity, which was widely used by the mass media, and its principal exponent was photojournalism. The press photo is no longer only a text illustration, it begins to be “[...] a conceptual elaboration, materializing a specific visual knowledge about the world. It was no longer simply recording reality, but to actively building it” (COSTA, 2012).

In this context, illustrated magazines such as *O Cruzeiro* played an important role in the defense of political and economic interest groups and/or governments, and even the spread of certain worldviews. They were based, on one hand, on the alleged objectivity of photo reports and on the other, on the possibility of construction of reality through especially the new technological resources and cutting-edge photograph ideas.

The magazine *O Cruzeiro*, nationally, adopted a pedagogical discourse directed explicitly and nominally to a *national bourgeoisie*<sup>6</sup>, which intended to educate along the lines of the world thought civilized, i.e., European and North-American. In its Latin American version, it was guided by the same principles. But Brazil appeared as the leader of the process, putting in a stage of civilization superior to other Latin American countries.

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<sup>6</sup> The term “national bourgeoisie” is mentioned in several speeches of the magazine in its Brazilian version and in other media vehicles by Assis Chateaubriand, who, among the various campaigns that he promoted through his press vehicles, had a campaign aim at the education of the “national bourgeoisie”. More on this topic: Meyrer (2012).

The launch of *O Cruzeiro Internacional* occurred along within a Brazilian political and economic moment marked by the enthusiasm of Kubitschek, also coinciding with another release – the Pan-American Operation (PAO), as described above. Wilson Aguiar and Odilo Costa Filho were in charge of directing the international edition, and they were replaced later by other directors, including Constantine Palaeologus, in the 1960s. He published the book: *O Brasil na América Latina: uma experiência de jornalismo internacional* [Brazil in Latin America: an international journalism experience], translated into Spanish. In this book, Paleólogo (1960) wrote about the process of idealization and implementation of the magazine. It also described the new editorial proposal under management, which proposed more focused content to the reality of Latin American countries, criticizing the stereotypical way the continent was being treated by the magazine so far.

Before the official launch in 1957, the publishing company had some experiences publishing, in the previous years in some Latin American countries, editions of the Brazilian magazine with parts of the articles translated into Spanish. However, after surveys were conducted in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, and Paraguay, throughout the year, it was decided to edit a magazine for some specific interests of neighboring countries. Paleólogo (1960) states that the surveys revealed that a Brazilian magazine that only wishes to spread the Brazilian “philosophy of life” would fail, so a totally new direction was needed.

The project would have received initial support from the President, who, according to Glauco Carneiro (1999), had pledged to release funds for government publications in all editions, at least eight pages to disseminate the stat projects developed from the *Plano de Metas* (Plan of Goals). This government support, however, failed, contributing to the financial infeasibility of the magazine, which still remained outstanding for eight years with a deficit that contributed to the decline of the Associated group, as pointed out by authors who have studied the magazine.

In its heyday in the first two years, the magazine was a sales success. It circulated in more than 20 countries, surpassing traditional magazines such as *El Hogar* in Argentina, with 300,000 copies in issues of, averagely, 84 pages. However, even with the success run, the magazine has been insufficient from the start and although the publication has

officially closed in 1965, from 1962 it was dwindling and started, almost exclusively, to translate part of the edition of its national counterpart.

In addition to the alleged promise by Juscelino Kubitschek, agreements with USA's advertisers have allegedly been made for advertising space sale, which also failed. Both Carneiro (1999) and Acioly Netto (1998) attribute the withdrawal of advertises to the interference of the *Time-Life* group, which had also launched a Spanish version for circulation in Latin America. It is important to know the performance of this magazine, as it served as basis for creating *O Cruzeiro Internacional*.

*Life* magazine was the "lighter" version of *Time*, a news magazine created in 1923 and, in general, disclosed a summary of events in the week (nationally and internationally) targeting the American middle class. *Life* was created in 1936 as a photojournalism magazine geared primarily to the spread of the American Way of Life. The magazine had the declared objective to educate the masses, serving scientific and artistic materials and images from other countries. Its great advantage was the predominant image in the narrative of events (SILVA, 2012). The success of the magazine was great, bursting into print runs with World War II. In 1953, during the Cold War, the magazine started editing a Latin American version, *Life en Español*.

*Life en Español* focused on Latin America and brought, beside the content of the English version, content specific to the region. The magazine received state support defending the importance of disseminating products and American values, which was consolidated with the Smith-Mundt Act, "which encouraged the dissemination and promotion of United States through the American media in circulation in other countries" (SILVA, 2012, p. 68). Henry Luce justified the creation of *Life International* in these words:

Time Life International was launched in 1945 because the USA were literally the only power in the world capable of restoring some continuities of civilization... it is this highlighted uniqueness of power and influence [of USA]... which is the factual premise – the existential premise that Time Inc. should accomplish in the world (SILVA, 2012, p. 68, apud GRAINGE, 2001, p. 4).

For Silva (2012), the group directed by Luce tried to influence the direction of American foreign policy, charging and carrying out actions that reinforced USA's

hegemony. The same author states that the international editions of *Time* and *Life* “helped to convey to the world a certain image of America: America consensus, middle class, capitalism, consumption, democracy, and freedom” (p. 70).

This imperialist expression of the American media, however, suffered resistance in Latin American countries. The anti-American reactions on the continent had historical roots because of interventionist policy in the region since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in the Monroe Doctrine, which stimulated intellectual positions against USA’s imperialism as well as some actions and movements of nationalist character contrary to American dominance. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after World War II, this feeling reached its apex in a context that was becoming increasingly complex over the 1950s.

Even though reportedly favorable to USA’s economic field, especially in regard to defense of foreign capital into the country, the group *Diários Associados* took advantage of the context. They intended to take the intermediate position between Latin American countries and the USA, a role which in terms of press, had been occupied by *Life*. However, emerging nationalisms in Latin America could be a stumbling block. At the launch of *O Cruzeiro Internacional* in 1957, in the presence of President Juscelino Kubitschek, Assis Chateaubriand performed a speech saying:

The issue of this magazine in Spanish [...] had to be made by us, by our organization. It means another blow from our ranks goes against caricatural nationalism that is done here. Our people, Mr. President, that stands against our macrocephalic state, against the flood of state monopolies that every day crushes us, and against the deformation of national idea, or it will break down these days and have meaning in every occidental democracy, from Germany, England, USA to Canada, the resurrection of free enterprise. (*O CRUZEIRO*, 04/05/1957, p. 22)

From the beginning, *O Cruzeiro Internacional* was inspired by the *Life* magazine, while it was positioning itself as a competitor. “The initial idea was to compose an essay with hired journalists from several Latin American countries and that used in their texts a kind of ‘inter-American Spanish’, that is, who passed over the regional differences of language and was relatively well accepted in all countries” (CASADEI, 2012, p.82).

The goal to compete with American teams and Life, more specifically with the latter, is quoted by Paleólogo (1960, p. 17). For the author, they had “the courage to export, in the magazine’s way, their thoughts and philosophical conception of life.” According to the evaluation made by the author due to the nationalisms of Latin countries, it would be prudent to avoid excessive advertising of Brazil. He evaluated further that there was a mutual ignorance between Brazil and Hispanic countries, but also had an interest in these countries by Brazil. For the author, between the USA and Brazil, “south, of course, a friendly country was situated, the selfless ally, the nation that due to the size and its possibilities of progress was designed to establish the balance of influence in America” [...] “it assumed the new role in the new context” (PALEÓLOGO, 1960, p. 30). This design is symbolized in the advertising image (Fig 1), conveyed in the first issued of the magazine. In it, Brazil is at the top of the image supporting other countries in Latin America, brokered by the magazine *O Cruzeiro*. In the image, representing the map of America, Brazil seems to occupy the USA’s space.

Fig. 01. Advertising of O Cruzeiro Internacional



*O Cruzeiro:Edicion Internacional*, 02/04/1957, p. 09; 01/12/1957, p. 5.

Source: Collection of Jornal Estado de Minas/GEDOC

This new role, according to the author and editor of the magazine, was explained in the mission announced as bringing together Latin American people (Brazil and Hispanics), acting, as well as interpreters:

What were all of us, after all? A community of classified underdeveloped nations fighting for their economic emancipation and rebelling against those who saw us just as a lucrative field for intervention of capital, but that did not bother at all with our destiny and our evolution. We had shortcomings, no doubt, but no one could judge us by them. The same had come when we should strive, all in stimulating out numerous positive aspects, so that the shortcomings were eliminated. The Latin American community of nations did not need critics, they needed rather an interpreter (PALEÓLOGO, 1960, p.46).

The author continues the explanation of objectives and merits of the international magazine, stating that this was its function, interpreter of Latin America, which paved the way for Pan American Operation of Kubitschek. Paleólogo criticizes the USA's monopoly of the news that spread only USA positive information uncritically, while the news from Latin America treated, in general, its underdevelopment (1960, p. 66). *O Cruzeiro Internacional* stated:

[...] in a process of natural evolution as interpreter in Latin America [...] the dissemination of episodes of Latin America life exclusively under its rosy appearance without subjecting them to any analytical sieve, was eliminating this type of matter "fabricated", replacing it with articles and photos relating to Brazil and Spanish America. And the magazine suffered nothing from the journalistic point of view. On the contrary, a whole multitude of creatures, which until then began to emerge in publication pages. Beautiful women of all nations, scientists, writers, painters, actors and actresses, beggars and millionaires, eccentric and idealistic, in short all the multicolored range of Latin humanity of the New World was being revealed to an audience that seemed to never have suspected its existence (PALEÓLOGO, 1960, p. 67)

In his view, in the role of interpreter of Latin America, the magazine could give answers on behalf of the subcontinent, which was previously only done at local level (nations). Defined as a magazine made by Latin Americans for Latin Americans, "their primary mission therefore ended up being to offer a free, large and unified platform to



people of Latin America” (PALEÓLOGO, 1960, p. 76). The author concluded that the creation of *O Cruzeiro Internacional*:

[...] is an unprecedented event in the world. For the first time in the universal press history, a magazine was born to represent and interpret a whole community of nations. Besides the existence of borders, other small differences that create animosity between countries, assumed as top objective, the task of expressing what all of them have as big, beautiful and fair, even when, in order to do it, it is forced to reveal the other side. It is not a magazine of one people – it belongs to 20 nations. Perhaps this is the first part of the lesson that Latin America is preparing to minister the world (PALEÓLOGO, 1960, p. 89).

From a regional perspective, we can understand Latin America as the space of two international magazine’s circulation, produced in the central regional areas, in the context of both intensifying USA control mechanisms in the subcontinent, as a reaction to imperialist domination in Latin American countries. Thus, the area is understood as space for symbolic representation, a place of disputes where the hegemony can be problematized from its symbolic elements. These, in the magazine reflect a certain idea of pan-Americanism that appears explicitly in the speech of Chateaubriand published in *O Cruzeiro Internacional*:

This continent urges to support, each day more strongly, the idea of cooperation between us, the Iberian tree, cooperation with brothers of Anglo-Saxon language of the north, cooperation with Europe, from which came the white man, standard of civilization and hemisphere culture. Before Clumbus, Vespucci, Cabral, Pizzaro, Cortes, America, with the exception of Mayas and Incas, was wild. The foundation of continent free States is a gift of the white man, bearer of the idea of freedom that indigenous know. Let’s finish with the myth that Aboriginal, with exception of Peru and Mexico, contributed nothing to create an America that is ours. The European immigrant planted the tree of money. Spanish is as English and Portuguese, the language of freedom. We have every reason to promote this issue, choosing the Spanish language to meet toe Iberian people of America around the same ground and common ideal. (O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL, 04/02/1957, p. 8)

This dispute, however, was not located only in the central poles, cited above, but passed by internal squabbles among Latin America, as we can extract from the publication of response to speech of Assis Chateaubriand. The reply was written by

Fernando Diez Merina, Minister of Education of Bolivia, under the title: *Insurgência Nova da América* (Insurgency of New America). According to him, when defending that the only way possible to “make up for our social immaturity and our geographical adversity” would be the political re-approaching of our people and the opening of markets to European and North American capital, Chateaubriand did not take into account the diversity of countries in Latin America. In the words of Medina “[...] it is not the same to speak of approach from Rio de Janeiro than La Paz [...] in which South and Central America are a mosaic of people, customs, economic diversity, which cannot be measured with the same criteria.” The author also cites “the rejection of nationalism and the myth of Aboriginal [...] especially from a continental opinion guide” as inadmissible. (O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL, 07/01/1957, p. 49).

Synthetically, the objectives of Latin American publication as well described in the first publication opening editorial: “O Cruzeiro seeks to highlight our common origin, our common interests and our common ideas. It arises decided to constitute itself into a promoter element of our approach.” (O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL, 04/07/1957, p. 8). Armed with these principles often repeated in speeches, some made by Chateaubriand himself, the magazine promoted and publicized a particular Pan-American imaginary, from the production and reproduction of social representations of Latin America. These were explored through a set of images and texts served in sensationalist photo reports, gossip columns or in political and economic articles. In either format, in most cases, the idea of pan-Americanism, as conceived by the editor of the group, remained the leitmotif of the speeches that, in general, can be categorized into: History; competition novels; Photo Reports on Latin American issues; and political speeches on the pan-Americanism.

In history category, titles as: *La profecia de Bolívar y el Canal de Panamá*; *La independencia do México y Anarquia*; *La America y los Romanos (on the recognition of America by Etruscans)*; *El espíritu Espanõl y la America Cristiana*; *Washington y Bolívar*; *America y los Viajes Alrededor del Mundo*; *Garcilaso de La Vega, El Inca*; among others, building representation of a Latin America whose historical processes have common

traits, while the selection of subjects enhances certain elements of the desired unit over others.

The materials that cover the history of Latin America are mostly in the column *Secretos Y Revelaciones de la História*, signed by Gustavo Barroscó, Brazilian Academy of Letters member and director of the National Historical Museum. The author signed an identical column in Brazilian publication on the magazine, but with the addition of “Brazil” in the title and issues relating specifically to the history of Brazil. In the Latin American version, the topics published in Spanish refer to other countries in Latin America or to some aspect considered common to all Latin American countries. With regard to novels contest, *O Cruzeiro Internacional* thus announces its objectives: “we hope to promote a fruitful literary movement and contribute to the development and cultural exchange among all Spanish speaking countries.” (*O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL*, 04/16/1957, p. 6).

The novels contest was launched in the first issue of the magazine with the call: “Gran Inter-American Contest of Novel” being directed exclusively to Latin American authors. The promotional campaign of the event is present in the pages for most of its first year. The vaunted unity was promoted well through a cultural project that presupposed a Latin American intellectual matrix given initially by the common language, considered one of the instruments unifying the continent, as Chateaubriand’s speech described. It was in the wake of this ideal that the magazine published the ten chapters of Pablo Neruda’s work cited above.

As for photo report subjects, we can bring together in a first group titles as: *El verdadero Origen del Rio Amazonas*; *Iguazu, Agua Grande*; *El Paraiso de los Esquiadores* (about Bariloche); *Antártida el Silencio blanco*; *Polo Sur: Misterio, Aventura, Soledad*; *Patagonia*. Also some referring to historical places in reports as: *Las Siete Ciudades Misioneras*, *Colonia del Sacramento*, *Monumento a San Martin*, *El Gaucho*, among others.

As illustrated magazine, which had the photograph as main axis of speech, the great photographic reports, many of them composed of several pages, are their main content. If we used the category space, proposed, among others, by Mauad (1996) and

Milk (1993) for reading the visual messages of photo reports, we can say that there is a predominance of representations of Latin America that emphasize geographical area primarily through the photographs of landscapes, accentuating on one hand, the exotic picturesque character of nature, and on the other, the economic potential to be exploited.

Also, photo reports that show figurative spaces are significant, that are composed of characters considered representative of Latin America. In this group, women, artists, athletes and politicians have a prominent place, remembering that it is a long story about Carlos Gardel which opens the first issue of the magazine appearing on the cover. Another example is the story *La Joven Moderna da América*, which builds, in nine pages, a profile of Latin American women who possess a “balance between the traditional virtues and freedom of modern education” (*O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INERNACIONAL*, 12/01/1957, p. 16). Also characters of the Latin American sports world as football players appear in the pages. It is observed that while the Brazilian publication has football as one of the subjects that aim to promote national unity, in the international edition it takes Latin American identity, as we can verify from the title: (*O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INERNACIONAL*, 03/01/1957, p. 24).

Therefore, if according to Leite (1993, p. 19) photography can be understood as the “cultural and ideological reduction of a geographical area in a given moment”, we can say that the photo set that integrate proto reports of *O Cruzeiro Internacional* represent, ultimately, a certain vision of Latin America, which is conditioned by a specific historical context.

Political speeches published mainly in international politics column of Teófilo de Andrade articulate the set of texts and images around the idea of pan-Americanism. Topics such as: *Integración de la America Latina*; *La internacionalización del Canal de Panamá*; *Vocación Democrática de America*; *Coexistencia, Guerra Fría y Desarme*; address the major Latin American political issues of the time, especially the relation with USA and its role in politics and world economy. Overall, they preach the need for hemispheric unity around USA, however, they highlight the need for economic compensation from the northern brother.

In the space of this article, we did not focus on the analysis of photo reports because we chose to focus the ideas and context that permeated the choices and publication of themes. However, we believe that, from the above, we can say that *O Cruzeiro Internacional* sought instrumentalize the Pan-American imaginary of Latin America, in order to promote the idea of the continent's unity around some basic principles: justice, freedom, democracy, republic and economic development under aegis of world capitalism.

In the article published in the edition commemorating the first anniversary of *O Cruzeiro Internacional*, Assis Chateaubriand wrote: “[...] our imperialism does not clash with neighbors, it is domestic use, it is not something to be afraid of...” (O CRUZEIRO: EDICION INTERNACIONAL, 05/05/1958, p. 7).

The explicit defense of a Brazilian imperialism in Latin America, by the owner of the magazine, and speeches in favor of the international edition creation are instructive about the proposed model, which means the hemispheric union under the economic, political and cultural hegemony of Brazil at regional, and of USA worldwide.

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