

Public policies for books and reading in Brazil: The National Institute of Book (1937-1967)

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Resumo:

Monteiro Lobato e as origens do Instituto Nacional do Livro; sua criação e funcionamento (de 1937 a 1967) no contexto do avanço dos meios de comunicação de massa. Políticas públicas do estado brasileiro para o livro, a leitura e as bibliotecas: continuidades e discontinuidades nos programas e projetos e suas relações com mudanças governamentais e interesses em conflito. A criação da Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático e do Conselho Nacional de Cultura. O surgimento da Câmara Brasileira do Livro e seus objetivos. Um marco: o Terceiro Congresso de Editores e Livreiros do Brasil. A busca de uma regulamentação para o mercado do livro. Geir Campos e a *Carta aos livreiros do Brasil*. A *Revista do Livro* e as edições do INL. Realizações e fracassos até a retomada dos projetos para a área no contexto da ditadura militar.

Palavras-chave: Brasil: políticas públicas, livro, leitura, história editorial, cultura letrada

Abstract:

Monteiro Lobato and the origins of the National Book Institute; its foundation and activities (from 1937 to 1967) within the context of improvement of means of mass communication. Public Policies of the Brazilian government for books, reading and libraries: continuities and discontinuities in programs and projects and their relation with governmental changes and conflicting interests. The foundation of the *Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático* (National Committee of Schoolbooks) and the *Conselho Nacional de Cultura* (National Council of Culture). The creation of the Câmara Brasileira do Livro (Brazilian Book Chamber) and its purposes. A landmark: The Third Convention of Brazilian Publishers and Booksellers. The search for a regulation for the book market. Geir Campos and the *Carta aos livreiros do Brasil* (Letter to Brazilian Booksellers). The *Revista do Livro* (Book Magazine) and the publication of INL. Achievements and failures until the project retake in the field during the military dictatorship.

Key words: Brazil: public policy, book, reading, publishing history, literate culture.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indicators show that Brazil's results in the field of books and reading are not very flattering, even when analyzing the level of text comprehension among high school students² and statistics on annual production and consumption of books per capita (Earp & Korn, 2005: 63). Although rates of print material reading have been decreasing all over the world, which clearly confirms the fall of the Gutenberg Galaxy predicted in the 1960s by the Canadian communication specialist Marshall McLuhan, it is evident that Brazil's uncomfortable situation is below the acceptance level for enabling the publishing industry to earn and sustain a strong position in the economic field, in one hand, and for children, teenagers and even adults to acquire important analytical skills, including professional qualification, currently demanded by the job market, on the other. In addition, Brazil's being in this situation makes more difficult its knowledge

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² Consult OCDE's PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) data in <http://www.inep.gov.br/internacional/pisa/Novo/oquee.htm>

improvement in the field of economics, which has become a market that involves billions of dollars and in which our country has always participated as a big importer, resulting in a considerable currency flow in the form of copyrights and royalties in the field of science, technology and entertainment, causing damage to our payment balance sheet, as well as to the country's economic and cultural position compared with other nations. This situation can be partly explained by its history, which once revealed may recover promising paths or avoid the repetition of impasses in its necessary transformation. During the last few years, the current government has adopted measures within the Ministries of Culture and Education in order to implement a *Plano Nacional do Livro e da Leitura* - National Plan for Books and Reading - (PNLL) which already presents positive results (Amorim, 2008: 219s).

Even though it is not possible to forget the origins of literate culture in Brazil – features of the colonial period remain in the independent country - the situation at the beginning of the 21st century is in large part linked to the struggles, progress, setbacks, and mainly, to lost opportunities in the history of the Instituto Nacional do Livro - National Book Institute - (INL), the government agency responsible for managing policies for the development of books and reading in the country since 1937, when it was created, during the *Estado Novo* (New State), up to its extinction in 1990, during the cultural collapse of Fernando Collor de Melo's government.

This work aims at studying INL's first 30 years of existence. After 1967, the situation of the agency will change due to the dictatorship installed after the military coup in 1964. The institution's concerns involve the elaboration of a cultural policy that would be able to legitimize the authoritarian government and, at the same time, facilitate the rapprochement between scholars and the State. This will be subject for another study, which together with this one will build a critical historical panorama of the institution and the social and political forces that worked in the field.

2. CONDITIONS THAT PRECEDED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INL

In Brazil, as in other countries, the growth of the publishing business in the 19th took place as a result of the expansion of the school system and development of a middle class interested in knowledge, which became available by means of newspapers, magazines and books. A new and different public emerged in cities that abandoned traditional ways of life, entering the modern age, with new social practices, new techniques and a new imaginary.

However, everything is difficult to pioneers. There were few paper mills – even less printing machinery - and specialized workforce was scarce. Plus, there were little original books by national authors. Thus, in the beginning, it was necessary to import paper, machinery and to translate foreign works in various fields. Printing books abroad, especially in Portugal and France, was common a practice until World War I, when international trade with Europe became more difficult. This stimulated the development of Brazilian typography and paper industry, which meant in those heroic times, in general, high prices and low quality of products and services.

By the end of World War I, in May 1918, Monteiro Lobato, a restless and visionary lawyer and writer, decided to invest in the book market. After achieving his first successes, he expanded his business and imported graphic equipment for a large and modern enterprise: the publishing house called Companhia Gráfico-Editora Monteiro Lobato, which left strong mark on our publishing history. The company would go bankrupt a few years after its foundation, but the experience was the basis for the creation of a new publishing company, the Companhia Editora Nacional, which Octalles Marcondes Ferreira, his former assistant and partner, transformed in one of the major Brazilian publishing houses.

Monteiro Lobato was one of the first ones to express, as an editor, his demands to authorities. In a letter to his friend Washington Luís, former President of the Province of São Paulo and newly elected President of the Republic, in 1926, he said:

This is a sad reality that up now has not received the slightest sign of sympathy from the men that are part of government - the book.

Your Excellency knows that Brazil is plunged in ignorance, and as you know there is only one instrument capable of counteracting ignorance - the book. But the book in Brazil is the victim of a true harassment, making one to believe that the State does not support its expansion and considers it to be dangerous. Today, only upper classes have access to books and if things continue the way they are, not even them, and they will eventually appear only in showcases of jewelry stores, as objects of luxury.

But culture does not exist without the book and a cheap book, able to penetrate the masses and improve their mental level. What is worth to have a genius such as Rui Barbosa if the country has one of the lowest cultural levels of the world? (Lobato, 1959: 193-198)

The writer and businessman entered the debate about the issue of paper for books, demanding changes in tax policy, which aimed at protecting the new national domestic paper industry, by asserting:

The book that is cheap and accessible to the people has been the obsession of bankrupt and reemerged editors, and this is what brings us to Your Excellency in this moment in which a new plot against him is being planned.

We can say without the fear of being questioned that Brazil is by excellence the land the expensive book price. Why? First, because the tax of paper and raw material that are part of its composition is fierce and criminal, because it is reflected one the price of the workbook that is used by us. By thinking about this cost, one is able to see what it does to the price of a workbook. (*Idem, ibidem*)

Then, he presented the example of the composition of costs for publishing the *Cartilha da Criança* workbook, published by Francisco Alves³, demonstrating how high rates of paper import undermined almost all the profit of the publisher.

Brazil had a few paper mills, which made an expensive and low-quality product. But the industry demanded protection from the government with a tax policy that raised charge on imported paper and prevented smuggling. Newspapers editors, who had greater influence, had managed to obtain tax reduction over imports, exactly what Monteiro Lobato, a simple "broke and reemerged editor", claimed for the book industry. This would still take a long time to be achieved, since national paper manufacturers strongly defended their position, as it can be seen in this editorial from 1937:

Despite the prominent position achieved by the industry, which has 27 factories in the country, one often hears the rumor of a campaign against it, which is motivated by submissive interests and irresponsibly supported by intellectuals, who do not know what is happening behind the scenes. It is true that that these conspiracies are being revealed and the well-informed spirits don't agree with them, since they know the true intentions of the enemies of this industry. Fraudulent paper smuggling, widely practiced in Brazil for many years, in the shadow of privileges granted to the press, was deeply missed by the ones who suddenly saw themselves with no easy and dishonest profits after being stopped by the government's energetic and patriotic action that defended the damaged interests of the *Thesouro Nacional* (National Treasury) against bankruptcy and saved a certain national paper industry, victim of the unfair competition of smuggled foreign paper ("Fatores econômicos", in *Anuário...*, 1937: 116)

After taking office as president, Washington Luís along with his Secretary, the writer Alarico Silveira,

³ Lobato does not mention the name of the author of the workbook, but evidences point to professor Tomaz Galhardo. See cover and edition in: http://www.crmariocovas.sp.gov.br/obj_a.php?t=cartilhas01 . Access in 9.9.08.

pointed Monteiro Lobato, who was no longer working in the publishing house and lived in Rio de Janeiro, for the office of Chargé d'Affaires of the Brazilian embassy in the United States, which deeply marked his idea and his work⁴. When, in 1930, Getúlio Vargas took power, Monteiro Lobato was removed from the job and returned to Brazil to devote himself especially to business projects involving iron and oil, which have not been successful, just like the publishing houses he commanded, but his ideas and struggles had great importance to the history of Brazilian economic policy, in general, and of books in particular. All of this without leaving his literary practice due to which he became immortal for his works focused on childhood.

3. THE CREATION OF CAYRU INSTITUTE AND THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF THE BOOK

In 1930, Getúlio Vargas' revolutionary government created the Ministry of Education and Public Health. On January 13th 1937, along with the Minister Gustavo Capanema, he tentatively began to establish a book policy in the country. The text of the Act nº378⁵, which reformulates the Ministry of Education and Public Health and creates the University of Brazil in its article 44, states: "It is now created the Instituto Cayrú whose aim is to organize and publish the *Encyclopedia Brasileira* (Brazilian Encyclopedia)." By the same act, the government created the *Instituto Nacional de Pedagogia* (National Institute of Pedagogy), "whose aim is to carry out researches on educational problems in its different aspects" and the *Comissão de Literatura Infantil* (Commission for Children's Literature), aiming at "studying the problem of literature for children and adolescents."

Another significant aspect of this Act was the creation of the *Serviço de Radiodifusão Educativa* (Office of Educational Broadcasting) "to promote permanently the broadcasting of educational programs" and the *Instituto Nacional de Cinema Educativo* (National Institute of Educational Cinema) whose aim was "to promote and guide the use of cinematography, particularly as a process to assist teaching, and also as a mean of *popular education* in general." The country was entering in the era of Radio and Audiovisual. It is in this context that the Brazilian State starts its late, perhaps too late, action in the field of books and reading. The following year, the lawyer and scholar Levi Carneiro, in "*O Problema do Livro Nacional*" (The Problem of the National Book) ⁶, conference that took place on August 1st 1938 at the *Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* (Institute of Brazilian Studies) in Rio de Janeiro, stated:

We are not in the book age. It is evident that the preferences are different, very different. (...) These two great instruments, these certainly precious instruments of culture - the cinema and the radio, as observed by Duhamel, correspond to another method of culture, which is entirely different from the book.

However, he then reflects about the technological conditions at the time and warns:

The tools of modern culture, the technical and mechanical means of cinema and radio, have a great and fundamental flaw: they continuing to move. There is no way to stop, to come back, to reflect, to repeat, to pay more attention on something that has already passed. That point is gone and another one has followed it and, therefore, it is impossible to reflect.

The Cayru Institute did not last long. After creating the so-called *Estado Novo* (New State), on November 10th 1937, the government turned the Cayru Institute into the *Instituto Nacional do Livro* – National Book

4 Read, among others, Lobato's book *América*, where it is written his famous sentence "Um país se faz com homens e livros" (A country is made of men and books). Cf. <http://ler-e-escrever.blogspot.com/2007/04/um-pas-se-faz-com-homens-e-livros-na.html>. Access in 7.7.08.

5 Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1 - 15/01/1937, p. 1210, accessed in 5.7.07: <http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=398059&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

6 Available in: <http://www.academia.org.br/> e www.ebooksbrasil.org

Institute - (INL) by means of the executive order nº 93 of December 21st of that same year⁷, expanding its goals and tasks, and nominating its director, the poet and critic Augusto Meyer, who was the head of Rio Grande do Sul State Library.

So, the INL was created in the social and technical context in which the mass media amplify and reinforce speech practices that are now also mediated, in a society in which literary culture was not yet deeply established, different from what had happened in European countries, especially in areas where the Reformed Church had begun the first great movement of popular literacy, teaching their believers to read the Bible, or where the Bourgeois State had already implemented a public education system in large scale aiming to educate in early childhood, as it had been done in France.

4. THE MISSION OF INL: IMPROVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES

Besides the of making and editing the Brazilian Encyclopedia, a responsibility that was inherited from the Cayru Institute, the INL was also responsible for creating and editing the *Dicionário da Língua Nacional* (Dictionary of National Language). The writer and researcher Mário de Andrade was called to assume the "immediate task" of elaborating the project of the Encyclopedia (Andrade, 1993: 3ss) as technical adviser of INL. It is not difficult to assess the importance of this venture, especially at that moment when the country lived a period of assertion of national unity. Unfortunately, despite all the efforts made and the involvement of many important people in the projects, they were never carried out. On the way, researches were produced, resulting in occasional works, published by the institution.

Among the new tasks received by INL, the best ones are new editions of *all kinds of rare and precious works* considered to be interesting for national culture, due to the high quality of these books, especially the book *História da companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (History of the Society of Jesus in Brazil), by Serafim Leite, 10 volumes, co-edited with Portugália (Lisbon) and Civilização Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro) publishing houses, among many other valuable works.

The INL received two other tasks: to promote the necessary measures to increase, improve and cheapen the publishing of books in the country, as well as to facilitate the importation of foreign books, and encourage the organization and assist the maintenance of public libraries throughout the country, which would be partly done through the donation of the issues themselves and the only requirement would be the libraries' affiliation to the institution. To fulfill these two functions, the INL bought books from publishers and distributed them free of charge to public libraries registered in the institution and already received part of their editions.

According to Fausto Cunha, "the INL was not satisfied with the passive registration of existing libraries. It developed a continuous effort along with City Halls in order to create public libraries or to reopen or restructure them, offering them new books and technical assistance" (Cunha, 1967: 95).

In order to register libraries, in 1938, shortly after the creation of the INL, 2,088 notices and questionnaires were sent to all libraries listed in official statistics. Only 221 responded. The following year, the INL sent out 1,824 questionnaires.

The first public library to register at the Institute was the library of Palmeira dos Índios, town in the state of Alagoas. The registration campaign had already registered 1,325 libraries in 1941 and 3680 after five years. In the same paper, Cunha indicates that in 1967 the number of libraries registered at the INL was up to 11 thousand. According to the same source, by 1941, the INL had distributed 86 thousand books and five years later, the number of distributed books had increased to 633,217 volumes, besides the 14,105 books sent abroad, donated to libraries of universities and cultural centers in other countries.

⁷ Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1, 27/12/1937, p. 25586, accessed in 5.7.07: <http://www2.camara.gov.br/legislacao/legin.html/visualizarNorma.html?ideNorma=350842&PalavrasDestaque=>

Another important work done the INL for the development of libraries and their role in communities was the specialized technical assistance offered by librarians, who worked to achieve the goals of their own libraries, as well as the proper use of donations received from the INL. Furthermore, the Institute organized librarian science courses that were taught in many cities, such as Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, Natal, Mossoró, Maceió, João Pessoa and Recife, some of which were a decisive encouragement for the creation of university courses in the region.

In a lecture given in 1943, before being nominated general director of the National Library, the bibliographer Rubens Borba de Moraes said:

... today's panorama is not the same as fifty years ago. We have hundreds of public libraries, spread throughout the country, receiving the invaluable assistance of the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*. Thanks to this institution, the forgotten libraries of the countryside, far away from big intellectual centers, methodically receive many books. If they had not have this aid, what would happen to these libraries neglected by local authorities who are always busy with problems they consider to be more urgent? (Moraes, 1943: 38-9)

However, he also warned that it would be necessary to take this o a higher level, demanding the creation of more specialized courses, because there was "an almost insuperable obstacle: the lack of librarians."

The objectives of INL - increase, improve and cheapen the publishing of books in the country (...) and encourage the organization and assist the maintenance of public libraries - could not be achieved only with purchases and donations of books, even though the importance of this action cannot be denied, in order to promote editorial projects as well as to offer public libraries readers a wider variety of alternatives.

Maybe, better results would have been achieved – this can only be affirmed *a posteriori* - if process of the acquisition of collections were different, which means, creating means for attending the needs of library users or selected by librarians who would have an open credit granted by public authorities, which can be easily monitored, so that purchases were made by the heads of municipal libraries through catalogs from publishers or, even better, through bookstores in the city or region. The could be better and long-lasting, if they were based on local needs and demands and, not less important, because they would stimulate the creation of greater capillarity in the distribution of books in the country, with more libraries in the countryside, which is a serious problem in the country up to our days, for publishers as well as for readers, even considering the new technological conditions of the of book market.

Considering all the problems that could be anticipated, it is certain that the change in the center that makes choices according to their own priorities, could result in many benefits that did not take place in centralized purchasing system, in which only the demands of editors are considered, since they can many times be different and even opposite from the readers' demands. Not to mention the risk of misuse of resources due to lack of concern or seriousness, causing damages.

Moreover, it must be emphasized that, in the whole political process aiming at the promotion of books and libraries, two key players: the reader and the bookseller, historically have not received the attention they deserve. Choices are made by agents, who aren't usually readers, and purchased directly to publishers, ignoring the fundamental role of libraries in the structure of the publishing market. With the facilities offered by publishers, it became a common practice for the buyer to always search for the margins that correspond to the book cover aimed at paying bookstore employers and their professionals, with disastrous consequences for this sector. This may have been a lost opportunity to create capillarity in the access to books that is necessary for the sector to promote the distribution and consumption of its products. The logics of lower cost may not be the most economical for the country, because creating this network would certainly bring more benefits.

5. THE INL AND SCHOOL BOOKS

Another area of the book market in which the State plays a crucial role in all aspects is the production of schoolbooks, and the authoritarian government of the Estado Novo had a strong presence in it. A few months after the creation of the INL, through the Decree-Law nº 526 of July 1st 1938⁸, the Conselho Nacional de Cultura (National Council for Culture) was created to be one of the bodies that would cooperate with the Ministry of Education and Health in the coordination of "all activities concerning cultural development, promoted by the Ministry of Education and Health or under its control or influence."

One year later, on December 30th, 1938, through Decree-Law nº 1006, the government, "establishes the conditions for producing, importing and using schoolbooks"⁹. This decree stated in Paragraph 1 that it was "free the production or importation of schoolbooks in the country." However, in Paragraph 3 it was determined that:

From January 1st 1940, schoolbooks whose permission was not granted by the Ministry of Education, under this law, cannot be used for teaching in any kind of school around the Republic.

The only books that didn't need "prior authorization" were the ones used in higher education, with a notice that "it is the professor's duty to guide its students to choose good works, instead of the ones that may be harmful to their cultural education."

The decree anticipated the possibility of schoolbooks "edited by public authorities", saying that even those must be submitted to authorization of the Ministry of Education to be adopted in schools. It specified that "the teacher is free to choose the procedure to use these books, but the school syllabus must be followed" and that "one book can be used in class for years in a row. But a book used at the beginning of a school year cannot be changed during its course."

In addition to the formal imposition of school education, being the attendance to primary school free and mandatory, it was also imposed that teaching must be done with the use of books. The State found a way to donate books to poor students, without public investment, through the creation of *school boxes*, which received a "modest contribution every month" from students whose parents claimed, at the time of enrollment, to "have good financial situation." So, with funds raised by means of these private contributions to "school boxes", "poor children" would receive "schoolbooks", which are indispensable for their study."

By means of the same decree, the government created the "Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático" (National Schoolbooks Commission), which had seven members nominated by the President and chosen "from among people with notorious pedagogic preparation and moral value" and who could not have any "commercial connection any Brazilian or foreign publisher." It was the Commission's duty, as established in Article 10, to:

- a) review schoolbooks presented to them and make a judgment in favor or against the authorization for its use;
- b) stimulate the production and guide the import of schoolbooks;
- c) suggest foreign schoolbooks that would deserve to be translated and edited by public authorities, and

⁸ Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1, 5/07/1938, p. 13385. Accessed in 7.7.07: <http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=358396&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

⁹ Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1, 5/01/1939, p. 277. Accessed in 6.7.07: <http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=350741&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

suggest the production of certain kinds of needed schoolbooks that are not available in the country;

d) develop, periodically, the organization of national exhibitions of schoolbooks whose use has been authorized by this act.

In Article 12, it is defined to be "forbidden to members of the *Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático* to request authorization for the use of works of their own authorship." Article 25 stated that: "From January 1st, 1940, it will be forbidden the adoption of schoolbooks written by the teacher in his class, the director in his school, or any other technical or administrative school authority, in the area of his jurisdiction, unless the book is edited and published by public authorities."

The decree also imposed other measures, which had certainly a strong impact on the publishing industry, such as: "It is forbidden the practice of acts of advertisement in favor or against a particular schoolbook inside schools" (article 26), stressing that: "The forbiddance of this article does not prevent authors, publishers and booksellers or their representatives from sending copies of authorized works, brochures or leaflets explaining them to teachers or schools directors", but in article 27, it was explained that it "prevented teachers or any technical or administrative school authorities from becoming agents or representatives of authors, publishers or booksellers, or advertising the sale of schoolbooks, even though such acts are done outside offices or establishments where they work." Among the reasons for the Commission to deny permission for the use of a schoolbook: "the book does not contain the declaration of its selling price, which may not be excessive in view of its cost."

On December 26th, 1945, decree-law nº 8.460¹⁰ was published. Its intention was to "consolidate legislation on the conditions of production, importation and use of schoolbooks." Besides increasing the number of members of the *Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático* from seven to fifteen, we can say that it didn't change much from the previous decree on the use of schoolbooks, in 1938. However it presented something new in its Article 9: "The official publication of schoolbooks to be used in educational establishments around the country will be under the responsibility of the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*, according to future established regulations." The decree-law, published after the deposition of Getúlio Vargas, was signed by José Linhares, President, and Raul Leitão da Cunha, Minister of Education and Health, who was in office from October 1945 to January 1946, until the elected president, Eurico Gaspar Dutra, took office. The publishing of school books by the INL was never regulated!

6. THE FOUNDATION OF THE CÂMARA BRASILEIRA DO LIVRO (BRAZILIAN BOOK CHAMBER) AND THE INTERESTS OF THE EDITORIAL MARKET

In 1944, the industry was mobilized and motivated the creation of a "list of Brazilian publishers and booksellers", "against the introduction of books in Portuguese printed in the United States by The Pocket Books Inc." (Andrade, 1974: 117). This document¹¹ determined that the key-solution for the problem of the book market in Brazil was in "cheaper prices of national paper or freedom of importation for the foreign ones," "better equipment for printing workshops" and "better distribution service."

The following year, in 1945, the printing industry expressed that "the workforce issue" was considered the "most serious one" and that a solution was near with the opening of the first School of Graphic Arts of SENAI [National Service of Industrial Learning], which would be "followed by six more." For the industry,

10 Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1 - 28/12/1945, p. 19208. Accessed in 9.7.07: <http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=416379&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

11 The "Document of editors and booksellers to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs", was first published on the newspaper *A Gazeta*, São Paulo, 19-8-1944.

"the scarcity of workforce considerably increased the cost, as show the salaries of technicians."¹²

The group of publishers and booksellers who began to meet to discuss the problems related to market in order to find a way to put in practice "organized and joint" actions to defend their interests ended up creating a movement that led to the creation of the *Câmara Brasileira do Livro* – Brazilian Book Chamber (CBL), officially founded on September 20th 1946 and whose first president of the directory board was the editor Jorge Saraiva (Câmara. ..., 1997: 20s). Inspired by Monteiro Lobato, the *Câmara Brasileira do Livro* was created and developed based on the true belief that "a country is made of men and books" (Câmara. ..., 1997: 15).

On September 6th 1946, President Eurico Gaspar Dutra, by means of the decree-law nº 9.763¹³, granted relief from import duties for consumption and other export duties, including social welfare, to all paper for books, which had been so emphatically claimed many years before, by the author of *Urupês*. This same grant had been offered before to newspapers publishers, on January 11th, by Decree n. 8.644¹⁴ and signed by President José Linhares.

In 1948, CBL organized the 1st Convention of Brazilian Publishers and Booksellers, which took place in São Paulo, from November 22nd to 26th, with the participation of over one hundred delegates and 56 publishers, booksellers, printing companies, literary agents, trade unions and other organizations. Among the issues discussed were "copyright, postal fees, import of paper and other things"¹⁵.

The Convention, whose patron was Monteiro Lobato (he died few months before, on July 4th), marked the beginning of the process that would later make him known as the great ideologist of Brazilian publishing industry (Koshiyama, 1982 : 191).

One of the first major struggles of CBL in defense of the book publishing industry was carried out to maintain private interests concerning schoolbooks. In the book published to celebrate the 50th anniversary of CBL, the following achievements are mentioned: "In 1947, through the *Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático*, it was able to revoke an implementing order that controlled and was excessively bureaucratic concerning the use of books by teachers and schools" (Câmara. ..., 1997: 33); in 1948, "there was a substantial reduction of postal fees over schoolbooks"¹⁶; in 1950, it obtained from "several state governments" exemption from the IVC (Sales and Consignments Tax) for the entire book trade (Câmara. ..., 1997: 33-4).

Finally, it states: the "permanent fight of this organization in its fifty years of existence, which were difficult in various times, [has been] against any attempt of state control or nationalization of the production of schoolbooks" (Câmara. ..., 1997 : 33-4). However, another demand, which is considered to be "more structure-related", carried out in the 1950's and 1960's, aimed at "favoring the development of the whole industry, thanks to the "input of more public resources destined to education," besides "the governmental support for private investments" in printing and publishing industries (Ibid, p. 47-8).

12 The text about the opening of graphic art schools was first published in the magazine *Revista Industrial de São Paulo*, São Paulo, November, 1945 (Andrade, 1974: 117-8).

13 Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1 - 06/09/1946, page 12508, accessed in 7.7.07:
<http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=458556&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

14 Published in Official State Government Gazette, Section 1 - 12/01/1946, page 549, accessed in 7.7.07:
<http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/legin.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=416621&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

15 Source: Brazilian Book Chamber <http://www.cbl.org.br/pages.php?recid=29>, accessed in 3.08.08

16 Decree nº 784, of August 20th, issued by Dutra's government, granted "exemption from postal charges to books and publication sent directly to public libraries and educational institutions", it also benefited publishers that sold and sent books directly to schools.

7. THE STATE AND THE LACK OF REGULATION FOR THE BOOK MARKET

In the same year Juscelino Kubitschek became President, 1956, Rio de Janeiro hosted the Third Convention of Brazilian Publishers and Booksellers, promoted by the National Association of Publishing Houses (the current SNEL) and the *Câmara Brasileira do Livro*. The event took place in the headquarter buildings of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). Ênio Silveira was chairman of the Association, as well as the executive committee of the Convention. The editor of *Civilização Brasileira* publishing house was a scholar whose left-wing position was clear. He was a curator of the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros* - Institute for Brazilian Studies - (ISEB), which was linked to the Ministry of Education and where the future of the country and Brazilian culture was discussed. In his opening speech, on November 5th, he said:

We are before you, in this Convention that now begins to frankly and objectively discuss about the problems affecting the production and distribution of books in our country. (...) We reaffirm that the fundamental principle that will guide studies and debates that this Convention wishes to encourage is the notion that the book is a basic and essential mean to disseminate and establish culture and that a nation is more educated and independent according to the amount of books produced and read by its people. (...)

Therefore, we will not present ourselves here only as men that are part of the book industry. First, we want to demonstrate to the authorities and to the public that we are aware of our responsibilities towards the nation. At the same time, we seek to draw their attention to the problems that sometimes prevent or hinder us from better carrying out what is expected from us.

A country that has nearly sixty million inhabitants, and is still growing, is a considerable market that ensures the success of almost all industrial adventures that are carried out here. (...) Even if it is obvious that the Brazilian people have become more united and more aware, a great deal of people still lives in precarious conditions, (...) victims of this terrible social disease called illiteracy. (...) The question, however, is how to suddenly increase the printing of Brazilian books, without the need for authorities to facilitate for publishers the means to produce them economically and to distribute them quickly to all consumer markets.

All kinds of obstacles prevent us from renewing the Brazilian publishing market, which has been obsolete and expensive for a long time, when it is not yet possible for us to count with domestic industry in order to do so. The precariousness of our transport system and the failure of our postal services make *the diffusion of our production difficult and expensive*, forcing us to use major capital - with uneconomic anticipation - in the preparation and storage of our books, mainly schoolbooks.

If we need funding, as any and every industry does, we are not successful even if guarantees offered by us are bigger and better. (...) However, we know very well that newspapers have always resorted to banks such as Banco do Brasil, Caixa Econômica and authorities, which provide them with enormous loans on truly paternal conditions.

This Convention of Publishers and Booksellers, which we now begin, must, therefore, demand from the Government actions that are necessary for the transformation of things, putting an end to the situation of inferiority and injustice in which the book issue is. We will base ourselves in statements made by the President of the Republic, who said that the educational issue was transcendently important. As we know, the key to solve this serious problem lies with the teacher and the book.

Together with these general claims, we will discuss here some aspects of the professional relationships between publishers and booksellers. The attraction of urban centers, which are easier to achieve, led us to forget the need to make more and better effort to open new frontiers, as the *Bandeirantes* did in the past. Therefore, do not think that we are meeting here only to ask for favors or benefits.

From now on, we want with a great intensity which only true believers are capable of, to truly form a union of efforts among the government, scholars, publishers and booksellers, in the defense of the book and of national culture itself. (Terceiro. ..., 1959: 41s)

In the closing ceremony of the Third Convention, Mr. Edgard Cavalheiro, chairman of the Brazilian Book Chamber, remembers in his speech a fundamental and unfortunately chronic problem for the development of the publishing field:

We know that many resolutions presented here are not easy to put in practice. They also require new meetings and many obstacles need to be overcome. Resolutions such as recommended by the *Regulamentação do Comércio Livreiro* through a Code of Ethics are the ones that will require effort, patience and perhaps many other discussions (idem, ibidem).

Also at the Convention's closing ceremony, the editor, bookseller and vice-chairman of the Trade Union, Mr. Carlos Ribeiro, said:

However, despite all setbacks, the market expands and consolidates itself, our industry and trade are growing and currently, in 1956, Brazilian publishers and booksellers honor any industry and any trade of any part of the world. But, gentlemen, at what amazing point would our industry be if, in these past 35 years, we were better understood by the government? What extraordinary benefits and progress we would have provided our people ... (id., ib.)

However, when reporting the previous achievements of the group, Carlos Ribeiro, listed, among others:

Increase of *Instituto Nacional do Livro's* annual funding and the creation of its Advisory Board; creation of certain facilities for import; organization and prestige of Book Fairs; aid and better conditions for the import of paper for books. (id., ib.)

And, pointing to the future, he lists challenges, based on studies, indications and recommendations of the III Convention:

Improvement of the graphic field; creation of regional central-distributors; more prepared salespeople; better postal rates for books; tax exemptions for book industry and trade; long term financing and affordable interest in Banco do Brasil, and finally the dreamed General Regulation of Book Trade (code of ethics of publishers and booksellers). (Id., ib.)

With these manifestations, the industry seemed to be ready to take forward the regulation that everyone was looking forward to. Its non implementation may have brought harm to the harmonious development of different actors that constitute the book market: authors, publishers, distributors and booksellers. This was maybe a lost opportunity for the industry and the country. Certainly, with the regulation of the industry, we would currently have more distributors and booksellers as discoverers of book culture and not the so often repeated, for decades, as being the "major problem" of the book in Brazil: its distribution.

8. THE JK ERA AND THE INL

Augusto Meyer was in charge of the direction of the INL from its foundation until 1956, interrupted only in the years 1954-1955, when the critic was president of the Chair of Brazilian Studies at the University of

Hamburg, Germany, when he was temporarily replaced by the writer Adonias Filho. His administration saw *Estado Novo* and the presidency of Eurico Gaspar Dutra, Getúlio Vargas (when he democratically returned to power) and Café Filho. Things didn't change for him when the Ministry of Education and Health was dismembered to create the Ministry of Education and Culture, in August 1953, during the government of Getúlio Vargas.

His performance was very positively evaluated by his peers, both in Publications, which was directed, from 1937 to 1944, by the historian Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, as well as giving support to public libraries. He achieved little progress in Mário de Andrade's projects for the Brazilian Encyclopedia and Dictionary.

In 1956, when Juscelino Kubitschek took over the presidency of the Republic, the new head of the INL was José Renato Santos Pereira. In a few months the new director began the publication of the *Revista do Livro* (Book Journal), which in its first issue (double) made homage to Machado de Assis and Augusto Meyer, the director who had just been replaced and who was a great admirer of Machado de Assis. Thomas Santa Rosa (1909-1956), a set designer and graphic artist, was hired to provide services to the INL, including the Brazilian Encyclopedia, and created a beautiful graphic design for the *Revista do Livro*, which, in the following issues (also double, 3-4) was given a new look¹⁷.

In a testimony presented in the first issue of the Journal, the new director of the INL expressed his challenges:

We are also convinced of the need to incorporate into our culture, millions and millions of Brazilians who can not read or write. The first step that has to be taken in order to make culture in Brazil be based on solid and broad grounds of public instruction and to make the country reach its full political and economic independence. (Pereira, 1956: [4]).

In the second issue of the *Revista do Livro*, Pereira emphasizes the INL in the project to create a public library in all Brazilian municipalities. According to the director

... the day knowledge and culture are abundant and cheap for all Brazilians, when its benefits reaches our whole nation – this day Brazil will be assured as an independent nation, aware of its values and wealth, economically sovereign, free and happy, going on its way to progress. One is able to see the powerful reason why the existence of the campaign that we saw strongly attacking our youth and whose intention is to – its worth it to repeat it – give libraries to all Brazilian cities. (Pereira, 1956: 4-5) .

In the same issue of the *Revista*, the director transcribes the project presented in the House of Representatives by deputy Mark Parente for the opening of special credit to the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*, worth 5 million *cruzeiros*, aiming at "covering the expenditure of the purchase of books as a result of agreements for the installation of public libraries in all Brazilian towns and municipalities", as well as "the costs of organizing the INL Shipping Services and Technical Assistance, exclusively for new libraries."

In his "justification", deputy Parente claimed that "a remarkable effort has been made by this government and past governments to reinforce throughout the Brazilian territory, a major campaign to fight illiteracy," but "a literate people is not one that only knows how to write its name and spell words." In its argument supporting the approval of the bill, he states:

We need to make even more progress in the cultural education of our people so that literacy is really something good and not just a mean of being a voter or having a post in the civil service, [but that one is able to] practice good reading, have material, intellectual and moral advantages

¹⁷ This issue includes a testimony of Santa Rosa and Oswaldino Marques. It also mentions the death of the artist, in Índia, where he was with a group of Brazilians in a cultural mission.

for the welfare of the Brazilian people, especially those who, isolated in the wilderness, far from good movies, from sports entertainment, will have to seek refuge in reading in order to fill their leisure hours with magic and comfort. (...)

However, we recognize that budget allocations, ordinarily included in the budget of the Republic to the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*, do not offer of any conditions for the undertaking of such deep and extensive responsibilities. (Parente, 1956: 6-7)

The bill was never passed. The lack of resources remained.

The 8th issue of the *Revista do Livro* celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the INL, and the director makes an assessment of all its achievements:

Release of works that were not commercially interesting for publishers; organization of a general record of libraries in Brazil; contribution to their development, providing a wide distribution of books, acquired directly from publishers; publication of the Brazilian Encyclopedia and a culture magazine; elaboration of a list of current Brazilian literature - these are the main points of the task that the Institute has assumed.

The distribution of books carried out by the Institute, which now controls all of the country's libraries, is widely beneficial to the public that have fewer economic opportunities, as well as to publishers, giving them significant aid, especially in works that attract no business interest.

The Brazilian Encyclopedia, already at an advanced stage of preparation, developed by a team of specialists and guided according to the most modern style of similar works, will soon release its first volume¹⁸. (Pereira, 1957: 5-6)

During Juscelino Kubitschek's government, the National Book Institute appeared not to be able to impose itself as the official body of public policy for books. The creation of the *Revista do Livro* may have been Jose Renato Santos Pereira's greatest legacy while heading the INL. Furthermore, another positive aspect of his administration was to continue the program of issues, enriching it with the publication of two new series in the *Biblioteca de Divulgação Cultural*, one constituted of essays on literary themes and another about problems in Brazil, "in small books at affordable prices, they were able to reach a greater number of readers," which during the five years of his administration, released twenty-eight books, with good responses from readers, with some of them selling out quickly.

On August 27th 1960, almost at the end of the current government, which would finish in January 1961, the Presidency of the Republic, by decree nº 48902, created the *Campanha Nacional do Livro* (National Book Campaign), which would be responsible for some tasks that were already performed by the Institute and some new ones, such as: organizing conventions, festivals and book exhibitions, inside and outside the country, in partnership with the National Library; to distribute prizes to the best works published in the country; promote movies to advertise books, libraries and our literary history; financing scholarships, inside and outside the country; creating and maintaining model libraries and mobile libraries in all national territory. The campaign, however, would be under INL's responsibility.

The main change presented in the decree that could explain the overlap of functions with the INL was: first, the establishment of an Advisory Board that would be under the responsibility of the Director of the INL and formed by the general director of the National Library, by the Heads of "Publications for Libraries" and "Encyclopedia and Dictionary" Sections of the same institute, and also by a representative of the *Academia Brasileira de Letras*; secondly, the definition of the origin of resources to fund its activities:

¹⁸ O volume 1 da *Enciclopédia Brasileira*, de Alarico Silveira, foi lançado em 1958, mas que "em nada se assemelha ao modelo proposto [por Mário de Andrade]". Cf. Andrade, 1993: XXII.

besides appropriations from the Country's budget, it could also receive funds set by budgets of States, municipalities, local authorities, semi-public bodies and mixed investment companies; contributions given by public and private bodies; contributions, donations, contributions and bequests from individuals and any potential income. Finally, resources would be used by the Superintendent of the campaign, based on an implementation plan to be submitted for approval by the President of the Republic through the Minister of Education and Culture.

Created a few months before the end of the presidential term (why its creation took so long?), the campaign wasn't able to do anything. Certainly, plans and actions aiming at economic growth consumed most energies of Kubitscheck's government. In the cultural field, the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros* (ISEB) (Superior Institute of Brazilian Studies) was founded in 1955 and formed by scholars with different backgrounds and ideologies, who subsidize these plans and actions, may have taken the attention of the government.

9. THE BOOK MARKET: A PORTRAIT OF AN ERA

In October 1960, shortly after the creation of the *Campanha Nacional do Livro*, the magazine *Estudos Sociais* (Social Studies), vol. III, nº. 9, published the essay of the poet and translator Geir Campos, called *Carta aos livreiros do Brasil* (Letter to Brazilian Booksellers). The article describes many of the problems faced by people working with books: publishers, authors, readers, booksellers, graphic workers, public institutions etc. As an industry, Geir Campos affirmed, the book lived the difficulties of a "growth crisis", including issues related to the graphic field, training of workforce, especially, in the industry. He stated that "the distribution is the hindrance point of the whole book business" in the country, reiterating that lacked

... mainly, a sort of commitment, ostensible or tacit, in order to establish a minimum of respect of the publisher toward the bookseller, of the bookseller toward the public, of the public toward the author, of the author toward collectivity and so on. It is not easy to distinguish which of the parties has the greater share of responsibility, including of course the State, which is undoubtedly the most interested party in the production and distribution of books as a tool for the development of education and culture "(in Bragança & Santos, 2002: 89).

About the "problems of the author", the essay presents a history of associations created to defend the rights of the author and states that "book authors are still waiting for the foundation of a kind of SBAT [Brazilian Society of Theater Authors], (...) able to handle throughout the national territory, the moral and material interests of its members", defining "the payment of copyright "concerning translation" as being a critical aspect.

Geir Campos also argued that, since there is an article of the Federal Constitution that clearly says that "supporting culture is a duty of the State", the book is a problem of the State because, he affirms, "there cannot be any "support to culture" without special care with education and development of personality of citizens, so it is the State's role to found and maintain public schools, libraries, museums, conservatories and varied cultural institutions" and that, however, none of these institutions "will work well without the constant and silent help of the book. "

10. CRISIS AND NEW ENDEAVORS

The successor of President Juscelino Kubitscheck was Jânio Quadros, who nominated Brígido Tinoco, a professor of Niterói Law School, to be his Minister of Education. On February 23rd 1961, the decree nº 50.29318, created the *Conselho Nacional de Cultura* (National Council for Culture), linked directly to the Presidency. Its functions were as follows:

- a) establish the Government's cultural policy, through the general plan that to be elaborated and annual programs of implementation, b) study and give opinion on all matters related to culture

that are sent by the Presidency, c) suggest the Presidency measures to promote cultural activity, d) evaluate public or private cultural activities throughout the country, mentioning bodies and organizations that perform them with the purpose of coordinating the action of the Government with all existing cultural institutions, aiming at a greater effect of their action, e) propose to the government restructuring, expansion or extinction of cultural bodies in articulation with the general plan to promote culture and create new bodies to meet the needs of the country's cultural development f) maintain an updated record of all private cultural institutions in the country in order to express opinion about grants, aids or other initiatives of the Federal Government;

The Council should be regulated until 60 days after its creation, but it didn't happen. On August 22nd, 1961, the government, by means of the decree nº 51223¹⁹, created within the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Serviço Nacional de Bibliotecas (Office of National Libraries), directly subordinated to the Minister and with the essential objective of:

- a) Encouraging different forms of bibliographic exchange among libraries in the country, b) Encouraging the creation of public libraries and, especially, of libraries and regional systems; c) cooperating with the maintenance of library regional systems, d) Promoting the establishment of a network of bibliographic information for the entire national territory.

The policy measure removed great part of the *Instituto Nacional do Livro's* functions. Jânio Quadros resigned from Presidency three days later, on August 25th.

On September 7th, after the shift to a parliamentary system, the vice-president João Goulart takes over the presidency. On October 2nd, 1961, by Decree nº 9, signed by the Prime Minister Tancredo Neves, the Council was then transferred to the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture. On March 23rd, 1962, a new decree was signed by Tancredo Neves, in paragraph 771, of Article 2, it stated that it would be the responsibility of the National Council of Culture.

- a) to carry out across the country an evaluation of public or private cultural activities, linking bodies that carry them out for the purpose of coordinating the action of the Government along with all existing cultural institutions, aiming at increasing the efficiency of these institutions;

The Secretary-General was responsible for organizing the *Plano Nacional de Cultura* (National Plan of Culture) every year. In Article 8, the directors of the *Diretores do Serviço Nacional de Teatro* (National Office of Theater), of the *Instituto Nacional de Cinema Educativo* (National Institute of Educational Cinema) and of the *Museu de Belas-Artes* (Museum of Fine Arts) are nominated as being "members, respectively, of the *Comissão de Teatro* (Theater Commission), *Comissão de Cinema* (Film Commission) and *Comissão de Artes Plásticas* (Fine Arts Commission), if no members are appointed for these Commissions." There is no reference in the decree to the *Instituto Nacional do Livro* and its place in the Council.

It is possible to conjecture that the fact that Augusto Meyer's use of the "established right" prerogative - after so many years in the same public office - to return to the direction of the INL, which took place in 1961, may have contributed, somehow, to a certain ostracism of the body within the national Ministry's political structure - perhaps even during Juscelino Kubitschek's government - but it would be a minor reason. Meyer continued the works that have been developed up to then without being able to make any new impulse, also due to the fact that the country was going through a serious political and institutional crisis. The Editor of the *Revista do Livro* continued to be under the responsibility of the critic Alexandre Eulálio (and Brito Broca until his tragic death, in that the same year of 1961).

¹⁹ Publicado no DOU, Seção 1 - 22/08/1961, p. 7670, acessado em 10.7.07:
<http://www2.camara.gov.br/internet/legislacao/login.html/textos/visualizarTexto.html?ideNorma=390882&seqTexto=1&PalavrasDestaque=>

On October 9th, 1962, the National Association of Book Publishers and the Brazilian Book Chamber, "concerned with the increase difficulties that threatened to stop the activity", sent a document to Professor Darcy Ribeiro, Minister of Education and Culture of João Goulart's parliamentary government, demanding several measures in order to enable "the relief of that important sector and allow its expansion according to the economic progress of the country and the cultural demands of its people" (Soluções. ... s / d: 3).

After the first analysis, the case was sent to Juvenille Pereira, director of the *Divisão de Assistência à Indústria* (Division of Assistance to Industry) of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, which requested the collaboration of SNEL for a detailed study of the sector. The union created a commission, representing all sectors of publishing and bookselling activities, formed by Simon Waissmann, Athos Gabriel Pereira, Ivo de Azevedo Vianna, Ênio Silveira, Jorge Zahar, Propício Machado Alves, Eudes Queiroz, Erich Eichner and Decio de Abreu and advised by the economist Afrânio Manhães Barreto. The results were sent to the Ministry and subsidized Juvenille Pereira, who produced a lengthy and reasoned opinion to continue the process (Soluções. ... s / d: 19-40), where, according to SNEL "embodies the findings of a lucid and accurate analysis of the current situation of the book "(Soluções. ... s / d: 4).

Among the grounds presented in the document, there is the remission of the recommendation made by the Work Group created by the government in April 1961, which "aiming at the recovery from crisis" demanded studies for "the establishment of a National Fund for the Book Industry whose objectives would be to provide assistance and encouragement for the book industry and trade; promoting a wider dissemination of this good"; increase of the budgetary allocation for the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*, especially for this end"; organization of a National Campaign to Encourage Reading, with the direct participation of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics "; "to obtain a license from the Ministry of Health for the sale of books in pharmacies and drugstores and tax exemption for those transactions "etc.. (Soluções. ... s / d: 23-8)

Juvenille Pereira states his opinion referring to "the current position of the government regarding the book issue," citing a speech addressed by the President of the Republic, João Goulart, at the University of Brasília, on April 21st, 1963, highlighting this passage :

The world is in a decisive time for the destiny of peoples. Nations that are capable of creating and multiplying their wealth with their own human resources are the only ones that will be truly free and sovereign. And only peoples that have knowledge and master techniques will have human resources for the development and multiplication of their wealth in the pace, reach and depth demanded by the current economic structure and these characteristics are inconsistent with the level of cultural delay that statistics show in Brazil. (Soluções. ... s / d: 20)

Juvenille Pereira affirmed that the process in question, offered an opportunity "to examine the conditions that will enable the development of the book industry in Brazil, because the book is undoubtedly the basic tool for the implementation of government program" (Solutions ...: s / d: 21). At the end of the document, he reminds us that it is crucial that "the conclusions that involve modification in legal texts be, by government initiative, turned into Law", and also: "Also, we must note that this is effectively, an economic category that *up to today* (emphasis in the original), consists basically of only companies that are genuinely Brazilian "(Soluções. ... s / d: 40).

The aim of the draft bill was to create conditions to popularize books in Brazil, especially by means of "taxes and credits programs". It was delivered, along with the document, by the president of SNEL, Gabriel Athos Pereira, to the President João Goulart, on May 31st, 1963. This year was a critical one, until the military coup on March 31st, 1964.

Augusto Meyer remained in the direction of the INL until the end of the dictatorial government of

Marshal Castelo Branco. He was succeeded by General Umberto Peregrino, appointed by Marshal Arthur da Costa e Silva, the second president of the military dictatorship, who took over on March 15th, 1967. Peregrino produced big plans for the body in a political context that could create the necessary conditions for its implementation.

CONCLUSION

The creation of a specific body dedicated to the development of books and reading in the country, the *Instituto Nacional do Livro*, with objectives that ranged from a moderate inertia regarding its direct actions to the support of development of private companies, has achieved result that were always below its projects and aims, considering the analyzed period.

The weakness of the INL can be either due to the lack of political will from successive governments to face the challenge that would mean the removal of the country from the development delay in terms of literate culture that the country was plunged in, or the lack of institutional continuity, and the context in which the growth of means of mass communication such as radio, cinema and, later, television, were not favorable. Many opportunities were lost.

In the second period of the history of the INL, which will be the object of another article, there also were big projects and plans of action.

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