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FOREIGN PERSPECTIVES OF BRAZIL

A textual analysis of American newspaper coverage

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ABSTRACT Journalists´ perceptions of objectivity and news judgment may be influenced by extraneous factors such as audience, companies, and national politics, as well as personal cultures. Foreign correspondents have additional factors influencing these perceptions. This study analyzes the narrative of texts from three mainstream American newspapers written by their foreign correspondents in Brazil during the weeks prior to the 2004 American presidential election, looking at how the ideology of both foreign correspondents and newspapers were involved in the coverage of Brazil's human and political reality. Although it is not possible to say that all the themes of the stories presented were based on American ideology or the writer's ideological discourse, some of the issues reported on followed an American political framework. The little importance given to Brazilian sources and the presence of almost exclusively political and diplomatic sources may indicate a limited interaction between those correspondents and people from Brazil.

KEY-WORDS Foreign correspondents, narrative analysis, ideology, Brazil, sources, international coverage

Introduction

Texts concerning human reality transcend labels of objectivity and such writings and their reading include other factors, some consciously and others subconsciously, that interfere with them (SAID, 1981). Objectivity, although a traditional pillar of journalism, has been contested both with regard to the possibility of obtaining it and the need for it, as civic journalism proponents have argued (MINDICH, 1998).

The concept of objectivity has been defined as detachment, as balance and factual writing, where journalists would find a safe ground in its independence, increasing their credibility for readers

(MINDICH, 1998). These ideals have far more variables influencing them than the object or the subject of the story themselves.

When writing a story, factors such as audience, companies, national politics and personal cultures may influence how journalists perceive objectivity and what their news judgments will be. Foreign correspondents have even more factors included in the equation, by being in a different cultural reality, by writing for a different audience than the one surrounding them, by facing different and often confrontational political interests between the country they are writing from and the country for which they are writing, as well as journalistic goals different from those of their professional counterparts in their country of assignment.

These relationships between the familiar and the different, of "us" and "them", carry special significance when such foreign correspondents are from leading newspapers in the United States, whose coverage of the different foreign reality is monitored by other countries and has the possibility of influencing political and cultural affairs globally. Even the country from which the foreign correspondent writes is not immune to that coverage since, "so far as 'they' are concerned, 'we' are what we are, plus what they have experienced and known of us," (SAID, 1981: xxvi).

This study analyzes the narrative of stories written by foreign correspondents in Brazil from three of the most important American newspapers. Conducting a textual analysis of the stories written for the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, published by those newspapers in the weeks prior to the United States' presidential election, this study proposed to look at how the ideology of the foreign correspondents, as well as that of the newspapers themselves, were involved in the coverage of the Brazilian human and political reality.

How much of the thematic content of such foreign coverage is based from the correspondent's own values and ideologies? What kind of cultural interaction do these correspondents have with their country of coverage? In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire proposes two types of cultural action. "In cultural invasion the actors (who need not even go personally to the invaded culture; increasingly, their action is carried out by technological instruments) superimpose themselves on the people, who are assigned the role of spectators, of objects. In cultural synthesis, the actors become integrated with the people, who are co-authors of the action that both perform for the world," (FREIRE, 1990: 182). Synthesis, according to Freire (1990), does not mean that the differences between views are eliminated, but rather that dialogue is based on those differences and, by denying cultural invasion, this results in mutual support.

It is not only in the writing of media texts, in how the story is covered, that ideology can have an influence, but also in the selection of what is important and significant to cover. The shortage of space available for foreign news, as well as the competition with other localities, increases the importance of such selection. Although the quantity of foreign news may have dropped after the end of the Cold War, the beat is still considered one of the most prestigious, due to its power of influence (SHEPARD, 1996). Media products are also the result of a complex process of selection and expression (GANS, 1979). The selection of news from reality, according to Said (1981), is promoted by the interests of profit-seeking corporations, made in a political context affected by an unconscious ideology.

The relationship between the American foreign correspondents and their subject of coverage is influenced by the fact that the United States is currently a powerful nation with international interests, sometimes at odds with other countries' or other groups' interests. According to Said (1981: 47), "nearly every American journalist reports the world with a subliminal consciousness that his or her corporation is a participant in American power which, when it is threatened by foreign countries, makes press independence subordinate to what are often implicit expressions of loyalty and patriotism, of simple national identification."

In an archived note by *The New York Times* publisher Ochs and a British official, the publisher demonstrates his conceived power and relationship with the country's political affairs. "I had always felt that the peace and welfare of the world rested with the English-speaking nations...and that I regarded it as my patriotic duty to promote that as far as was in my power; that *The New York Times* was dedicated to that policy," (SHEPARD, 1996: 180).

In the framework of the Cold War, American coverage of international affairs has been said to be in synchrony with the country's political interests (PARKER, 1996). According to a memo sent to the staff of *The New York Times* by Foreign Editor Bernard Gwertzman (1993: 34), much of that newspaper's coverage during that period was centered on the political rivalries that "consciously and subconsciously dominated government policies, affecting the newspaper' s coverage as well." The editor mentioned a few foreign situations that would be considered newsworthy, such as the political makeup of a Third World dictatorship, the case of Brazil, which was under a military dictatorship at that time, and whether these countries were prone to serve Soviet interests or American ones.

With the collapse of the communist regimes and the Soviet Union, the American framework of Cold War principles for selecting and covering the news of foreign countries could no longer be applied. Bernard Gwertzman's memo was written to reevaluate foreign news coverage outside the Cold War framework and the need for new approaches. The broadened considerations of what would be newsworthy for a foreign correspondent would be focused on the different. "We want to know what the aspirations of the people are, what kind of lives they lead, what kind of schools they attend and what they learn in school, what the role of religion is in their lives, how they socialize in the broadest term, how men and women interact, what cultural tendencies should be noted, what their movies are like," (GWERTZMAN, 1993: 38). Gwertzman (1993: 38) adds in that memo: "Above all, we want to hear their voices in your stories."

With a new political world order still marked by American presence in international affairs as a world power, how does the ideological discourse of American power and the newspaper company interests resonate in the foreign correspondents' coverage of peripheral countries nowadays?

Theory

Facts concerning human reality and society are made relevant through judgment and interpretation. Interpretation of those realities is dependent upon the maker of this interpretation, as well as its audience, the intentions of the interpretation and the moment in which this interpretation takes place (SAID, 1981). In modern society, much of the transmission of knowledge and the interpretation of this knowledge are mediated through news. Thus, understanding who the carriers of information are, to whom they are aiming these messages, where the carrier's ideological position is located and at what historical and political moments this information is transmitted is important for analyzing both the information and the interpretation.

One of the implications of modernity is that distances between countries have been shortened by technological achievements, travel facilities, globalization and the mass media (APPADURAI, 1996). Although more people travel and migrate, have personal and work relationships with people of other countries, much of what is known of other countries is still transmitted through the media. The interpretation of these foreign places is mediated by the carriers of this information that, in the case of newspapers, could be the foreign correspondents as well as the media for which they work.

By analyzing the narrative of the texts, the representation of facts and events contextualized by their interpretation of such realities, it is possible to make inferences regarding the causes and effects of this presentation (LINDLOF & TAYLOR, 2002). The journalistic text can also be seen as narrative in nature. By offering information and explanation of human reality facts, journalists unify readers into a community which articulates and affirms group values and identities (KITCH, 2003).

Modern critical theory states that the ideological discourse produced by cultural institutions, such as the media, influences the ability of members of that culture to understand their ideologically-shaped imagery (LINDLOF & TAYLOR, 2002). The interpreter of this ideological discourse also has an essential role in the presentation of information of other cultures to his audience, shaping that existential relationship as well. By understanding the power conflicts of the interpreter and the discourse presented by this interpretation and by the institutions, it is possible to identify the propositions of interpretation and the knowledge gained from it.

Said stated that when reading a text produced in a different culture or country, the main condition of this text's distance is the presence of the interpreter, and his location as an interpreter. Interests in different cultures have historically been based on encounters resulting from trade, conquest, or accident. According to Said, "Interest derives from need, and need rests on empirically stimulated things working and existing together – appetite, fear, curiosity, and so on – which have always been in play wherever and whenever human beings have lived" (SAID, 1981: 131). Thus, interest in knowing and interpreting other human societies may have political and economical bases that often exist in the conflicting power relationship of such encounters.

The flow of this power conflict, although being centralized by the state, according to Foucault, because it is something that is exercised and not proprietary, is outward. He also identifies that in the West, power is exercised through culture. Culture is thus negotiated and becomes a transactional item in a series of contexts (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1993). These include what is done with the culture, as well as who is included in the culture and to what extent holds the mediation of power. "One must oppose tyranny in the name of people while at the same time one opposes the people in the name of reason. This formula holds the secret of how hegemony works" (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1993: 7).

The concept of hegemony understands that power mediation and social domination are not only an outside imposition. In Martín-Barbero's

interpretation of Gramsci's contribution, "class exercises hegemony to the extent that the dominating class has interests which the subordinate classes recognize as being in some degree theirs too" (MARTÍN-BARBERO 1993: 74).

This negotiation of power relations is not necessarily horizontal, since one is still the dominating class and the other, the subordinate one. But, with mutual trust between the different negotiating parties in a dialogue, it is possible to obtain a horizontal relationship of power (FREIRE, 1990). Freire, in his analysis of the oppressed and oppressors as the opposites in a power relation, states that a critical and liberating dialogue should be carried on with the reflective participation of the oppressed. According to Freire (1990: 52), to deprive the oppressed of participation in the dialogue leads them to a "populist pitfall and transforms them into masses which can be manipulated."

Freire considered domination to be the fundamental theme of our time and devoted his work to the opposite, the theme of liberation. Trust thus is considered a main component of liberation. Thinking and dialogue should be done with the different parts of society for them to be meaningful. The members of the dominant elite often can and do think without the people, but they do not have the freedom to completely disregard thinking about the people if they want to maintain the status quo (FREIRE, 1990). The group that claims to be the knowledgeable one, while describing the "others" as ignorant, does not give any voice to the "others". By doubting the ability of the "others", being the only group allowed to speak and listening to its own self-interest discourse, the "knowledgeable" grow more used to their power and consequently have increasing interest in commanding (FREIRE, 1990).

Narratives of power can be seen in the press, with the strategic support for a group in themes that present conflicting positions. Wale Adebanwi (2004) has called the groups with opposing positions in the power relation marginal and dominant, when analyzing Nigerian press coverage of marginal voices. According to the dominant-marginal discourse, marginal voices are defined by "their subordination in political, social and economic power structures, particularly in relation to the position and strength of dominant groups in the power matrix" (ADEBANWI, 2004: 764).

There is an ancient assumption that every discourse aims to achieve at least one of three goals: to delight, to instruct and to persuade. The end products of such goals are interpreted as the display of "beauty", the transmission of "truth" and the wielding of "power". The functions

of these discourses are poetic, favoring beauty; dialectic, favoring truth; and rhetoric, favoring power (LUCAITES & CONDIT, 1985). News reporting is commonly associated with the dialectic function of discourse, where the primary goal is the discovery, revelation and presentation of truth, as an everyday distinction of fact and reality. Its contents are constrained by accuracy and external validity, factors engrained in the concept of objectivity. Rhetoric, although not usually connected with journalism, can be expressed on different occasions. The rhetorical function of discourse favors the wielding of power: the faculty of discovering in a particular case the available means of persuasion (LUCAITES & CONDIT, 1985).

Gay Talese (1986: 8) exposed some of the dialectical and rhetorical conditions of news-people at *The New York Times*:

> There had been Timesmen who were less than truthful, or truthful in their fashion, or not truthful in the journalistic sense, which is a truth that is limited but verifiable. Or they had perhaps been too truthful, so controversial as not to be in the national interest or the newspaper's interest, which was often the same thing. *The New York Times* grew with the nation during two great wars, prospered with it, and *The Times* and the nation were equally committed to capitalism and democracy, and what was bad for the nation was often just as bad for *The Times*.

Methods

For the analysis of how foreign correspondents from America's top newspapers covered Brazil and how much of the thematic content was intervened by the correspondents' and the newspapers' ideologies, a Lexis-Nexis search was done with Brazil as the headline topic. The search was done for articles within the period from 10/15/2004 to 11/15/2004, from the American newspapers *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*, for their influence as prominent newspapers and their traditional foreign coverage. This particular month was chosen for its proximity to the United States' presidential election, held in November of 2004, a period when national coverage was concentrated on national affairs and international coverage might have been more selective.

A census of all stories written in Brazil by the foreign correspondents of those prominent American newspapers was compiled, yielding thirteen stories selected, which excluded briefs and news items that were written abroad but not in Brazil. Of these 13 stories, one was written by the *Washington Post*, three were written by the *Los Angeles Times* and nine by *The New York Times*. This distribution of stories among the newspapers

is somewhat consistent with the number of stories published during the entire year of 2004 with Brazil as the topic in the headline of a LexisNexis search: 290 New York Times stories, 38 *Washington Post* stories, and 10 *Los Angeles Times* stories. Within the last five years, the number of stories with Brazil in the headline has been consistent, with a few more stories having been published in 2002, the year of Brazil's presidential election. There were a total of 338 stories published by the three newspapers with Brazil in the headline in 2004, 244 stories in 2003, 347 in 2002 and 328 in 2001.

The texts of the 13 stories were analyzed from a narrative analysis perspective. Sarah Kozloff (1992) stated that a narrative could be divided in two parts: the story (what happens to whom) and the discourse (how the story is told). The 13 stories were categorized both with regard to the themes of the stories and the themes of the discourses. Within the discourse analysis, the stories were viewed with their dialectical and rhetorical functions

Analysis/Discussion

For a Brazilian who often reads news about the country published by foreign newspapers, the descriptions of the nation' s events as well as the points of views presented were always a curious thing to see. Stories often sounded like a description of another place, another reality. The choices of themes covered were also interesting: What made those stories so important to be covered by these international papers?

Four of the stories analyzed focused on the nuclear story theme. These stories concerned a nuclear plant in Brazil and the country's alleged resistance to allowing international inspectors to access this uranium enrichment plant. The speculation was that this nuclear plant could produce bombs, although the country stated that it planned to use the plant only for the purpose of generating electric power.

The *Washington Post*'s story, Brazil *Could Make 6 Bombs a Year, Reports Says,* ran on October 23, 2004, and was originated by Reuters, which had an office operation in Brazil. The story was based on an American journal report, funded by foundations and the U.S. government. According to the story, the upgrades in the nuclear plan had the possibility of increasing the capability for producing nuclear weapons. The article contained quotes from the journal report on the country's position regarding the subject, although there were no quotes from the country itself. The story also mentioned Brazil's opposition to allowing United Nations inspections, and

it also contained a brief sentence that stated the reasons given by the country for not allowing these inspections. The story linked the pressure by the United States and United Nations to allow these inspections so as not to set an example for Iran and North Korea. This was The *Washington Post*'s only story filed during that month that followed the analysis criteria.

The New York Times had three stories on the nuclear story theme. The first one, published on October 20, 2004, had the headline *Brazil Agrees to Inspection of Nuclear Site* and was written by the paper's correspondent in the country, Larry Rohter. The story concentrated on the agreement by the Brazilian government to allow inspections by the United Nations after a "longstanding impasse". The story focused on the dispute between Brazil and international agencies over access to the nuclear plant and whether the access granted would be enough. The story also took into consideration a possible "dangerous" precedent for countries like Iran and North Korea, as well as "concerns" over the possibility of the country exporting uranium to "bad players". The story was based on a news conference presided over by the president of Brazil's national nuclear commission, including nuclear experts who, when cited, were from a Washington-based Institute for Science and International Security, a representative of the U.S. State Department, a former American Central Intelligence Agency member, and Brazilian officials, including the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States. The story was presented as an almost game-like dispute, with expressions such as "impression of weakness", "claim victory" and "bad players".

The second nuclear theme story by *The New York Times* was a column that ran in the paper's Sunday edition with the title *If Brazil Wants to Scare the World, It's Succeeding*. The story was published on October 31, 2004, more than a week after the previous story, and was written by Larry Rohter. In this column, the journalist explored some of the reasons why Brazil was disputing access to the nuclear plant. Some of these reasons were, according to Rohter, an aspiration to be taken seriously by "heavyweight" nations, a belief in the country that there was an "international conspiracy to keep Brazil from becoming a great power", the "insulting" idea that the International Atomic Agency could not be trusted and the nation' s desire to be treated differently because it was a nice nation. These reasons were discarded in the beginning of the article with the journalist' s statement that "to outsiders, Brazil's resistance to inspections doesn't make sense." This column made the point that the reasons given by the country for the restricted inspection allowed were

based on emotions and not on sound reasoning. The sources that were named in the story were mainly US sources, or sources that agreed with the writer' s arguments.

The journalist used quotes from a former American negotiator on nuclear proliferation issues, a former Brazilian minister of science ad technology who concurred that Brazil's attitude towards the issue was a "chauvinist" one, a former American Defense Department official, cited in the previous article as a former CIA official, the president of the Institute for Science and International Security, and Brazil's ambassador to the United States. This last source was also the only one providing a different perspective on the issue, and was quoted in the last paragraph of a twenty-one-paragraph column. This story also presented some of the stereotype images of Brazil, including jargons of national identity, such as "an image as the land of soccer and samba, inhabited by a friendly, easy-going people", in the first paragraph; that it was not a "serious country" according to the famous quotation from Charles de Gaulle mentioned in paragraph seven; and the Brazilian "jeitinho", which the journalist explained as "a notion that all formal laws and rules could be maneuvered around if one was clever or charming enough", in a simplification of the concept in paragraph 19. This piece presented more of the author's opinion, as is often the case of a column, and was full of adjectives and adverbs. In the lead paragraph, Rohter said that the country was being accused by nuclear experts of being a violator of the law and of helping unscrupulous states.

The last story on the nuclear theme published by *The New York Times* on November 7th, a Sunday edition, was a letter to the editor written by the Ambassador of Brazil to the United States, Roberto Abdenur, regarding Rohter's column mentioned previously. In this letter, published with the headline *Brazil's Nuclear Program*, the ambassador presented some of the reasons given by the country for objecting to international inspections of nuclear plants. He also presented some of the country's policies regarding nuclear weapons. The ambassador's response, although also one-sided, presented the country's point of view on the issue as more balanced, encouraging a debate over inspections and the country's right to protect "proprietary technology".

With the American election falling during the weeks of the analysis and the spread of nuclear weapons being at the top of the political debate agenda, this issue of restricted access to a nuclear plant in Brazil raised the awareness of the American newspapers. The year 2004 was also at the height of the US government's rhetoric of weapons of mass destruction,

being one of the reasons given for the war in Iraq. Although the topic came from Brazil, it was synchronized with the issues and concerns in the United States.

One of the stories analyzed, published by the *Los Angeles Times*, focused on a political story theme of election. The story *Ruling Party in Brazil Loses in 2 Key Runoff Votes*, written by correspondent Henry Chu, was published on November 1, 2004. This story was based on the results of mayoralty elections which took place on the same day for every municipality in Brazil. The emphasis of the piece was on the victories and losses of the Worker's Party, the party of the current president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's, specifically in the nation's larger cities. The two quotes in the story came from Worker's Party politicians, José Dirceu, Lula's chief advisor, and Marta Suplicy, the former mayor of São Paulo who lost her bid for re-election.

Also on the political story theme, a military political scandal yielded four stories. On October 24, 2004, *The New York Times* correspondent Larry Rohter wrote the story *Exhuming a Political Killing Reopens Old Wounds in Brazil*. The story was about the publishing of a recently-found photograph that was supposed to be that of a journalist who had been arrested by the military regime (1964-1984) and was found dead. The army responded to the publishing of the photograph with a statement that sparked criticism, calling it a necessary response to Communist provocation. This article also mentioned the differences "between the armed forces and the left-wing government that is now in power", many of whose leaders had been "jailed, tortured or exiled by the military", including the current president, according to Rohter. The quotes in the story came from the president of the government's Special Commission on the Death and Disappearance of Political Prisoners, the army' s statements and the declarations of a military intelligence agent who supplied the photographs published.

On November 5, 2004, *The New York Times* published a short story by Larry Rohter on the same military-political scandal. The story *Brazil: Defense Minister Quits In Dispute With Army*, was a one-paragraph brief about the resignation of the minister over statements by the army that tried to "deny or justify" the killing of political prisoners during the military dictatorship 30 years ago. There were short quotes from the minister' s letter of resignation caused by what the author called an "unexpected military crisis".

That same day, the *Los Angeles Times* published a fifteen-paragraph story on the same subject, with the headline *Defense Official in Brazil*

Quits Amid Scandal; The resignation comes after photos dating to the nation's repressive military rule emerged, sparking a furor that reopened old wounds. The same analogy of the open wounds was used by both the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*. This story also mentioned the tensions between the army and the officials in power, said to be "left-leaning" and "whom the military once hunted as subversives." The quotes in Henry Chu's story are basically the same as in *The New York Times* story: the statement by the military that originated the criticism and the resignation, the retraction made by military officials and the defense minister' s letter of resignation. Chu offered though some background information on controversial actions undertaken by the minister who resigned.

The last of the four stories on the political-military theme was a short, two-paragraph story from *The Times* Wire Reports, entitled *New Defense Minister is Told to Reign in Generals*. With the resignation, the vice-president was sworn in as the new minister. The change in the ministry was said to oppose those who defended the actions of the military dictatorship in the country, between 1964 and 1985.

These political-military stories bear a strong resemblance to the scandals that came with the publication, in the United States, of the pictures of prisoner abuse in the Abu Ghraib prison. The pictures taken in the prison in Iraq were first published in May 2004, but it was still a main topic of the news, with the election campaigns. Although the pictures were taken in very different situations, they furnished recollections of human-rights abuse of political opponents.

Another story theme found in the analysis was a business/economic theme. With Brazil being one of the leading economies of South America and having strong trade ties with the United States, this was a common story theme. Although this textual analysis focuses on full stories published by the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* written by their foreign correspondents, Brazilian business and economy are constant themes of briefs published in the economy section of these three newspapers.

The New York Times published *Drive for Global Markets Strains Brazil's Infrastructure*, written by Todd Benson with a São Paulo dateline on October 27, 2004. The story focused on the need for infrastructure investments, especially in ports and railroads, throughout the country to accommodate the booming export economy. The chaotic scene of "old trucks" lining up for "more than 50 miles" on the highway leading to a port, and their delay of up to 20 days waiting to unload, presented

this challenging need for infrastructure investment. The author presented quotes from Brazilian Foreign Trade Association officials, the Brazilian Infrastructure Association president, a senior official of the planning ministry and a former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States. These representatives' quotes confirmed the statements that the country needed to modernize its infrastructure, although some of them saw it as an investment opportunity. This story also gave some economic background information about the recent increase in the country' s exports.

On October 28, 2004, another story by Todd Benson was published by *The New York Times* on the business/economic theme. *Police Raid Kroll Offices In Brazil* was about the arrest of employees of a risk consulting firm and equity fund charged with business espionage. One of the companies involved was based in the United States. The only quote in the story came from a statement by this American-based company.

Cable Pirates Thrive in Brazil, published on November 9, 2004, was the last of the three stories by that paper on the business/economic theme. Todd Benson wrote about clandestine connections of cable television in low-income areas, an illegal activity engaged in by some technicians, and the intention of the government to make the black-market operators legal. This story presented two quotes from black-market operators, a technician and a company owner that also provided this illegal service. An executive from a legal local cable company, whose service did not include those low-income areas, was also quoted.

A profile of an Amazon Indian who became a lawyer was written by Larry Rohter for the Saturday profile story on November 13, 2004. The story *Using Courts in Brazil to Strengthen an Indian Identity* was the indigenous population story theme written by *The Times*. The article told the story of a woman from the Wapixanga tribe who, according to the story, was the "first Indian woman to become a lawyer in Brazil". She received a human rights prize in the United States for her work as a staff attorney for the Roraima Indigenous Council. The quotes in this story came from the lawyer herself, in a story marked by a sense of her having overcome the poverty and discrimination suffered by Brazilian Indians. This story contained hints of the exotic, with far, secluded places, but also commented on the social conditions faced by Brazilian Indians. But, by becoming a lawyer, she could be considered a success.

Judging from the stories' themes, only a few were in line with Bernard Gwerzman's (1993) considerations regarding a new kind of foreign news coverage after the cold war. The voices of the people were rarely seen, with many of the quotes still coming from American companies, experts

and politicians, diplomats or political leaders of Brazil. In only two stories the voices of the "people" were heard: in the clandestine cable TV story and the indigenous lawyer profile.

The goals of reporting a discovery, revelation and presentation of facts are seen in all these thirteen stories published by the newspapers analyzed. Within the dialectic function of the newspapers, the framework used to achieve and present such facts was accomplished according to the ideals of the newspaper for which each correspondent worked. From the single story published by the *Washington Post* during that month, focusing on the nuclear plant that was closely related to American national politics issues, to the political issues covered by the *Los Angeles Times*, that relies heavily on its Latin-American audience ties, and *The New York Times*' more extensive coverage and worldwide readership, the stories written by these foreign correspondents followed closely the dialectic discourse of the companies they worked for.

The rhetoric function of the discourse, although not so overtly presented, could be more readily seen in some particular stories. The column piece by Larry Rohter *If Brazil Wants to Scare the World, It's Succeeding* was a more obvious example, perhaps because its form permitted this function. The general idea was that Brazil was a threat to American nuclear and political interests due to its disputing international and American interest in the inspection of a nuclear plant.

The stereotypes used by Rohter, such as the country's image as a "land of soccer and samba, inhabited by friendly, easy-going people" in the first sentence of the column, set the mood of the article by indicating the country' s lack of seriousness leading to this incomprehensible dispute with international interest. The country' s reasons for resisting the inspection were not given much space or serious consideration. As claimed by one of the many foreign experts used as sources, the country's stated reason for not trusting the inspectors was "incredibly insulting and downright loopy."

Still in the lead paragraph of this Sunday piece, the author called the country, based on the accusation by American and other nuclear experts who throughout the story turned out to be American as well (with the exception of a Brazilian former minister whose arguments were in line with the presentation), a "nuclear scofflaw", a violator of the law. Thus, the country could not be trusted and any presentation of the opposing argument (which Brazilian officials were presenting as their reason for negotiating the inspection conditions) could be dismissed. Also in the first paragraph, the author showed the danger of the country's decision,

which could affect states called rogue, or unscrupulous, such as North Korea and Iran. It was no coincidence that those countries' policies were being heavily debated by US media and politicians during the presidential election. Thus, the political debate of the nuclear threat by North Korea and Iran was translated into the author' s idea that Brazil was acting against American interest on the issue. To begin with, the headline of this column already stated that: Brazil was willing to scare the world and succeeding, but whose world?

"To outsiders, Brazil's resistance to inspection doesn't make sense," Rohter said. But instead of pointing out the reasons given by Brazil and trying to make sense of them, themes of the country' s lack of seriousness and inferiority complex permeated the analysis. By overlooking the country's explanation and by using foreign experts as the knowledgeable sources, Rohter disdained the Brazilian voice and argument and reinforced American international ideals.

The New York Times correspondent also presented the alignment of his writings and the reinforcement of American ideology in the coverage of his piece *Exhuming a Political Killing Reopens Old Wounds in Brazil*. In the 12th paragraph, Rohter stated that "when Mr. da Silva took office in January 2003, some in the armed forces were still suspicious of his leftist origins. Since then, some grumbling has been heard in the military about low salaries, outdated equipment and the warm relationship between the Worker's Party and President Fidel Castro of Cuba." This story was about a photograph made public of a political prisoner killed during the military dictatorship. Although, as the author stated, many of the political opponents of the military regime were now in power, as was the case of the country's president, the political situation of the country and of the world during those years of the military regime and the cold war were very different then and now. By aligning the president's party with Cuba, one of the remaining communist regimes heavily criticized by the American government, and by pointing suspicion at the president' s origin, one could think that the framework in Latin America was still the same as during those years. Mr. da Silva was a democratically elected president. Henry Chu of the *Los Angeles Times* also made this comparison of the president's past as "a former union leader" who had been, together with other members of the current government (as well as many of the country's people), branded by the military regime as "enemies of the state". This was a fact, but the description of the president as a former union leader was interesting.

In the story by Todd Benson *Drive for Global Markets Strains Brazil's Infrastructure*, the country is represented by a sense of instability and chaos. The long delays in loading cargos, which caused "fear of costly delays", and, again, the "left-leaning" administration of Mr. da Silva, added to this idea that the country was disorganized and not trustworthy. The author stated that the current administration included "several high-ranking officials who railed against capitalism and foreign investors in the past," adding to the lack of stability for foreign investors. Brazil is a capitalist country and its economic policies are in line with liberal ideals. But by presenting the administration as having been "against capitalism" the author cast doubt on its trustworthiness. He also aligned himself with the American capitalist ideal that government regulation interfered with development, and thus Brazil still had such a chaotic export network.

Although is not possible to say that all the themes of the stories presented in this analysis were based on American ideology or on the writer's own ideological discourse, it is possible to see that some of the issues dealt with followed an American political framework. Some of the authors' positions within this framework were more transparent than others, as was the case of the column, whose format leads to a more rhetorical approach.

Said stated that "almost without exception, the Third World seemed to American policy-makers to be 'underdeveloped,' in the grip of unnecessarily archaic and static "traditional" modes of life, dangerously prone to communist subversion and internal stagnation. For the Third World "modernization" became the order of the day, so far as the United States was concerned" (SAID, 1981). These ideological notions seemed to be present in some of the stories analyzed. Brazil's description, as in the lack of infrastructure story presented by *The New York Times*, was that of an underdeveloped nation in danger of communist subversion, as in both *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* stories relating to the current government's ties to left-wing politics of the past. Such approaches may force the country's political and cultural events to fit into frameworks of foreign ideologies.

The cultural interaction of these foreign correspondents seemed to be reduced as well. The little importance given Brazilian sources to complement the stories, and the almost exclusive presence of political and diplomatic sources instead of the country's people, may lead us to believe that there was a limited interaction between those correspondents and the people from the country. Perhaps these interactions did exist but they did not translate into newsworthy events and sources. Some

of the stories analyzed in this study are more suitable for the use of official and expert sources of information, as the case of stories with the nuclear power theme. However, this same pattern of not including Brazilian citizens as sources and excluding their voices from the texts was transferred to stories which could profit from these perspectives.

By restricting access to Brazilian sources and opinions in the stories, the dialogue is restricted as well. The horizontal relationship (FREIRE, 1990) is limited by the lack of mutual trust between the dialoguers. Thus, a hierarchical relation between foreign ideals and Brazil's ideals seem to be the order of the discourse. By being more inclusive and trusting in the sharing of the dialogue, both parties would gain. That would not mean having the same points of view, thus being more reductive, but rather learning from these differences, and international coverage should present this opportunity. "Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views; indeed, it is based on these differences. It does deny the invasion of one by the other, but affirms the undeniable support each gives to the other" (FREIRE, 1990: 183).

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