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«THE VOICE OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE»: ARMENIAN PRESS IN SÃO PAULO (1940s–1970s)¹

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, I offer a bird eye's view of the Armenian press printed in São Paulo in the 1940–1970s, the most fertile decades of the Armenian newspapers and magazines in Brazil's biggest city, when several publications disputed the same readership. I present the main periodicals that circulated in São Paulo – published by either individuals or institutions – and their editorial guidelines. Thus, the press is analyzed focusing on their political discourse. However, there was no consensus on the best political system for Armenia, and rival groups used the pages of their publications to debate divergent ideas and point of views. Occasionally, the political differences came out of the paper and resulted into physical fights that ended up under the Political Police's investigation.

The history of the Armenian press in São Paulo – the city that hosted the majority of Armenians who arrived in the country – is also the social history of those immigrants within the host society, as well as the political history of the Armenians in diaspora that keep links of solidarity and channels of communication among them, even scattered all over the world. This network allows demanding territorial, legal, moral and economic reparations for the genocide that took place from 1915 on.

The chosen periodicals have some similarities, despite the fact that they were produced by Armenians and descendants in São Paulo. First, all claimed to be «the voice of the Armenian people.» One example is the subtitle of the newspaper *Ararat*, whose first number was released in October 1946, but also was the name of another organ, *Hayastani Dzayn*, first published in 1947.² Although other publications did not reflect this message on title, also made claims to be «the voice of the Armenians.» In fact, each one of them only represents a certain «voice» of a point of view from a fraction of the Armenian community of São Paulo.

Second, few publications used Armenian as primary language. Due to the difficulties to print on a large scale in the Armenian alphabet, it was common that this language took just a small number of pages. The difficulty of reading was another obstacle, since many Armenians knew the language, but they did not possess the old

¹ My most humble thanks to Hagop Kechichian, Ph.D., Stepan Hrair Chahinian, the Armenian Apostolic Church of São Paulo and *SAMA-Clube Armênio (Haygagan Agump)*, for opening their archives and libraries to my research. I also thank the Mekitarian Family for providing me information about their ancestors, and Tamar M. Boyadjian, PhD (Michigan State University) for her helpful review, comments, and friendship.

² Vartanian, 1948, 537.

alphabet. Although there was a typography in the late 1930s and early 1940s which was able to print in Armenian letters, major publications were printed in Buenos Aires and then sent to São Paulo, such as the book *Brazilioh Hay Kaghuthë*, written by the priest of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Yesnig Vartanian, published in 1948. This book presents the publications that circulated in the country that time, which helps to recreate the path of some of those newspapers and magazines that are lost, not existing in either archives or libraries.

Funding is another common point between those publications. Apart from *Verelk*, the Armenian Union of São Paulo's newsletter, other publications had subscribers and advertisers from the community itself. In this regard, analyzing those advertisements is an important strategy of research to understand the economic framework of which the Armenians in São Paulo were part. From observing advertisements in different years and publications, it is possible to notice whether an immigrant-owned business grew, opening branches or expanding its area of expertise.

These publications also have much in common regarding content. In general, there are articles about social events, history, and politics. The claims for rights over the eastern territories of the Republic of Turkey was the most common subject, although the discourse would vary depending on the publication's political affiliation, becoming more or less aggressive towards the Turks or the adopted strategies to achieve the aims of the Armenian Cause.

2. VERELK: NEWSLETTER OF THE «ARMENIAN UNION OF SÃO PAULO» CULTURAL SOCIETY³

This magazine-shaped publication was the first Armenian press project in Brazil that maintained periodicity and some longevity.⁴ Other periodicals were printed and published before in Brazil, but they did not live long and no known preserved copies are extant. The above-mentioned Fr. Vartanian's book cites publications, such as the «independent, national, literary, artistic and sportive» magazine *Yerant* (1928–1931 or 1932), the very first Armenian periodical in Brazil; or *Gaydz* (1935) the Social Democrat *Hnchakian* Party's organ. *Verelk* – a French-Armenian Soviet-orientated newspaper's namesake, published in the 1920s⁵ – was first released in 1945 on the occasion of the first anniversary of the «Armenian Union of São Paulo» Cultural Society (UASP, the acronym in Portuguese), founded in August 20, 1944.⁶ As a bilingual magazine, *Verelk* was semi-craft printed, whose pages in Portuguese were typewritten and the Armenian ones were handwritten and then duplicated by a mimeograph.

³ «*Verelk: boletim informativo da Sociedade Cultural 'União Armênia de São Paulo'*», in Portuguese.

⁴ Vartanian, 197, 248.

⁵ Mouradian, 1990, 313.

⁶ Unfortunately, it is not possible to have access to the whole collection. The gathered material starts with n. 9–10 from April-May 1946 and ends with n. 17 from August 1947. It is not known whether that was the last published issue.

The sympathy for the Communism borne by UASP through the newsletter attracted the Political Police of the State of São Paulo's attention. Although some members of the UASP's board of directors tried to deny any official affiliation, the Soviet orientation was visible already from the newsletter's cover. In the ninth-tenth issues of April-May 1946 (the publication was bimonthly at the initial stage), the cover shows a «homage to the Armenian deputies elected by the people to the Soviet Parliament» with portraits of those politicians.⁷ It is important to mention that the foundation of both UASP and *Verelk* took place at the time when the Armenian politicians were at their height in the 1940–50s, falling after Nikita Khrushchev's office.⁸ In another issue, the opening article states Armenian SSR as the genuine expression of the Armenian people's national interests «after many centuries of slavery, Armenia rises, autonomous, progressive, and rejuvenated.»⁹

The newsletter's purposes can be summarized as follows: first, informing the reader about what happened in the Armenian Union of São Paulo and within the community; second, reporting short news about the Armenian Cause and other diasporic communities; and third, exalting the Armenian SSR through articles alluding to its history, culture, politics, etc. The latter evident in issues such as the one published in November 1946, whose features were obvious on its cover «Hail November 29», in big and red letters, standing for the 26th anniversary of the Armenia SSR. The editorial reads:

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia completes one more year of existence. Therefore, it is the 26 years of «regime,» which gave to «Haiasdan» admirable splendor and progress. We, Armenians from abroad, proudly commemorate this date because it has a special meaning to our heart of the patriots. It was on that remarkable day that the «regime» was implanted in Armenia, the «regime» that assured economic and social freedom. It was on that day that the Armenians, after 600 years of indescribable martyrdom, found peace and tranquility. Today, when we receive good news about the repatriation of all Armenians from abroad, we feel our hearts touched by the hope of stepping the national soil again.¹⁰

The pages in Armenian are not literal translations from the Portuguese, but the content is very similar. In the first issues, there are some articles in Armenian signed by Takvor Guiragossian, UASP's secretary in 1946. In April/May 1946 issue, Guiragossian defends the emigration to Armenian SSR in two pieces: «To Armenia,» and «Clarification relating to life in Soviet Armenia,» with similar tenor: making propaganda about the advancements of the country and the benefits of emigrating.¹¹ In other issues, it is possible to find in the old language some patriotic poems and articles about the Armenian history.

⁷*Verelk*, n.º 9–10, April-May, 1946.

⁸ **Ferro**, 1983, 203.

⁹*Verelk*, n.º 9–10, April-May, 1946.

¹⁰*Verelk*, n. 16, November, 1946, 2. Translated from Portuguese original by the author.

¹¹ Op. cit., n.º. 9–10, abril-maio de 1946.

Although politics is a recurring subject, it was not the only theme in the newsletter. Social news, anecdotes, book and film reviews were also published in *Verelk*. This shows that UASP was not a political grouping, working as a party, unlike other Armenian institutions in São Paulo. Sport and theatrical activities also had room at the headquarters under the care of *Erevan*, Union's youth and sports wing. In 1950, the Political Police confiscated files and records from UASP's headquarters, including a list of nominates to the board of directors, containing 46 names, among them 13 women. However, it is not possible to find among these confiscated files any copy of the newsletter.

It is unknown when UASP closed doors, although there was a request for closing it at the Political Police in 1952,¹² but it is possible to notice by analyzing the issues that after the departure of Jacob Bazarian and Levon Yacubian in 1947 – both would create the newspaper *Ararat* as we will see below – the editorial line was substantially changed. After a commemorative issue for the 26th anniversary of Armenian SSR, in November 1946,¹³ a new issue would be published only nine months later as a special edition in celebration of the third anniversary of UASP and the second year of *Verelk*. In this issue, there are no articles supporting the Soviet Armenia as it used to be, nor reports about politics in USSR. The editorial praises the growth of the Armenian Union of São Paulo and the institution's activities within the Armenian community in São Paulo, while it challenges their critics and opponents whose days, in the author's words, «were numbered.»¹⁴

Verelk's abandonment of an editorial line guided by political debate did not stop the pro-Armenian SSR expression within the Armenian community in São Paulo. The fall of the newsletter marks the creation of a new publication, *Ararat – the voice of the Armenian people* – that would be the most enthusiastic organ ever published by Armenians in Brazil in support of the Soviet regime.

3. ARARAT – THE VOICE OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

The newspaper *Ararat – the voice of the Armenian people* was first published in October 1946, after dissidence in *Verelk* and the Armenian Union of São Paulo. On that occasion, Jacob Bazarian and Levon Yacubian, two of the most active members of UASP, left the organization to dedicate themselves to an independent project, politically bolder towards the left, in support of the Armenia RSS, and Communism. For those reasons, *Ararat* was closely monitored by the Political Police, which eventually arrested both activists. The great amount of information generated by the police offers us a rich corpus of sources to study both the Armenian community and the operation of the Political and Social Order Police of the State of São Paulo (DEOPS the acronym in Portuguese). Some copies of the newspaper were attached to the criminal records as evidence of the political crime.¹⁵

¹² *Criminal record n. 98,526 – Ararat*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

¹³ *Verelk*, n. 16, November 1946.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, n. 17, August 1947.

¹⁵ The diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church in São Paulo has the whole collection of *Ararat* in very good condition.

Ararat is predominately written in the Portuguese language. As it was mentioned, the difficulties of printing in Armenian may be one of the reasons of the lack of the mother tongue on the newspaper's pages, but it is also worth mentioning that neither Bazarian nor Yacubian were fluent in Armenian. But for some sparse cases, only in the issue 20, May 1948, it is possible to find a whole page printed in Armenian containing news about repatriation, sent from the USSR.¹⁶ From this issue until Yacubian's imprisonment, one or two pages in each issue were exclusively dedicated to news from the USSR.

The newspaper was monthly based – becoming bimonthly based at its last stage, since the operational difficulties caused by Yacubian's arrest and Bazarian's exile – printed on newsprint, issued with six pages and afforded by subscriptions, advertisement, and donations. Twenty-five year old Mary Moraes Apocalypse,¹⁷ then-Bazarian's wife then, was legal by responsible for the publication, until the requirement of Brazilian law that obligated the director of any newspaper of being born Brazilian.

Jacob Bazarian, *de facto* Ararat director, was born in Marash in 1919 and studied Philosophy at the Philosophy, Sciences and Arts of São Paulo University. Simultaneously, he worked in São Paulo city's newspapers, such as *Hoje*, the Brazilian Communist Party's organ.¹⁸ Before that, however, he initiated his studies at the Medical School of the University of São Paulo as well as the São Bento Philosophy College, quitting both.¹⁹ He also was alumni us at the Politics and Sociology School, being expelled in 1944 due to his political activism at the Communist Party, which was an illegal organization at that time.²⁰ In 1945, while Bazarian was finishing his education, he applied for the Brazilian citizenship,²¹ but three years later, he was investigated by the same state that he was trying to become a citizen of. According to Levon Yacubian's statement, Bazarian was deputy director of UASP during the first two terms, between 1944 and 1946.²² During this period, it is easily possible to find on *Verelk*'s pages contributions of the philosopher about Armenian SSR elections, repatriation, territorial claims, or the Armenian community, which made Bazarian – along with Yacubian – the main writer of the newsletter. Although in *Verelk* Bazarian found room to express his ideas and expectations of the Armenia SSR, he started thinking about creating his own newspaper.

Two-year-old Levon Yacubian arrived in Brazil on June 27, 1928, coming from Marseille. His documents state his birthplace as Aleppo, and «undefined» nationality. He began his career as a journalist in the town of São José do Rio Preto, São Paulo state's interior, as a copydesk on a local newspaper at the age of 18. In 1945, already

¹⁶*Ararat – a voz do povo armênio*. São Paulo, year II, n. 20, May 1948, 5.

¹⁷*Criminal record n. 97,180 – Mary Apocalypse*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

¹⁸ **Bazarian**, 1973, 139.

¹⁹ **Bazarian**, 1986, 29.

²⁰ **Bazarian**, 1991, VIII.

²¹ **Bazarian J.**, 1973, 153.

²²*Criminal record n. 73,631 – Levon Yacubian*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

in São Paulo, he worked in different publishing houses until being arrested in June 1949.

Often writing for *Verelk*, Levon Yacubian became one of the most active members of the Union, was elected secretary on the same board that had Bazarian as deputy director. It was probably within UASP that Yacubian and the graduate of the Philosophy department Jacob Bazarian first met and started discussing the course of Armenian SSR and the community in Brazil. Their friendship, intellectual and political affinity were consolidated in 1946 after the creation of Ararat. Perhaps influenced by Bazarian, the journalist also enrolled at the Arts College of São Paulo where he studied until his prison in 1949.²³

Heading the Ararat newspaper's newsroom and as the secretary, Yacubian was a daring journalist. His articles openly criticized the problems of Armenia and diaspora and his historical analysis showed high degree of study and knowledge. These attributes definitely contributed to the attention of the police, which had been monitoring him since he witnessed in Bazarian's case,²⁴ arresting him in 1949 for he had withdrawn «subversive material» from the post office. In September of that same year, the chief police officer stated in a report that due to the evidences, there would not be necessity of make further remarks about Yacubian's subversion, because the articles signed by him were enough to prove his communist activities.²⁵

Unlike other leftist or ethnic publications, Ararat was not a clandestine organ. It was officially registered and legally worked on 215 Santo Andre Street, São Paulo's downtown, a street with many Armenian residencies and business where Bazarian himself lived. In June 1952, when the Political Police confiscated a list of subscription, Ararat had around 350 subscribers, among them Caio Prado Jr., a notorious Brazilian scholar and Communist leader, and many institutions such as public libraries, consulates, trade unions, colleges and other ethnic publications. Some of these names were highlighted by the police, which show the attempt of the authorities of trying to understand the network created by the suspects of political crimes.

Although Ararat's print run is unknown, the figure of 350 subscribers reached by the newspaper in its last months of life is very expressive, especially if we consider that in 1946 the publication had around 130 supporters from all over the country, i.e., in two or three years the newspaper doubled its subscriptions. The Political Police recorded each supporter whose name was on those lists because they «are all belonging to Soviet Armenia and are communists, supporters and admirers of Stalin,» according to the officers.²⁶ Altogether, there are 139 criminal records of Armenians labeled as «communists» by the Political Police, among them, 113 were recorded as such only because they subscribed the newspaper.

It is clear that some Armenians who subscribed and read Ararat shared political views of both Bazarian and Yacubian. On the other hand, for some readers the

²³ *Ararat*, year IV, n. 39–40; December 1949 and January 1950, 1.

²⁴ *O Cruzeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: year XXI, n. 47, September 10, 1949), 6.

²⁵ *Criminal record n. 73,631 – Levon Yacubian*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

²⁶ *Criminal record n. 98,526 – Ararat*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

newspaper was just one among many Armenian publications distributed in the community. News about births, baptisms, weddings, and deaths as well as social events were probably the favorite (or perhaps the only read) section of many readers. Thus, it is important to think not only who read this newspaper, but also how it was read. For many people, the reading was guided by the interest about news and reports from the Armenian SSR and the community. Therefore, it is necessary to remind that subscribing or reading Ararat did not make an Armenian who lived in São Paulo in the 1940–1950s necessarily a Communist, as the Political Police suggested.

In total, twenty issues of Ararat were confiscated and attached to Jacob Bazarian's criminal record, plus an extra issue that was attached directly to the newspaper's record. Some of these issues were read and analyzed by the police officers who highlighted suspicious information, including Merry Christmas and Happy New Year's wishes, which were written in Armenian.²⁷ The structure of Ararat is the headline and the main article about the Armenia SSR, one article about international politics through left wing interpretation, one article about the community in Brazil, and rarely one piece about Brazilian politics. Indeed, the lack of involvement in the Brazilian political issues led the public prosecutor to close the newspaper's case in March 1949, although the charges against Yacubian for receiving suspicious material continued.²⁸

In December of the same year, the double issue 39–40, whose headline is «Stalin and the Armenians,»²⁹ renewed the controversy over the newspaper. That issue had two main purposes: commemorating Stalin's 70th birthday, and giving Levon Yacubian's case high profile, since he was imprisoned by the police officers, disobeying *habeas corpus*. Even arrested, Yacubian continued writing to Ararat and his articles from this period are much more aggressive than the previous ones. In the main article on the double issue 37–38 from October and November 1949, he reported the course of his case explaining why he was acquitted despite the illegal imprisonment, blaming those ones who would be the «masterminds» of the Ararat case. In his opinion, members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) were behind the scene in an attempt to silence the pro-Soviet Ararat.

In the next issue, Yacubian tried to respond his opponents vigorously. The main article commemorates the 70th birthday of Josef Stalin, glorifying the Armenian SSR and accusing ARF of being responsible for the events in the early 20th century. He states that the democratic peoples around the world were celebrating the USSR leader's birthday, while the mainstream media attacks «the unique figure of Stalin.» Thus, Ararat, «the popular organ of the democratic and patriotic Armenian community in Brazil,»³⁰ joins the enthusiastic press and exalts the date and the importance of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for Armenians and the world. In the author's opinion, the humanitarian interest

²⁷ Ararat, year II, n. 15, December 1947, 1.

²⁸ Ararat, year III, n. 30, March 1949, 1.

²⁹ Ararat, year IV, n. 39-40, December 1949 and January 1950.

³⁰ Ibid., 1.

for the oppressed nations was the great virtue of Stalin. Thanks to him, Armenia would become independent *de facto* on November 29, 1920, when the proletarian forces attended the call from the Russian comrades and rose against the ARF counter-revolutionary forces. In his words: «ARARAT, in this seventieth anniversary of Stalin, reaffirms its unyielding line of conduct: to unmask the *tashnags*, fight against imperialism, and war in defense of Peace.»³¹

In an other article entitled «*Tashnags* on the road to treason,»³² Yacubian criticizes the commemoration of May 28, 1918 as the Independence Day. In his opinion, the celebrations on that date were, in fact, anti-Armenian manifestations, comparing the «ARF Republic» – as he calls the first Republic of Armenia – to the ARF support to the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and stating that this political group was an enemy of the Armenian people. Thus, the journalist considered a contradiction that some compatriots commemorated both May 28 and November 29, since «these two dates oppose one to another as death and life, darkness and light.» Yacubian adds:

Only the socialist power of the Armenian workers, peasants and intellectuals managed to finally defeat, in Armenia, the regressive powers of the *tashnag* government of Vratsian. It was only the socialism that put the government power in the hands of the Armenian people, once enslaved and plundered by a handful of *tashnag* lackeys.³³

The fact that some people attended both festivities indicates that politics meant less than the community life for a group of Armenians in São Paulo. What mattered was attending the events organized within the community. On the other hand, there were indeed Armenians in São Paulo who shared the Communist agenda in order to oppose themselves to ARF politics.

The last update on Ararat criminal record is from 1952, when the Political Police confiscated newsletters from the USSR Embassy in Mexico addressed to Ararat newsroom. Proceedings were opened, and Levon Yacubian was called on to testify once again, only two years after his release. In that occasion, he declared those newsletters were sent to Ararat because the sender did not know about the end of Ararat. He also declared that after the closure he did not take part in any «subversive» activities and he had been working on *O Tempo* newspaper and *Agence France-Presse*.³⁴ In January 1953, a police detective visited the former Ararat headquarters to investigate whether the newspaper had really closed down. According to his report, the 213 Santo André Street was now a residency and the residents knew nothing about the newspaper. The only information he obtained was that Ararat would have an end because «the editor was in Moscow, studying or teaching in the University, since he was an intelligent boy graduated at the São Paulo Sciences and Philosophy College.»³⁵ Hence, the police investigation was not continued.

³¹ Idem.

³² Ibid., 3.

³³ Idem.

³⁴ *Criminal record n. 98,526 – Ararat*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

³⁵ Idem.

4. HAYASTANI DZAYN

Hayastani Dzayn – The Voice of Armenia – was contemporary to Ararat. First published in January 1947, its board consisted of Hagop Kayserlian, Pedro Nazarian and Yervant Mekitarian.³⁶ As in the case of Ararat and its official director, Mrs. Mary Moraes Apocalypse, Kayserlian and Nazarian had only symbolic positions, since Mekitarian was the main contributor, from writing articles to printing copies in his own residency, on 59 São Caetano Street, not far from Ararat headquarters. Unfortunately, there are copies available to query in libraries, although Mekitarian family has some issues. For this reason, the most part of information about *Hayastani Dzayn* comes from Vartanian's book and from the family.

According to Fr. Yesnig Vartanian, Yervant Mekitarian arrived in Brazil in 1926.³⁷ Born in Garin (now Erzurum), in December 1903, he moved to Constantinople in 1912 with his family. His father, Hovhannes, joined *Hnchakian* Party in 1915 being arrested shortly after and passing away around one year after being released. During the Kemalist movement, Mekitarian family left Turkey and flew to France where they lived before moving to Brazil. In São Paulo city, Yervant Mekitarian worked as peddler and married a woman from Soukiassian family. His brother-in-law was also a member of *Hnchakian* and they both founded the Brazilian branch of the party circa 1932. Thanks to his political activism, he was known as *Garmirag* – «the little red.» The Portuguese version was a common nickname for Communists in Brazil – within the Armenian community in São Paulo, referring to his leftist positions, but ignoring the fact he was not a Communist, but a Social Democrat. As writer and journalist, Mekitarian took part in *Yerant* and *Gaydz*, the first Armenian periodicals in São Paulo, as well as was the director of an Armenian radio show.³⁸ His articles were also published abroad and, in 1937, he composed a couple of pieces with the Armenian poet Avetik Isahakyan who wrote the verses, while he composed the melodies.³⁹

From 1947 on, Mekitarian dedicated his time exclusively to his newspaper in order to report the international news from the social democrat point of view. After a prosperous first year, Mekitarian could not afford the newspaper and closed down after three years of activities. Indebted, he abandoned the political activism circa 1950 marking also the downfall of *Hnchakian* in São Paulo, whose few remaining members were absorbed by the Brazilian chapter of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) after its foundation in 1964.

Although Fr. Yesnig Vartanian states in his book that *Hayastani Dzayn* was bilingual – Portuguese and Armenian – the cover he presents is completely in Armenian.⁴⁰ The editorial line was not very different from Jacob Bazarian's newspaper, the communist orientated Ararat. Sixteen years older than Bazarian, Mekitarian was a political reference for the young philosopher and it is possible to find

³⁶ Vartanian, 1948, 537.

³⁷ Although Walter Mekitarian, Yervant's son, states his father arrived in 1929.

³⁸ Vartanian, 1948, 250.

³⁹ Mekitarian Family owns the music scores.

⁴⁰ Vartanian, 1948, 539.

some mentions to *Hayastani Dzayn* on Ararat pages. On the occasion of the release of Mekitarian's newspaper, Bazarian refers to it as «one of the patriotic organs of the community,» reporting that during the launching event, the Armenian Union of São Paulo's choir performed the Anthem of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,⁴¹ which shows that both publications supported the Armenian SSR notwithstanding ARF opposition.

5. BRAZIL-ARMENIA CULTURAL MAGAZINE

The «Armenian Melodies» Artistic Society – *Sociedade Artística Melodias Armênicas* (SAMA), later *SAMA-Haygagan Agump*, founded in 1941 for an ARF member, in 1947 – started the monthly based publication of Brazil-Armenia Cultural Magazine (*Revista Cultural Brasil-Armênia*). With a good printing work, the 36-paged magazine was published entirely in Portuguese and its headquarter was also located in São Paulo's downtown, nearby other Armenian organs.

Starting with the first issue, the magazine's editors were concerned in affirming their «hyphenated» identity – in Jeffrey Lesser's term.⁴² The magazine cover has a graphic composition that shows Mount Ararat and the Sugarloaf Mountain side by side, although many Armenians in Brazil have never seen either of them, since Ararat is in the territory of Turkey and the latter is in Rio de Janeiro, 430 km far from São Paulo. The content of the magazine is also between Armenia and Brazil. Often, the magazine presents a Brazilian and an Armenian poet in order to establish some kind of equivalence between both writers. The same strategy is used regarding the Brazilian and Armenian history, with translations from the Armenian language into Portuguese.

The political debate was also present in this magazine. Through Brazil-Armenia Cultural Magazine, ARF deflected the criticism of the supporters of the Armenian SSR and attacked the leftist publications. This attitude is also seen on reports about censorship of Armenian intellectuals in the USSR, or on condemning the repatriation to SSR Armenia, which was one of the priority themes for the leftists.⁴³

The main opponent of the magazine and ARF was Bazarian's newspaper *Ararat*. In March 1947, *Ararat* published a piece to reply a statement made by ARF members during their radio show. In that article entitled «Explanation to the Armenian community in Brazil,» *Ararat* defends itself after «attacks made by reactionary Armenians» from SAMA and accuses ARF of collaborating with the Nazi Fascism during WWII. ARF members were also blamed for splitting the Armenian community in São Paulo, boycotting Communist commemorations.⁴⁴ Some years later, this rivalry reached the Brazilian mainstream press. On the pages of *O Cruzeiro* magazine, it is possible to find a major story about Jacob Bazarian, Levon Yacubian and their activities on *Ararat*. The Brazilian publication not only adopted the Political Police's discourse of subversion and political crime, but also took ARF's side, whose members

⁴¹ *Ararat*, year I, n. 8, May 1947, 2.

⁴² Lesser, 1999.

⁴³ *Brazil-Armenia Cultural Magazine*, year 2, n. 15, March 1948, 5-6.

⁴⁴ *Ararat*, year I, n. 6, March 1947, 3.

would be, according to the article, the true democrats of Armenia, in opposition to the subversive communists from Ararat:

This newspaper [Ararat] circulates within the Armenian community in São Paulo to oppose tenaciously another periodical from the same community – «Brazil-Armenia,» a publication led by a group of nationalist Armenians who dream of a free and democratic Armenia based on the model of Western free nations. This bunch of patriots are frowned by the Communist Armenians entrenched on Ararat newsroom.⁴⁵

Brazil-Armenia Cultural Magazine circulated continuously from 1947 to 1950 and faced a hiatus until 1957 when it was resumed. In mid-1958 the magazine was interrupted once and for all. Meanwhile, SAMA closed down its headquarters in downtown and built new facilities in rich areas of São Paulo city, not far from clubs and associations of Syrian, Lebanese and other *nouveaux-riche* immigrant groups who followed São Paulo's elite towards wealthy suburbs.

6. THE ARMENIAN HERALD⁴⁶

This publication was created in late 1962 by the Brazil-Armenia Society (SBA)⁴⁷ primarily composed of Armenian and descendant university students who sought to balance ARF power within the community. After the weakening of the Armenian Union of São Paulo and the end of Ararat and *Hayastani Dzain*, ARF, which already was the strongest Armenian organization in São Paulo, found more room to expand its influence over the community.

Monthly based and newspaper-shaped, the Armenian Herald had Varujan Burmaian as the first director. Due to the lack of a headquarter, the newsroom worked in the Armenian Center, although its members looked for having their own place in order to seek more autonomy. This group also promoted a radio show to compete with ARF's one.⁴⁸

Regarding the language, the newspaper has a special section in its first page to articles in Armenian, usually about history. In the issue 9, published in March 1963, there is a piece about the Battle of Avarayr in 451.⁴⁹ In the next issue, from April 1963, the cover article is about the anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.⁵⁰ The fact worth mentioning about this issue, however, is the use of the word *genocide* in the editorial in Portuguese. It is believed that the 1965 Yerevan demonstrations were responsible for spreading the use of the G-word for the mass killings of Armenians in 1915.⁵¹ However, this editorial shows the word coined by Raphael Lemkin was used some years earlier. Citing the newspaper: «In this sense, the genocide reached the Armenian families, killing them or generating orphans and widows. This is the pale picture of the

⁴⁵ *O Cruzeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: year XXI, n. 47, September 10, 1949), 6.

⁴⁶ *Tribuna Armênia*, in Portuguese.

⁴⁷ *Sociedade Brasil-Armênia*, in Portuguese.

⁴⁸ *Armenian Herald* (São Paulo: year I, n. 9, March 1963), 1.

⁴⁹ *Idem*.

⁵⁰ *Armenian Herald* (São Paulo: year I, n 10, April 1963), 1.

⁵¹ **Balakian**, 2004, 377–378.

events of 1915.» This short part is the first known mention of the massacre of Armenians as a genocide in Brazil.

The Armenian Herald had a long life. In the end of 1970, in its 8th year of work, the double issue 60–61 highlighted a «crisis» within the Brazil-Armenia Society. In a piece signed by Dr. Arthur Puxian, there are bold critical remarks on the lack of mobilization and interest of the Armenian community in São Paulo.⁵² However, it is possible to find in private archives an issue published in November 1971, which led us to infer that the newspaper survived at least for a year after the crises announcement.⁵³

The most complete collection of this newspaper belongs to the historian Hagop Kechichian, Ph.D., who was a director of another periodical himself. In June 1965, it the first issue of *Hayastan*, was published. This newspaper was founded by Hampartsum Kiulhtzian, Kechichian's brother-in-law, who was not born Brazilian and for this reason could not own press. *Hayastan* was bilingual, but the pieces in Armenian were reproduced from other publications. As far as it is known, the last issue of this newspaper was in June 1966.

7. ARMENIA

The last major publication in the Armenian community of São Paulo was the magazine *Armenia*. *Armenia* was idealized by Jacob Bazarian, who returned to Brazil after sixteen years of residency in the USSR. There, the philosopher was researcher and professor at the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences.⁵⁴ In March 1964, Bazarian went to Brazil to collect material for new researches. But the *coup d'état* one month later forced him to return to Moscow.⁵⁵ Few years later, in August 1966, he travelled to Brazil once again alleging health problems, leaving behind a wife and two children and «getting divorced from Communism,» according to his own words in an article published in his magazine and his book «Myth and Reality in the Soviet Union.»⁵⁶

Once in Brazil, he wrote articles about the daily life in the USSR to Brazilian magazines and newspapers before launching his own publication, *Armenia* in June 1967. He himself defines the magazine as «impartial,»⁵⁷ since the magazine covered the events of the Armenian community in Brazil, but mainly in São Paulo. Though the periodical also included information about Armenians in Rio de Janeiro, as well as reports about the Armenian cause and RSS Armenia, it was not as extensive as *Verelk* and *Ararat*. The former partisan style is virtually non-existent.

The creation of this magazine allows us to measure how influent and well-known Bazarian was within the community in São Paulo, even after many years living abroad. The fact of his being a descent of a wealthy family might have contributed to his

⁵² *Armenian Herald* (São Paulo: year VIII, n. 60–61, November and December 1970), 1.

⁵³ *Armenian Herald* (São Paulo: year VIII, n. 66, November 1971), 1.

⁵⁴ **Bazarian J.**, 1973, 65.

⁵⁵ **Bazarian J.**, 1991, X.

⁵⁶ **Bazarian J.**, 1973, 63–82.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

acceptance, but it is most likely that his shift towards liberal ideas pleased his peers. The amount of supporters is a clear sign of the popularity of the magazine. In the issue 5, there were 413 subscribers and advertisers from Brazil and abroad.⁵⁸ In addition, it is possible to find news about AGBU and ARF, two important political forces and traditionally rivals, specially in the 1960–70s context of the Brazil Cold War's. This shows that Bazarian tried to maintain his publication in delicate balance.

However, the liberal approach does not mean a total rupture from the USSR. According to one of Bazarian's assistants, the magazine also received a small financial support from RIA Novosti, the Soviet international news agency. This information can be proved by analyzing the magazine and the large amount of pictures and articles credited to the agency.⁵⁹ This same assistant affirms some copies of Armenia were sent to the USSR diplomatic representation in Rio de Janeiro as a counterpart for the contribution. Probably, Bazarian's magazine was sent to other diplomatic offices of USSR around the world.

The last issue was published in May 1969, after months of financial crisis. In this issue, Bazarian published a discussion with Zaven Karakhanian, ARF member, about his «divorce from the Communism,» being the first time in more than three years of publication that politics came up on Armenia's pages.⁶⁰ Perhaps for this reason this magazine was never targeted by the Political Police. The only reference of it in the Police's archives is this last issue, which is attached on Bazarian's record as a proof of his «divorce» from his old ideology.⁶¹

The newsroom was located in 361 Santo Amaro Street and the Portuguese was the main language over its 30 pages. Certainly, the magazine *Armenia* was the most popular publication within the community since the beginning of the Armenian press in Brazil in mid-1940s – even more than the longest living magazine, *The Armenian Herald*. For this reason it is the most easily found Armenian publication in archives and libraries in São Paulo, although a complete collection could not be found.

8. DISCUSSION

The end of the magazine *Armenia* in 1969 and the *Armenian Herald* in 1971–1972 also marked the fall of the Armenian press produced in São Paulo. From early 1940s to early 1970s, the Armenians were used to have at least one ethnic publication sharing ideas, reports and ideologies about diaspora and the Armenian SSR. In more fertile moments such as 1947, four or more periodicals circulated simultaneously, sharing the same audience. On the other hand, in the 1950s, there was no publication to feed the community. This hiatus could be a trigger or a new wave of press in the second half of the 1960s, when two or three periodicals circulated in the city, even under political surveillance after the *coup d'état* in 1964.

⁵⁸ *Armenia* (São Paulo: year I, n. 5, January and February 1968), 3–4.

⁵⁹ *Armenia* (São Paulo: year II, n. 11, September 1968), 17–18.

⁶⁰ *ARMÊNIA*. Ano III, nº 16, maio/junho de 1969, pp. 3 e 13–15.

⁶¹ *Criminal record n. 95,621 – Jacob Bazarian*, DEOPS, Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

Although this paper aimed at covering the period between 1940–1970s, it is worth mentioning the existence of other periodicals which had a narrower scope, such as *Nor Gyank*, released in 1979 by ARF's youth; *Sipan*, created in January 1983 as the organ of the Armenian Apostolic Church of São Paulo, and still in circulation; *Messenger*, first published early 1990s as the newsletter of the Armenian Catholic Church; and *Massis*, an independent monthly based newsletter of Armenians in Rio de Janeiro, created and directed by Ara Leon Nevrouz since late 1990s.⁶²

The lack of periodicals published purely in Armenian or both in Armenian and Portuguese does not mean the community in Brazil was isolated from other diasporic groups. Even publishing almost entirely in Portuguese, the lists of subscribers of the magazines *Ararat* or *Armenia* show that these periodicals circulated all over the world, notwithstanding the crucial decision of printing in the host society's language. Otherwise, it would be virtually impossible to keep an Armenian press in Brazil due to technical, financial, and logistic challenges.

Guided by the promotion of the history, culture and, mainly the Armenian cause, the Armenian press in Brazil remains a crucial part of the community dynamics and identity. Besides being an important tool of education and information for Armenians in Brazil, the ethnic press created spaces of sociability in which people met, families were started, and the community was keeping alive. The Armenian press is a mandatory way for those researchers who want to understand the social and political aspects of these immigrants in Brazil, especially the specificities about the political conflicts within the Armenian community, and how a shared memory and discourse was created by editorials, articles, and pictures published over the decades.

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⁶² *Massis* (Rio de Janeiro: year V, n. 45, June 2001).

ԷՅՏՈՐ ԴԵ ԱՆԴՐԱԴԵ ԿԱՌՎԱԼՈ ԼՈՌԻՆԵՅՐՈ

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«ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎՐԴԻ ԶԱՅՆԸ». ՍԱՆ ՊԱՌԻԼՈՒԻ ՀԱՅ ՄԱՄՈՒԼԸ (1940–1970-ԱԿԱՆ ԹԹ.)

Հոդվածի նպատակն է վերլուծության ենթարկել Սան Պաուլուի հայ մամուլը 1940–1960-ական թվականներին:

Այն գլխավորապես կենտրոնացել է այն սահմանումի վրա, որը կատարել են հայ մամուլի տարբեր օրգանները, որոնք կոչված են եղել պաշտպանել և հաստատել «հայերի ձայնը» Սան Պաուլուի համայնքում: Այս սահմանումը ցույց է տալիս Բրազիլիայի ամենամեծ քաղաքում բնակվող հայերի մեջ եղած քաղաքական նրբերանգները, հատկապես Խորհրդային Միության ամենավերջին հանրապետության պաշտպանության հարցում, որը վիճելի հարց էր քաղաքական դիրքորոշումների բազմազանության պատճառով, որն ունեցել են բրազիլահայերի տարբեր խմբերը երկրորդ համաշխարհային պատերազմի և այնուհետև՝ սառը պատերազմի համատեքստում: Բրազիլական քաղաքական դաշտը, որն ուժեղ կերպով աչքի էր ընկնում ավտորիտար և հակակոմունիստական բնույթով, մեծացնում էր այդ հակադրությունները Սան Պաուլուի ներգաղթյալների խմբերի վրա ունեցած իշխանությամբ և վերահսկողությամբ, հատկապես այն խմբերի վրա, որոնք կապեր ունեին ԽՍՀՄ-ի հետ: Այս առումով Սան Պաուլուի հայ մամուլի ուսումնասիրությունը հնարավորություն է տալիս հասկանալ, թե ինչպես քաղաքական բանավեճը հիմնված էր ոչ միայն հայկական խնդիրների, այլև Բրազիլիայի քաղաքական մթնոլորտի վրա:

Հոդվածը քննում է այդ բոլոր բարդ իրավիճակները, ինչպես նաև ներկայացնում է 1940–1960-ական թթ. Սան Պաուլուի հայ մամուլի հավելված՝ ուղղորդելու և խրախուսելու նոր ուսումնասիրություններ:

Հոդվածում քննության են առնված մասնավորապես հետևյալ պարբերականները.

1. «Վերելք» (1945–1947), հայերեն-պորտուգալերեն երկշաբաթաթերթ, տպագրվել է «Սան Պաուլուի Հայկական միություն» մշակութային ընկերակցության կողմից: Այն առաջին բրազիլահայ պարբերականն էր, որ ունեցել է որոշ պարբերականություն: Ունեցել է խորհրդամետ կողմնորոշում, քաջալերել հայերի հայրենադարձությունը Խորհրդային Հայաստան: Պարբերականի ակտիվ հոդվածագիրներից էր «Սան Պաուլուի Հայկական միության» փոխնախագահ Ժակոբ (Հակոբ) Բազարյանը (1919, Մարաշ – 2003, Բրազիլիա), Բրազիլիայի համայնավար կուսակցության գործիչներից՝ փիլիսոփա և սոցիոլոգ, մի շարք պորտուգալերեն գրքերի հեղինակ:

2. «Ararat – a voz do povo armênio» («Արարատ. հայ ժողովրդի ձայնը», 1946–1947, տպագրվել է 20 համար): Ամսաթերթ, մեծ մասամբ պորտուգալերեն: Թերթի

փաստացի խմբագիրը Ժակոբ Բագարյանն էր, որը թեև «Վերելքում» արտահայտում էր իր խորհրդամետ գաղափարները, սակայն ցանկանում էր սեփական մամուլն ունենալ: Թերթի հողվածագիրներից էր իր գործունեությունը «Վերելքում» սկսած Լևոն Յակոբյանը (ծն. 1926, Հալեպ), որը թերթին աշխատակցել է մինչև իր ձերբակալությունը 1949-ին: Իր հողվածներում Յակոբյանը քննադատաբար անդրադարձել է Հայաստանի և Սփյուռքի հիմնախնդիրները: Ի տարբերություն այլ ձախակողմյան և էթնիկ պարբերականների՝ «Արարատը» չի եղել ընդհատակյա հրատարակություն: 1952-ին այն ունեցել է 350 բաժանորդ (որոնց թվում էր հայտնի բրազիլացի գիտնական և համայնավար գործիչ Կայո Պրադո Ժունիորը): Բաժանորդների այս թիվը չի նշանակում, որ բոլորը եղել են խորհրդային կողմնորոշում ունեցողներ. հայ ընթերցողը թերթից տեղեկացել է հայաստանյան նորություններին և համայնքի անցուդարձին:

3. «Հայաստանի ձայն» (1947–1949), հայերեն-պորտուգալերեն պարբերական: Գլխավոր հողվածագիրը եղել է խմբագրակազմի անդամ Երվանդ Մխիթարյանը (1903, Կարին – 1976, Բրազիլիա) իր լրագրողական գործունեությունը սկսել է Բրազիլիայում (Սան Պաուլուում) տպագրված առաջին հայկական պարբերականներում («Եռանդ» և «Կայծ») և հայկական ռադիոժամում: Չնայած Մխիթարյանը սոցիալ-դեմոկրատ էր, «Հայաստանի ձայն» իր գաղափարախոսությամբ շատ տարբեր չի եղել համայնավար ուղղվածություն ունեցող «Արարատից»:

4. «Revista Cultural Brasil-Armênia» («Բրազիլահայ մշակութային հանդես», 1947–1950, 1957–1958), հայերեն-պորտուգալերեն պարբերական (36 էջ): Հրատարակվել է «Հայկական մեդեդիներ» գեղարվեստական միության կողմից: Ներկայացրել է բրազիլացի և հայ բանաստեղծներին, Բրազիլիայի պատմությունը և հայ ժողովրդի պատմությունը պորտուգալերեն: Հանդեսում տեղ է տրվել նաև քաղաքական բանավեճին. Մասնավորապես Հայ հեղափոխական դաշնակցությունը քննադատել է Խորհրդային Հայաստանը պաշտպանողներին, հայրենադարձությունը և ձախակողմյան մամուլին:

5. «Tribuna Armênia» («Հայկական ամբիոն», 1962–1970), հայերեն-պորտուգալերեն ամսաթերթ: Հրատարակել է Բրազիլահայ միությունը: Նախապես կազմված է եղել հայ ուսանողներից՝ ի հակակշիռ ՀՀԴ-ի՝ համայնքում ունեցած իշխանության: Առաջին խմբագիրն էր Վարուժան Պուրմայանը: 1963-ի ապրիլյան համարում հայոց Մեծ եղեռնը առաջին անգամ բրազիլական մամուլում որակվել է որպես «ցեղասպանություն»:

«Armênia» («Հայաստան», 1967–1969): Հրատարակել է Ժակոբ Բագարյանը, որը Բրազիլիա էր վերադարձել ԽՍՀՄ-ում անցկացրած 16 տարիներից հետո: Նա հրաժարվել էր համայնավարական գաղափարներից և մինչև «Արմենիայի» հրատարակումը բրազիլական մամուլում հանդես է եկել խորհրդային կյանքի մասին հողվածներով: Լուսաբանել է համայնքային կյանքը և արտատպել լուրեր Խորհրդային Հայաստանից: Որոշ ֆինանսական աջակցություն է ստացել խորհրդային «Ռիա նովոստի» լրատվական գործակալությունից:

Հետագայում Բրազիլիայում լույս են տեսել այլ հայկական պարբերականներ ևս՝ «Նոր կյանքը» (1979), «Սիփանը» (1983), «Լրաբերը» (1990-ականների սկիզբ) և «Մասիսը» (1990-ականների վերջ):

Թեև վերոնշյալ թերթերը հիմնականում տպագրվել են պորտուգալերեն՝ դրանք տարածվել են ամբողջ աշխարհում: Ներկայացնելով հայոց պատմությունը, մշակույթը և հայ դատը՝ բրազիլահայ մամուլը եղել է համայնքի զարգացումների և ինքնության մի կարևոր մասը: Այս պարբերականներն անհրաժեշտ աղբյուր են այն հետազոտողների համար, որոնք ցանկանում են ըմբռնել Բրազիլիայի այս ներգաղթյալների սոցիալական և քաղաքական խնդիրները, հատկապես հայ համայնքի ներսում առկա քաղաքական բախումները, և թե ինչպես են տասնամյակներ շարունակ տպագրված խմբագրականները, հոդվածները և լուսանկարները ստեղծել մի ընդհանուր հիշողություն և հաղորդակցություն:

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«ГОЛОС АРМЯНСКОГО НАРОДА». АРМЯНСКАЯ ПРЕССА САН-ПАУЛУ (1940–1970 гг.)

Целью данного исследования является анализ армянской прессы Сан-Паулу 1940–1960 гг. Предметом рассмотрения стали высказываемые различными органами периодической печати идеи, (положения), представляющие и утверждающие «голос армян» в общине Сан-Паулу. Этот обзор позволяет выявить все многообразие политических пристрастий в среде армян крупнейшего города Бразилии и, прежде всего, их отношение к одной из самых малых республик Советского Союза – Армянской ССР. Это был вопрос определяющий многообразие политических позиций (этот вопрос, был положен в основу формирования политических позиций) армян Бразилии, в контексте этапов и итогов Второй мировой войны, а позже и холодной войны.

Ярковыраженный авторитарный и антикоммунистический настрой бразильской политики усугублял разногласия в среде армян, власть же при этом осуществляла руководство и контроль над иммигрантскими группами Сан-Паулу, особенно над теми, что имели контакты с СССР. В этом смысле исследование армянской прессы Сан-Паулу позволяет понять, что причиной политических дебатов были не только вопросы армянской общины, но и политическая атмосфера в стране.

В статье рассматриваются сложные отношения различных политических групп, и в качестве документальных свидетельств представлены также материалы армянской прессы 1940–1960 гг. являющие также материал и для дальнейших исследований. Рассмотрены, в частности, следующие издания (в основном двуязычные – на армянском и португальском): «Верелк» («Подъем»), «Арагат», «Голос Армении», «Бразильско-армянский журнал», «Трибуна Армении», «Армения».

В статье в частности исследованы следующие издания:

Газета Верелк – «Подъем» (1945–1947), издавалась на португальском и армянском, раз в две недели культурной ассоциацией Союза армян Сан-Паулу. Первая бразильская-армянская газета, выходившая относительно регулярно. Имела просоветскую направленность, поощряла репатриацию армян в Советскую Армению. Одним из активных авторов был вице-президент союза армян Сан-Паулу, Жакоб (Акоп) Базарян (1919, Мараш – 2003, Бразилия), деятель Бразильской коммунистической партии, философ и социолог, автор ряда книг на португальском языке.

Aragat – a voz do povo armenio – Ежемесячник «Арагат. Голос армянского народа» (1946–1947, было издано 20 номеров), в основном на португальском. Фактическим редактором газеты был Жакоб Базарян, который несмотря на возможность выражать свои просоветские идеи в «Верелке», хотел иметь собственную газету.

Одним из основных сотрудников газеты был Левон Якубян (1926, Алеппо), начавший свою деятельность в «Верелке» и сотрудничавший с «Араратом» до своего ареста в 1949 году. В своих статьях Якубян обсуждал проблемы Армении и диаспоры. В отличие от других левых и этнических газет, «Арарат» не был подпольным изданием. В 1952 году газета имела 350 подписчиков (в их числе - знаменитый бразильский ученый и активист коммунистической партии Кайо Прадо Жуниор). И хотя не все подписчики разделяли советские идеи, через газету армянские читатели знакомились с новостями Армении и армянской общины Сан Паулу.

Аястани дзайн – «Голос Армении» (1947–1949), армяно-португальское периодическое издание. Основным автором был член редакционной коллегии Ервант Мекитарян (Мхитарян, 1903, Карин – 1976, Бразилия). Свою журналистскую деятельность он начал в первых бразило-армянских изданиях («Ерант», «Гайдз») и армянском радиочасе. Хотя Мекитарян был социал-демократом, редакционная направленность его газеты не особо отличалась от прокоммунистического «Арарата».

Revista Cultural Brasil-Armenia – «Бразило-армянский культурный журнал» (1947–1950, 1957–1958), армяно-португальское издание (36 страниц), издавался культурной организацией «Армянская мелодия». Представлял бразильских и армянских поэтов, историю Бразилии и историю армянского народа на португальском. На страницах журнала велись в том числе и политические дебаты: армянская революционная партия Дашнакцутюн критиковала защитников Советской Армении, репатриацию и левую прессу.

Tribuna Armenia – «Армянская трибуна» (1962–1970), ежемесячник, на армянском и португальском. Издавался Ассоциацией бразильских армян, первоначально – группой студентов, целью которых было создать противовес партии Дашнакцутюн, доминирующей в общине. Первым редактором был Варужан Бурмаян. В апрельском номере 1963 года действия турецких властей в 1915 году против армян впервые были охарактеризованы в бразильских СМИ как «геноцид».

Armenia – «Армения» (1967–1969). Издателем был Жакоб Базарян, возвратившийся в Бразилию после 16 лет проживания в СССР. Философ Базарян отказался от коммунистических идей. До «Армении» в бразильской прессе писал статьи о советской жизни. Газета освещала устройство социалистического общества, печатала новости из Советской Армении. Советское информационное агентство «РИА Новости» оказывало некоторую финансовую поддержку.

Позже, в Бразилии издавались также другие армянские периодические издания: «Нор гянк» («Новая жизнь», 1979), «Сипан» (1983), «Посланник» (начало 1990-х) и «Масис» (конец 1990-х).

Эти издания печатавшиеся на португальском языке, распространялись по всему миру. Бразильская армянская пресса, знакомившая читателей с армянской историей и культурой, а также с требованием армян признать геноцид, представляла собой важную часть развития и самопознания общины. Редакционные материалы (статьи и фотографии) армянских изданий, являются необходимым источником для исследований социальных и политических аспектов иммигрантов Бразилии, особенно политических конфликтов внутри армянской общины, а также позволяют представить этапы формирования основополагающих идей.