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Versions, Improvisations, and Rearrangements of Brazilian Protest Music in the March of Engaged Art in 1960s

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Abstract: This study investigates the tensions in the alliance between popular musicians and intellectuals in relation to the politically engaged art that emerged in the 1960s at the CPC-UNE (Popular Culture Center of the National Student Union) and extending to the mass media, especially in the form known as "protest music" through works by Carlos Lyra, Nara Leão, Geraldo Vandré, Edu Lobo and other artists. The common purpose of overcoming capitalism through mass media does not epitomize the interests at stake in this alliance, and, moreover, contributes to silence the conflict between the two groups. The roles played by one and the other are revealed, decisively, comparing the relationships established during the democratic government of João Goulart and after the civil-military coup of 1964.

Keywords: Brazilian protest music; Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC); history of Brazilian popular music.

Resumo: Este estudo investiga as tensões da aliança entre músicos populares e intelectuais eruditos na arte politicamente engajada surgida no CPC-UNE (Centro Popular de Cultura da União Nacional dos Estudantes), no início da década de 1960, e depois estendida aos meios de comunicação massivos, sobretudo na forma do que ficou conhecido como música de protesto, a partir das atuações de Carlos Lyra, Nara Leão, Geraldo Vandré, Edu Lobo e outros artistas. O propósito comum de superação do capitalismo através dos meios massivos de comunicação não resume os interesses em jogo nessa aliança e, ainda por cima, contribui para silenciar os conflitos entre os dois grupos. A percepção dos diferentes lugares ocupados por um e outro se revela, decisivamente, na comparação entre as relações que estabeleceram durante governo democrático de João Goulart e depois do golpe civil-militar de 1964.

Palavras-chave: Música de protesto. Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC). História da música popular brasileira.

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"People's cultural organization" to sociologist Carlos Estevam (1963: 88); "ideological-aesthetical rally", to poet and literary critic Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna (2004: 49); and to historian Manoel Tosta Berlinck (1984: 5), "A group of young artists [...], student leaders and people interested in sharing a common intellectual project: the imperious development of a 'popular culture' in opposition to artistic expressions hitherto in force". It is not uncommon for descriptions of the Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC) [Popular Center of Culture], founded at the National Union of Students in 1961 to evoke this highly singular aesthetical and political cohesion, an epiphanic union of artisans, circulating the cultural sphere, with others from popular urban culture. In this light, Carlos Lyra, a bossa nova artist, and co-founder and first musical director of the "Popular Center of Culture" made, what may sound prosaic, his objection to the original name: "I am against it… I am bourgeois, I don't do popular culture, I do bourgeois culture, there's just no way" (CASTRO, 2000: 261). From the usual anecdotal point of view, such an objection–yet, accepted—takes on the morality of a confession, suggesting honesty, firmness, transparency and the desire for political and social transcendence that surrounded the event. The vision, however, can be quite another – it could be the unleashing of an intricate historical fabric woven at the Center, breaking the oneness from the silent tensions between the agents involved. After all, what extraordinary force, revelation or magical fraternity would have made it possible to suddenly overcome the historical abyss between a mass culture artist, like Lyra, and the erudite intellectuals involved in CPC who came from the Teatro de Arena [Arena Theater] like Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Oduvaldo Vianna Filho; from the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros [Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies] like Carlos Estevam; from the Cinema Novo [New Cinema] like Leon Hirszman; or from the literary neo-concrete movement, like Ferreira Gullar? Or is it, on the contrary, a strategic alliance founded precisely on the omission and neglect of the differences between them?

The first step in the inquiry of this unity may well be an investigation of the common denominator between Lyra's proviso and the "imperative" task assumed by CPC: defending the popular, by and for which most actions were justified. After all, Lyra's speech suggested that there were differences in the meaning and, perhaps, the value of the popular among those involved. It is therefore essential to carefully consider the conditions of the terms made in the Proposed Manifesto of the Popular Center of Culture written by CPC's first president, Carlos Estevam Martins in 1963, and reproduced the same year in *A questão da cultura popular* ["The Question of Popular Culture"] (signed by Martins as Carlos Estevam). This Manifesto presented a clear pejorative tendency as much for mass, industrial and more technically evolved "popular art", as for folkloric, rustic "art of the people"

produced mainly in economically backward rural communities with no differentiation between producers and consumers:

> The art of the people is so devoid of artistic quality and cultural pretensions that it never goes beyond a crude and awkward attempt to express trivial facts given to the most tasteless, naive and backward sensibility: and in reality has no other function than to satisfy the needs of fun and ornament. [...] Folk art, on the other hand, more refined and with a higher degree of technical elaboration, cannot, however, attain the level of artistic dignity that credits it as a legitimate experience in the field of art; since its guiding purpose is to offer the public a pastime, an inconsequent occupation for leisure, never putting itself before the project of facing the fundamental problems of existence. [...] It can be lyrical while dealing with misery, it can be nostalgic when dealing with the future, it is capable of irony or selflessness in face of the most poignant pain and of all modes, it always represents a magical leap to a magical plan of existence to where no one knows how to get and from where no one knows how to return to day-to-day challenges (ESTEVAM, 1963: 92-93).

Under such a degrading characterization, it was not surprising that Carlos Estevam denied the real capacity of representation of the people as much as in one as in the other, whose denominations would only be justified in opposition to (previously discarded) art that was not intended for the people, but for the elite: erudite art. For him, after all, the only art form capable of representing the people, in fact, would be a derivation of popular art shaped by ideological content of Marxist inspiration: "revolutionary popular art". The latter took advantage of the technical development of "folk art" and introduced content capable of politically clarifying and acting on social infrastructure, to instrumentalize a proletarian revolution:

> As radical as it is, our revolutionary art pretends to be popular when it is identified with the fundamental aspirations of the people, when it unites the collective effort that aims to fulfill the existence project of the people, which cannot be other than to cease being such a people as they present themselves in a society of classes, that is, a people who do not rule the society in which they are the people (ESTEVAM, 1963: 94).

Another important ideologue of CPC and second president of the institution, Ferreira Gullar (2010: 23) took a similar path when considering "popular culture" only in a revolutionary form: "popular culture is therefore, above all, a revolutionary consciousness".

Even considering the subsequent softening of Estevam's positions (RIDENTI, 2014: 56-57), the definition used by this poet suggests there was no change in respect to this neuralgic issue. There was no open and unrestricted defense of popular culture in itself, but precisely a maintenance of the restriction to all its non-revolutionary forms, that is, those made on the margins of Marxist consciousness.

The clash between people of daily trials and their conjectural revolutionary essence was reflected in the mission of Carlos Estevam's and Ferreira Gullar's writings, much less directed at popular artists, than at the intellectuals capable of deciphering and propagating this popular ideal, which could only become real with the proletariat's seizure of power. So much so, that in his description of forming a revolutionary popular culture, Gullar (2010: 25) does not propose that engaged intellectuals seek to learn from the people, but the opposite: "to work directly with the people, to teach them to read and pass on to them a minimum of basic knowledge to enable them to fit within the social reality of the country". Although the role of the intellectual did not seem to cause a major decentralization in popular daily life with euphemisms like "minimal" and "basic" support in literacy and political awareness, its scope went much further and aimed to replace current popular ideals. The CPC, in fact, understood itself as a new and superior type of aesthetic-political combat against unions, entities, parties and other organizations of civil society, assuming airs of vanguard (ESTEVAM, 1963: 89). This position gains body in the mind of another important intellectual ideologically connected to the CPC, Affonso Romano de Sant'anna (2004: 48), when, in addition to embracing engaged art as a vanguard movement, he assumes his authoritarian role by describing it as a "catechetical attitude".

The use of the term "vanguard" among the CPCists was by no means circumstantial or unthinking. *The Draft of the Manifesto of the Popular Center of Culture* orbited around an important and typical notion of the following imaginary: the historical dimension marked by the opportunity of an abrupt split in the linearity of time, teleologically justified, with the idea that the future (the inevitable triumph of the proletariat) endorses each stage. Hence, the adherence of the avant-garde to the "new", the *novolatry*, clear in its obligation – even voluptuously – to break with the alienated production of the present moment:

> In our country, there is nothing easier than discovering the active presence of the new. At every moment, it operates transformations of all orders at all levels of national reality. Those who do not find it and are thus lost in anguish and impotence without remedy are the artists and intellectuals who refuse to understand that the new is the people themselves and that the new is where the people are and only where the people are (ESTEVAM, 1963: 87).

"New" and "people", then, became equated conceptually, in a skillful maneuver that rendered the very voice of the people indispensable, manifested statistically or in relation to all the inhabitants of the country, for the enunciation of a revolutionary popular culture. It was enough for the erudite that the popular form be like a receptacle for "conscientiousizing" discourse. Gullar gave a good example of this when he said:

> Poets will not then write for critics or for "literary history." They will write, today, about the facts of today, for the men of today. The measure of their poetics will be clarity and the ability to communicate and move. They will inspire or not on forms consecrated through popular use. They will not seek to imitate "singers" or "viola players" because their purpose is practical, objective: to help people become aware of their problems and their cause. The work, as a literary conception, becomes a consequence of the work, as an instrument of social awareness (GULLAR, 2010: 155).

The conception of revolutionary popular art in the CPC fell, finally, to the intellectuals. Carlos Estevam (1963: 90-91) – even conjecturing the possibility of an artistic creation that is born within the revolutionary class – did not hesitate to assume that all production in this sense ended up coming from intellectuals educated in the petty-bourgeoisie, which led him to characterize the engaged artist, as a rule, as someone "permanently exposed to the pressure of material conditioning of ingrained habits, conceptions and feelings that make them incompatible with the class they decided to represent". The American researcher Christopher Dunn (2009: 62) pointed out in this protagonism of intellectuals a contradictory movement with the democratic intentions of the CPC project, since culture of the oppressed majority should be generated by an enlightened cultural elite, to only then be taken to the masses. However, the apparent contradiction between proletariat culture – which, in the end, would also represent the deep interest of all humanity (ESTEVAM, 1963: 90) – and its enunciation, not necessarily by the proletariat itself, had a sagacious justification: a class culture seen as a super-structural and necessary (from a logical point of view) consequence in the proletarian way of life, but its full expression would be conditioned to the rational and dialectical understanding of the functioning of class society. The author was assertive in this regards:

> What distinguishes CPC artists and intellectuals from other groups and movements in the country is the clear understanding that any and all cultural manifestations can only be adequately understood when placed in light of their relationship with the material foundation on which stand the cultural processes of superstructure (ESTEVAM, 1963: 83).

Through this reasoning, the artist expressing a culture not backed by the conditioning ideology of the "new", then represented by the "people", would have been considered falsifying or included in the lower category of "alienated", even if by chance it socially belonged to the subaltern classes and had life experience. Carlos Estevam, therefore, left no doubt that the validation of any artistic production should fall on the expression of the ultimate interests of this people, seen in its infrastructural determination, in its social and historical material conditioning, in the end: viewed from a sociological Marxist analysis that placed him and his peers as judges and privileged spokesmen of the national popular culture. In this way, the poems contained in the renowned *Violão de rua* ["Street Guitar"] series, edited between 1962 and 1963 by the CPC intelligentsia along with the publisher Civilização Brasileira, whose owner was the celebrated intellectual and Marxist activist Caio Prado Júnior, were prodigal in revolutionary representations of oppressed characters, such as the conscious goat *João Boa-Morte* ["John Good-Death"] from a poem of the same name by Ferreira Gullar (1962: 22-35), who finds new meaning in life by engaging in the Peasant League, or Reynaldo Jardim's simple fisherman in *Mão aberta* ["Open hand"] (1962: 108), who gave up everything for the good of his peers, except for the ability to fight: "[...] He gave his right arm / A scar on his chest / And the shadow of his lung / More would he give if he knew / Today was the day of revolution".[1]

Once engaged art assumed the ideological commitment to communicate with what it believed to be the masses, it also became necessary to associate it with the most appropriate vehicle: the so-called cultural industry, where popular music had taken center stage. Appropriateness, in this case, was not measured by aesthetic, but social qualities, reaching cultural manifestations that, in terms of material development related to production, better served capitalistic demands through its fast and broad product circulation. Carlos Estevam clarified how methods of cultural industry, capitalist instruments par excellence, could give vent to revolutionary anxieties in his article *Reforma cultural e revolução cultural* ["Cultural Reform and Cultural Revolution"], also published in *A questão da cultura popular* ["The Issue of Popular Culture"]. This article, based on the dialectics of historical materialism, argued that it would be necessary to use the contradictions of the most advanced stage of capitalistic means of production to "accelerate the speed with which the material foundations of society become transformed" (ESTEVAM, 1963: 4-5), where the CPC solution would not represent a cultural revolution – for "the creation of true culture" would only be possible when said masses were already in power – but to

[1] "[...] Deu o braço mais direito / Uma cicatriz no peito / e a sombra do seu pulmão / Mais daria se soubesse / ser hoje o dia da revolução"

reform in the revolutionary sense of the existing culture. Popular culture, made by industrial means, transformed, therefore, into an intermediary and useful, even obligatory, vehicle for moving from the socio-political stage of those times to communism (ESTEVAM, 1963: 7).

However, if there was already something thorny about the relationship of CPC intellectuals with the popular idiom, it seemed even more difficult to establish links with vehicles of the culture industry. Playwright Alfredo Dias Gomes (1968: 11), for example, noted "the control of the means of communication with the masses by political and economic forces." While poet Geir Campos (1962: 39), acidly symbolized the industry as "the thousand mouths" of the "rich uncle" who "sells us rotten beans"; "trump the interest of rotten money", "strength in law a rotten doctrine" and "counts as a saint a rotten kin". Ferreira Gullar, on the other hand, dedicated a more in-depth reflection to the subject, identifying the cultural industry's action with the ideology of imperialism:

> Reducing social problems to their just expression leads to the conclusion that some of these problems are caused by interests that are foreign to the country, imperialist domination. As the power of influence over the media is almost total, and as these institutions act decisively in all sectors of national life – including the rejection or promotion of cultural values – the struggle of the writer and artist engaged in popular culture, locks heads, from the start, against imperialism (GULLAR, 2010: 29).

The conflicting nature of the relationship with the culture industry was plain to see, but its acceptance was viewed as imperative. It turns out that, beyond the Marxist reasoning for seizing the most modern capitalist instruments, the left underwent a constant need to involve what it identified as the masses in its power schemes, beginning with the simplest form of political tension offered by the expression of "public opinion". One of the most capital examples of this was what was called the "Legality Network", led by the governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel Brizola in 1961, the same year the CPC was founded. As a result of the resignation of President Jânio Quadros, civilian and military coup forces threatened the seat of Vice President João Goulart, with whom Brizola and the left had strong affinities; an important defense resource was used to mobilize public opinion through a great radio network based in Guaíba that broadcasted via short-wave Brizola's speeches all over Brazil. Within this turbulent context, even in the course of Goulart's mandate when intellectuals of the CPC movement approached power, they did not dismiss their readiness to call on the masses. The specificity of their actions, however, was that, considering the conventional mass media dominated by imperialism, the CPC bet on creating a type of parallel industry, an institutional system focused on university students and the proletariat that proposed to "compete with mass media, seeking out popular forms

of communication and going with their works to unions, slums, suburbs, mill villas, sugar mills, colleges" (GULLAR, 2010: 173-174). It was towards this effort that the organization, usually comprised of college students, planned to set up a circus, performed shows on the back of a trailer (received in donation in 1963), self-financed productions such as the film *Cinco vezes favela* ["Five times slum"] (directed by Marcos Farias, Miguel Borges, Cacá Diegues, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade and Leon Hirszman), the album collection *O povo canta* ["The People Sing"], also the collection of poems *Violão de rua*, already mentioned, as well as a national distribution network of books, records and magazines called Prodac (BERLINK, 1984: 20).

Bossa infiltrated

The CPC's basic guidelines in dealing with popular culture and its apparent autonomy in dealing with culture did not allow it to predict the relationship it would establish with bossa nova, let alone predict the great wave of "protest music" that would arise from this conjunction during the mid-1960s. Going back to the case of Carlos Lyra, even admitting a certain social similarity (being the son of Rio de Janeiro's sophisticated Southern Zone) that brought him closer to the intellectuals gathered there, one must keep in mind his artistic production forged in the world of nightclubs, shows, radio and records had very little to do with the erudite culture where the CPC hoped to herald their leaders. On the other hand, the common purpose of achieving political power with a leftist project could already respond better to this issue, accommodating dissonance for the sake of a future project. Such a solution, however, has the drawback that, in times to come, it would eventually silence the relationships at the time and the interests possibly at play. The motives behind the alliance, and above all, the manner in which the somewhat exotic ally conformed to the movement, are obscure.

Investigating the objective relationships of this possibly problematic moment, the first question as to the motive of the alliance could have been guided by the aforementioned necessity of the CPC to communicate with the masses by attempting to associate language with the most appropriate vehicle, thereby achieving the very deep-rooted Brazilian popular music. The specific suitability of bossa nova, in this case, would not be measured by aesthetic, but social qualities, being considered a cultural manifestation that, in the material development in respect to production well served the capitalistic demand with its broad, fast and easy circulation of cultural goods. One could add to this the thought that the CPC should have related to popular culture within the molds of the current national scene, as suggested by the aforementioned argument against imperialism by Gullar, given that the idea of national, even without being the "spirit of the People" – since it was subjected to a higher

and economically-typified instance of the transnational proletarian class – appeared to be unavoidable in CPC ideology. Carlos Estevam (1963: 95) addressed the issue both by specifically relating his dominance of the subject, within a defined economic scope in the context of each nation, and through a communication bias, which conditioned the understanding and dissemination of revolutionary ideas. Gullar, in a similar vein argued:

> Popular culture is eminently national and even nationalistic. It could not be otherwise, since the cultural view that feeds it – as a movement and phenomenon – emerges from the structural problems of the country and places the need for intellectual participation in the solution of these problems (GULLAR, 2010: 29).

Thus, the CPC's concept of nationalism was first and foremost tied to the economic basis of reality, rather than the customary compliment of a common spirit or national essence. "What defines the nationalist character of popular culture is its basic view of reality. It is not and could not be a naive compromise with prejudices of race, nationality, obscure traditionalisms or any form of chauvinism", states Gullar (2010: 30). These prejudices, falsely rooted in culture, are not constituted scientifically, and thusly, universally. They were, therefore, super-structural constructions destined to maintain the power of the ruling class and, ultimately, the imposition of one nation over another, i.e., imperialism. It is important to note, then, if there was any reason behind the association with traditional nationalism, such as that made by Augusto de Campos (1993: 61) and Gilberto Mendes (1993: 134) in the case that a certain part of bossa nova migrated to protest music, it was not due to the governing principles of the organization's actions.

Even considering the CPC's demand for things national and the masses, it is just not enough to explain its intense interlocution with bossa nova. On the one hand, bossa, at the beginning of this relationship was still consumed by the elite (CASTRO, 2000: 282); on the other hand, even among leftists, it was not unanimously considered "national", as in the acidic words of the Marxist critic José Ramos Tinhorão, who accused it of being "a type of jazz, but in a totally original sense: the raw material was Brazilian and the form, American" (LOBO; TINHORÃO; VINHAS, 1965: 307). As a result, it is insufficient to agree with the argument that CPC was in search of the pure and simple popular and national in the music of Carlos Lyra and his clan.

It is therefore necessary to step back slightly from the aesthetic prescriptions of the CPC's seminal texts and focus more on the socio-cultural environment then occupied by bossa nova. It is much more revealing to observe that at the turn of the decade, 1950-1960, bossa nova had established itself as a prestigious modernization of national music,

especially captivating the youth in major cities of southeastern Brazil. In this movement, at least for the followers of the style, it was in a sense nationalistic to respond to the admittedly more sophisticated trends of world production with a Brazilian product made from samba that assimilated modern methods. This is what was evident in the speech by the Brazilian composer and CPCist Nelson Lins e Barros in a 1966 debate in *Revista Civilização Brasileira* ["Journal of Brazilian Civilization"]: "bossa nova emerged to confront international music, which, because of its improved technical quality, came by avalanches into Brazil, distorting Brazilian music itself" (BARROS et al., 2008: 25). Identifying the group where these thoughts thrived, on the other hand, provides a good clue as to the scope of bossa in terms of popular communication. It is worth remembering, therefore, that it was the journalist Ruy Castro (2000: 169, 171) and the recording industry executive André Midani (2008: 74) who made bossa the premier musical genre of Brazilian youth. In this defense, there is great emphasis on bossa's ability to penetrate and take root in the environment of college students, which was, precisely, CPC's most immediate target, having been developed within UNE [National Student Union] (cf. BERLINK, 1984: 19-20, 75). Seen from this angle, the initial association of CPC intelligentsia with bossa nova demonstrates a much more important link than the vague goal of accommodating a national and popular idiom – which might well have followed the nationalist rhetoric of a Heitor Villa-Lobos and a Camargo Guarnieri or the commercial success of the overly sentimental boleros of a Nelson Gonçalves and the rock and roll of a Celly Campelo: the desire of legitimization and mass appeal within a specific niche. It is what we understand from a statement without great conceptual commotion given by the playwright Augusto Boal to Caetano Veloso in 1965 to justify the dress of a bossa nova artist in the musical *Arena canta Bahia*: "I think of all the urban youth I need to reach and who understands this language" (VELOSO, 1997: 85). It is worth completing this sentence with the fact that the workforce employed at CPC had been comprised of about 70% volunteer students according to Carlos Estevam (BERLINCK, 1984: 20).

It is true that in this equation of interests, the desired popularity was far more satisfied than national legitimacy, as can be seen in the unfolding dialogue of Lins e Barros himself in the aforementioned debate, when he said that bossa "was born of the middle class, culturally linked to jazz – whence, a series of misrepresentations were happily corrected in time" (BARROS et al., 2008: 25). The "correction", here, is exactly the work of engaged music, which sought a symbolic solution by inserting "typical" elements of Brazilianess, like *samba de morro*[2] and regional music, in its jazzistically sophisticated musical

[2] Literally, "samba from the hills", in reference to the samba originating in the shantytowns in the hills of suburban Rio de Janeiro.

discourse. This is the case of the emblematic song *Influência do jazz* ["Influence of jazz"] composed by Carlos Lyra in 1961, in which samba appears as a lenitive for cosmopolitan de-characterization ("[...] My poor samba / Climb up the hill and ask for help from where it was born / To not be a samba with too many notes / To not be a crooked samba, back and forth / You'll have to roll to get rid / Of the influence of jazz.") .[3]

Once the bossa nova cultural capital that was central to the project of the CPC intelligentsia had been perceived, we should ask what would be bossa nova's counterpart for these demands. At this point, it should be noted, first of all, that the fact that Carlos Lyra is the only popular musician with prominence within the CPC constitution, hinders a political appreciation that goes beyond the limits of his biography, besides being professionally removed from the collective bossa nova projects at this time (CASTRO, 2000: 258-261). Although this detail is little relevant, one can explore the foundations of the union that would generate what we call "protest music" in the longing for recognition amongst the higher spheres of political and cultural power, as identified by José Miguel Wisnik (1983: 175) in the alliance of Pixinguinha, Donga and other popular musicians of the 1920s with the modernist intelligentsia. However, there are some important caveats. First, even with the undeniable prestige of the intelligentsia involved at CPC (considering extensively those associated with the Brazilian Communist Party and the left in general), bossa had already made relevant contacts with the intellectual elite of its time, as in the emblematic partnerships made by popular musicians (among them, Carlos Lyra) with the poet and diplomat Vinicius de Moraes. Therefore, it is strange to say that bossa nova artists experienced a lack of recognition within this sphere similar to that of past samba musicians. Secondly, it is important to emphasize that at the time of its founding, between 1960 and 1961, CPC's access to power was minimal, while bossa had already established active channels with high political power, mainly, in its relationship with former president Juscelino Kubitschek, who, having fondly received the nickname "President Bossa Nova", commissioned Vinicius and Tom Jobim to compose a symphony, the *Sinfonia da Alvorada*, for the inauguration of the new capital Brasilia.

If the moment of CPC's foundation makes it difficult to more broadly analyze the issue, it is worth considering the immediate subsequent moment, when popular musicians grow in presence, and the country's political situation changes significantly after the resignation of President Quadros in mid-1961 and the rise of João Goulart, having a strong

[3]"[...] Pobre samba meu / Sobe lá no morro e pede socorro onde nasceu / Pra não ser um samba com notas demais / Não ser um samba torto, pra frente e pra trás / Vai ter que rebolar pra poder se livrar / Da influência do jazz."

connection with the legacy of Getúlio Vargas and expressive relations with the left. The literary critic Roberto Schwarz described the period then lived by the left as idyllic:

> The pre-revolutionary wind disintegrated national consciousness and filled the newspapers with agrarian reform, peasant agitation, labor movements, nationalization of American companies, etc. The country was unrecognizably intelligent. Political journalism made an extraordinary leap in major cities, as well as humor. Even some congressmen made speeches with interest. In short, it was intellectual production that began to reorient its relationship with the masses (SCHWARZ, 1992: 69).

This relationship developed as leftist intellectuals had expanded their possibilities of political participation in João Goulart's government, especially through actions by the Ministry of Education and Culture led by Paulo de Tarso with an emphasis on the National Service of Theater directed by Roberto Freire – not by chance, Ferreira Gullar (2010: 27) made it a point to highlight their names at the end of the first chapter of his book of essays *Cultura posta em questão*. It is also worth mentioning the ideological space the left had been achieving in the states of Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul during the successive mandates of the respective mayor and governor of the capital cities of each state, Miguel Arraes and Leonel Brizola, with emphasis on the first in the field of culture. In dialogue with such governmental bodies, CPC's intellectuality was privileged in the formulation and implementation of public policies, making it possible to signal concrete promises of access to power, as well as prestige in that agitated and "irreconcilably intelligent" cultural niche, similar to those described by Wisnik in the relationship of modernists with samba musicians. They were not empty promises, since in 1963 Lyra was nominated to the musical directorate of Radio Nacional, as reported by historian Alcyr Lenharo (1995: 246) and singer and militant Jorge Goulart.

Noting the different symbolic capitals and interests at stake in the alliance between intellectuals and popular artists in CPC's zone of influence is only the first step in breaking the homogeneous image of the protest art developed there. The fact that it is actually an alliance makes it difficult to clearly distinguish its agents, precisely because it implies a joint effort to erase differences. It is therefore necessary to better define the limits that differentiate them, by deepening the view into the content and impact of the internal debates of the least obvious side of this relationship, that of the artists who forged protest music, and, on another hand, analyzing the behavior of this alliance at a different moment from that in which it was constituted, that is: after the 1964 coup, when CPC was dismantled, abruptly shifting the positions held.

Samba and wasteland on a trailer

The historian Arnaldo Contier, in an article on the composers Carlos Lyra and Edu Lobo, was emphatic in regards to the path invented by popular musicians themselves within CPC's debate on engaged art: "due to the inexistence of a specific project for the area of music and in function of the historicity of the sonorous memories of these composers, the project for protest songs was outlined through a variety of poetic, political and musical nuances" (CONTIER, 1998).

Contier's observation is precise in the original character of the protest song, but errs in terms of the passivity attributed to the role of popular musicians, marked on the one hand by the absence of a higher order and, on the other, by the activism of their memories (the text, at different moments, forms a chaotic list of memories that includes the usually cited cool-jazz, bossa nova and Brazilian erudite modernism, besides generic jazz, bolero, ballad rock, folklore, *baião*, *frevo*, *samba-canção*, bossa nova samba, West Coast jazz, impressionism and neoclassicism). This supposed passivity of popular music, in fact, does not only appear in the aforementioned passage, but returns in all its references to the determinants of the compositions of protest music by Carlos Lyra and Edu Lobo, described with terms like "inspiration", "influence" and "internalization" (the first two terms were also used for their intellectual motivations, bringing together references like the Popular Center for Culture, the Drama Center of the Arena Theater and the musical nationalism of Mario de Andrade).

The role of popular musicians in protest art, and even within CPC, however, was by no means passive. A first step in delineating the specificity of protest music in the midst of CPC's revolutionary art is to perceive the establishment of bossa nova at the center of the question of music. Such centrality, evidently, was not based on a unanimous view within the field of music nor on the movements of the Brazilian left, demanding remarkable argumentative efforts, as in the 1965 debate promoted by the *Revista Civilização Brasileira* (often occupied by CPC intellectuals), where engaged musician Edu Lobo clarified the revolutionary role he envisioned for bossa in the production of the engaged avant-garde:

> Examining the current panorama of Brazilian popular music should begin with a reference to Antônio Carlos Jobim, with whom our music made a leap of a thousand years. What he achieved was a change in the harmonic plan of such importance that today it is possible to give a modern treatment to old songs to return them to the public taste. He was a subversive of the times and for this reason was tremendously battled (LOBO; TINHORÃO; VINHAS, 1965: 308).

It is interesting to note that the composer justified the avant-gardism of bossa nova from a formal, modernizing point of view, being a more developed genre of popular music. Such a justification, as we have seen, could not adapt to CPC's proposal through this bias, since it did not address the observed communicational needs of the people. Ferreira Gullar (2010: 36-37) also fought the idea of a "step forward" in art dissociated from social need, viewing it from the naivety of "pursuing a level of modernity equivalent to European and North American 'vanguard', since such phenomena refer to specific cultural realities in which we do not participate with the same intensity". Indifferent to this likely opposition, however, Edu Lobo proposed that, starting from bossa, the next step should be taken; constructing what would be called "*bossa novíssima* or whatever name you want to give it". Therefore, it would not break from the achievements of the already subversive Jobim, but become an extension to unexplored fields, like the advancement of guitarist and composer Baden Powell on African-American elements, meaning an "escape from schemes, freedom of choice, even writing lyrics with political content" (LOBO; TINHORÃO; VINHAS, 1965: 309).

When it comes to CPC ideology, there was nothing obvious in Edu's words, including the special mention of Baden Powell who had composed his Afro-sambas with Vinicius de Moraes on motifs from Bahia's folklore, since the Draft Manifesto of the Popular Center of Culture minimized cultural contributions of this kind and deplored elite folklore (ESTEVAM, 1963: 95). To explore this side of the conceptual field in which protest music was established, it would also be interesting to accompany the argument of the lyricist and engaged critic Nelson Lins e Barros on the political and national purpose of Brazilian music published in an article of the *Revista Civilização Brasileira* in 1965. Bossa nova appeared as a result of the "great developmental surge of nationalist character of the 1950s", being a phase of middle-class music, coming after *samba-canção* and, like it, created from the expropriation of samba from the poorer classes. The trajectory described up to bossa was ingenious. In the face of the invasion of depersonalized music from around the world, decidedly undertaken by multinational recording companies after the end of World War II, Brazilian music would have collapsed, given the inability of more authentic artists to compete with international production, since they were unable to achieve the same level of "finished" commercial appeal. Only after the vertiginous industrial development in Brazil around 1955 could national artists be able to defeat imported music:

> The purchasing power of the new middle class of the largest cities allowed young lovers of popular music to acquire expensive instruments, not only the popular guitar, to learn about classical culture, the best international music, good jazz and French song, study music with the best teachers and adopt new methods of learning

> music, such as the use of cyphers. Under these conditions, a new movement was formed among young composers and performers in the southern zone of Rio de Janeiro that would be known as bossa nova (BARROS, 1965: 233-234).

Nelson Lins e Barros again situated bossa nova as a musical correlation of the development of the productive forces in Brazil, but also evoking a nationalistic point of view, opposed to the invasion "of the worst there was in international music" (BARROS, 1965: 233). The manipulation of sociological and musical analysis was evident, as in accommodating an incredibly complex process in a space of less than three years (the period in which this developmental surge had occurred) to explain the sudden change in the musical panorama unleashed by bossa nova in 1958. In this effort, for example, the guitar became an example of backwardness, an antipode to modernization; although in many discourses – especially those centered on the singer and guitarist João Gilberto – it held a place of being the fundamental instrument of bossa nova. Still, at another point, he considered the cipher system, through its simplification of formal musical notation, as something "more evolved", in favor of progress. The arbitrariness was significant, after all, but they had in common the desire to forge a perfect coincidence between the supposed national infrastructure and superstructure, legitimizing the prominence of bossa nova. Linked to the developmentalism of Juscelino Kubistchek, then, bossa nova would be a movement that sought to raise national production and combat foreign invasion. Its only slip would be the departure from folk traditions in function of its link with the art of the international elite, especially in "jazz excesses". In the end, it would establish itself as a luxury commodity, socially corroded by publicity attempts to make it more commercial and alienated from the nationalist intelligentsia that initially supported it. Since then, impasses were then to come: "How do we stay nationalist and artistically good? How do we stay artistically good and penetrate the masses?" But, also the solution in protest music: "an integration with traditional music, folklore and other national artistic sectors, all victims of the same evil" (BARROS, 1965: 234-235). From this point of view, a powerful link between various artistic sectors – similar to Sant'Anna's "aesthetic-ideological rally" – would unite the popular and erudite horizontally, in a movement somewhat different from that advocated by Carlos Estevam who had the erudite in command of actions. Its rise, around 1964 – note the date, which is shortly after the illustrative episode of the trailer – appeared to be the only viable way out of the internal crisis of bossa nova. It was not a question of denying the feats of Tom Jobim and his companions, but to integrate them with other progressive currents in order to absorb their teachings of communicating with the Brazilian people and expand them to a representation that would transcend the class in which it had been generated. Thus, the figure of the artist "todas as bossas" ["all of the bossas"] was

formed and able to weave a revolutionary social pact, which Nelson Lins e Barros (1965: 236) saw exemplarily in the engaged Nara Leão, whose debut album had satisfied the shocking needs of the new vanguard with the rift it caused in bossa nova (CASTRO, 2000: 343-353).

Nelson Lins e Barros's argument, precisely because it is permeated with clear conceptual and historical fragilities, needs to be read with attention, insofar as it reveals an original version of engaged art, forged in the fragmentary appropriation of CPC precepts by popular artists. He was, after all, a very relevant author in engaged music to the point of being singled out by the critic Sérgio Cabral (1966: 266) – in tune with CPC – as one of the "first to nationalize bossa nova [in partnership with Carlos Lyra], Nelson being perhaps the first composer to write popular music lyrics in respect to social concerns, denouncing injustices and accentuating hope. Ruy Castro (2000: 346) went further to say that Lins e Barros was an ideological supporter of Carlos Lyra. His words, therefore, rather reflect the discourse of sustaining protest music.

Still on the text of Lins e Barros, the "integration" he preached is something that deserves attention, since it had echoed throughout Brazilian modernism ever since *Estética da vida* ["Life's Esthetic"] by Graça Aranha, as shown by historian Eduardo Jardim de Morais (1978: 21-45). This reutilization of modernism was also something that had long been assimilated by the tradition of popular music until today, as can be seen in the words of Edu Lobo in the aforementioned debate in *Revista Civilização Brasileira*. In it, the composer quoted Mário de Andrade twice, being the first to justify the nationalization of jazz via bossa nova and the second to defend the use of art for social combat. However, the category of "integration", when used in the modernist sense, would create a fracture in the original CPC project, since it substituted revolutionary consciousness with intuition upon identifying itself with the proletariat. The non-rationalized, intuitive dilution of the artist in the culture of the people, whether in the aspect of class or culture, was enough to gain authority to speak for the national collective. Edu Lobo's self-defense in a comparison of his music with the poem *Operário em construção* ["Worker in Construction"] (published in the first volume of *Violão de rua*) by Vinicius de Moraes, was eloquent in this sense:

> Music, like the other arts, is the result of an emotional state, but also of a social fact. [...] When Vinícius writes about the "Worker in Construction", it was a social fact seen or remembered. In fact, any artist is allowed to talk about women, politics, and any other subject (LOBO; TINHORÃO; VINHAS, 1965: 310-311).

Adapting the modernist form of contact with the essence of the people, intuition, now performed by the bossa nova clan, helped to form a curious heterodoxy in protest music. To identify it, one only has to refer to the list of prevailing terms written by Arnaldo Contier in the reception of this production by the news. One basically notices a variation in the nationalist association between materialist realism and modernist nationalism, with the resulting "left" and "right" populisms (CONTIER, 1998). The appropriation thus led to a series of alternative or contradictory works and ideas to the principles formulated by Carlos Estevam. Two of them, insightfully cited by journalist Ruy Castro, emerged precisely in the acclaimed musical *Opinião* ["Opinion"], a major landmark of engaged art directed by Augusto Boal and starring Nara Leão: *Opinião* by Zé Kéti, and *Sina de caboclo* ["Caboclo's Fate"] by João do Vale (CASTRO, 2000: 351). The former transformed resignation into resistance when the character-proclaimer said that no matter how miserable, he would not abandon his mountain, while the latter assumed a reformist proposal as to the agrarian issue ("[...] It will be good for me / And good for doctor / I command beans / He commands tractor [...])"[4] something unacceptable to Carlos Estevam, who, on issues of land, preached Guevarist ideology to the maximum: "first take power; then, the agrarian reform" (ESTEVAM, 1963: 3). They were, finally, works of intuitive revolutionary character, derived from the sensitivity and life experience of the authors, without dialectical analyzes. What made them compatible with the initial proposals of CPC was less the conceptual links to historical materialism than to the circumstantial approximation with its alleged ideals of social justice – Ruy Castro's description of Lyra's only occasional participation in the establishment of a communist party cell in São Paulo points to the same sense (CASTRO, 2000: 262).

Another fundamental point in the differentiation between the evolution of protest music and the ideological principles that guided the constitution of CPC is to observe what the improvising bossa nova popular musicians did to meet the precepts of "popular revolutionary art". It turns out that artists established within the sophisticated bossa nova did not comfortably occupy this role from the initial caveat in the term "popular culture" by Carlos Lyra. Not because they refused to insert the socio-political messages that would elevate them to revolutionary popular art, but because "popular" here indistinctly referred to all so-called "industrialist" mass manifestations, regardless of the specific place they occupied (and sought to occupy) in the midst of Brazilian popular music. So that is what interested Lyra and his partners – not necessarily adopted by CPC ideologues – the reconstruction of an aesthetic standard for protest music. Manoel Tosta Berlinck marks the beginning of this construction as the disappointing debut on a trailer donated to CPC in

[4] "[...] Vai ser bom pra mim / E bom pro doutor / Eu mando feijão / Ele manda trator [...]"

1963 held at six o'clock p.m. during a weekday at the plaza *Largo do Machado* in Rio crowded with workers leaving their jobs. It turned out that the passers-by paid less attention to the bossa nova sculpted of Carlos Lira, Carlos Castilho, and other engaged artists who performed on the trailer than two street musicians, Northeastern immigrants, playing *viola* and *berimbau* on the sidewalk. According to Berlinck (1984: 77), the learnings from this frustration was that the CPCists decided that the form of their songs was still not correct, insisting on a "dangerous and mistaken distinction between form and content [...] incorporated in the theory of popular culture by Carlos Estevam". The solution found to this impasse had been to dress its revolutionary messages with more popular forms, especially through enticing "legitimate" artists, like the *samba de morro* musicians Zé Kéti, Cartola, and Nelson Cavaquinho to integrate CPC's musical shows. Berlinck's view, which proceeds from CPC's supposed aesthetic cohesion, shows certain contradictions in protest music, but poorly explains why the *samba de morro* musicians were chosen as a privileged interlocutor. It so happens that this imposes a clear dissonance with the modern and mass purposes of "popular art", since it had very little voice in the media and industry – since samba musicians had no recordings at that time – being closer to the folkloric airs of the repudiated "art of the people", along with the *viola* and *berimbau*. Another obstacle to such a reading is the fact that, at least two years before the trailer episode, the alliance with *samba de morro* was already under way, as in the lyrics of one of its first engaged songs, the aforementioned *Influência do jazz* ["Influence of Jazz"] of 1961. Had it not been enough, we can recall Lyra's frequent trips to the "roda de samba" at Cartola's house during the following year, when he recorded everything *sambistas* did – "even a sneeze" in the words of Elton Medeiros (BARBOZA; OLIVEIRA FILHO, 2003: 184), or a statement that same year in which he carefully attacked the lyrics of bossa nova, preserving his formal modernity by saying that "it was only a new musical form to repeat the same romantic and inconsequential things being said for a long time. It did not change the content of the lyrics. Nationalism is the only way" (apud CASTRO, 2000: 344).

Therefore, because of these dissonances, it seems more feasible to consider that what appeared to be a discontinuity in the narrative of the trailer episode, in the eyes of Berlinck, was nothing more than a deeper unfolding of a tendency already present in popular music developed at CPC.

The fact that the narrowing of exchange between *samba de morro* and nascent protest music precedes the shock described by Berlinck, however, should not be seen as part of a common and homogeneous project, but as a second cultural agreement established within the scope of CPC. After all, even in the case of artists in similar fields of performance, the disparity of positions they occupied in the cultural milieu of their time was

evident, with bossa nova (Lyra included) having just consolidated its international course with its famous concert at New York's Carnegie Hall, and the *sambistas* living on the margins of the principal means of circulation of popular music in Brazil.

A scene that well reveals the distance and terms of the alliance between them happened the night after the trailer episode as narrated by Ruy Castro (2000: 346) and based on information from José Ramos Tinhorão who was an eyewitness to the fact. Lyra, along with lyricist Nelson Lins e Barros (his friend and intellectual mentor, according to Castro), invited Cartola, Nelson Cavaquinho and Zé Kéti for a visit to his apartment in the Southern Zone of Rio. The goal in fact was to compose something in partnership. Then with everyone seated at the table, the CPCists began the conversation by serving whiskey for themselves while offering cachaça and beer for the visitors with embarrassing naturalness. Those glasses thusly summarized the position of each one in the relationship: while bossa nova artists were delighted with a delicacy consumed by the cosmopolitan elite, the popular musicians were only fit to drink the typical taste of Brazil. Another passage between Carlos Lyra and Zé Kéti, narrated by Lyra, reflects these expected positions when the Kéti, the samba musician, proposed to compose something engaged:

> One night, Zé Kéti comes by my house, a little embarrassed and whispering, "Carlos Lyra, the guys over there at the CPC Theater want me to make a samba, except with lyrics integrated in Brazilian reality". "Zé, your lyrics are already integrated enough", I replied. He insisted: "But to avoid contradicting them I tried to do one pushing more to that side". That said, he began to take out a piece of paper and a matchbox from his pocket. He deposited the paper on the table, set the tone, drummed the matchbox, and began, "We are moving towards socialism, slowly". I quickly grabbed the paper from the table and, still choking, said, "Forget it, Zé, for God's sake, don't do that" (LYRA, 2008: 63).

That partnership in socialist samba did not take root, but sometime later, it did: *Samba da legalidade* ["Legality Samba"], which, however, was far from the idea of the samba composer to assume writing an ideological discourse ("[...] I am not a politician / My business is a tambourine [...]")[5]. It became clear, therefore, as much in one case as another, that the revolutionary content of the samba musician's art emanated from his being, intuitively and fatally, and not from his intellectual choices. In this way, the relationship of engaged popular musicians with the samba musicians – as it would later for the Northeastern *sertanejo* musician João do Vale in the musical *Opinião* – ended up

[5] "[...] Eu não sou politiqueiro / Meu negócio é um pandeiro [...]"

concentrating on an exchange similar to the one modernistas had described by Wisnik with the popular artists of his time: one of legitimacy by recognition. The *samba de morro* musicians legitimized the discourse in regards to the national and proletarian of the engaged bossa-novistas, while the latter gave them recognition within the intellectual and mass environment in which they circulated. Driving the process was obviously in the hands of the intellectualized popular musicians, evident in the disconcerting interval of about ten years between the "rediscovery" of compositions by Cartola and Nelson Cavaquinho in the debut record of the then engaged artist Nara Leão, *Nara* (1964), and the first albums composed by the samba artists themselves, *Cartola* (1974) and *Nelson Cavaquinho* (1973).

It is important to emphasize that the principle and form of this nationalism, found several times in protest music, are fruit of the internal debates of popular music, and not the policies of CPC ideologues. The observation of the distance between what CPC as an institution expected of music, and what the nascent protest music chose as its language and field of action, becomes even clearer in the first great musical work proposed by CPC and financed by UNE: the LP, *O povo canta* ["The people sing"] released in 1963. The album brought together 5 songs: *O subdesenvolvido* ["The Underdeveloped"] and *Canção do trilhãozinho* ["Song of a Few Trillion"] by Carlos Lyra and Chico de Assis, performed by Carlinhos Castilho, Edmundo Barbosa and the CPC Band; *João da Silva* [a common male name] by Billy Blanco, performed by Nora Ney; *Grileiro vem...* ["Grileiro comes..."[6]], composed and performed by Rafael de Barros; *Zé da Silva* [common male name] by Geni Marcondes, Augusto Boal and the CPC Band performed by Carlinhos Castilho. These works were presented on the back cover as a "new experience in popular music," where "authentic elements of collective expression are used to achieve a more effective way of communicating with the people, making it more clear, while at the same time [communicate] the current problems that directly affect them." Contained in the same text are elements to which this new art is counter posed: the individual meaning of problems commonly addressed in songs; the search for the sentimental or "stylish"; the objectives of entertainment and dampening; the unrealistic visions of life, forged by frustrations, and deformed, albeit wittingly, by impotent humor.

From then on, the objective to increase awareness was patent and based on the explanation of the causes of the day-to-day experiences of the anonymous Brazilian and averse to what they identify as mundane in popular music, which explains the prominence of the verbal aspect in the songs. In *O subdesenvolvido* and *Canção do trilhãozinho* ["Song of a Few Trillion"] (by Carlos Lyra and Chico de Assis), as well as *Zé da Silva* (by Geni

[6] "Grileiro" is a person who illegally attempts to obtain lands with the use of false documents (T.N.).

Marcondes and Augusto Boal), came closer to musical theater, having melodies clearly subordinated to the text narratives. *João da Silva*, in turn, followed the course of the sophisticated syncopated sambas of the composer Billy Blanco (who had already composed *Café society* and *Estatuto de gafieira* ["Statute of the *gafieira* ballroom dance"]. The lyrics of *João da Silva* was entirely based on the booklet *Um dia na vida do Brasilino* ["A day in the Life of Brasilino"] by Paulo Guilherme Martins, a politician and writer of communist-PTB (Brazilian Labor Party) ideology – alluding to the auspicious qualification of DOPS-Santos [Department of Political and Social Order in the city of Santos, SP] (PRONTUÁRIO [RECORD] No. 8438, 1977) – that, in fact, had inspired the name of the protagonist in the film *Terra em transe* ["Land in trance"] (1968) by Glauber Rocha. While the *baião*-style *Grileiro vem...* was concentrated on the resistance of the people living in the suburban shantytowns on the mountain in Rio against the harassment of *grileiros* staging the fight of the proletariat against speculative capital. It is curious to note that it is difficult to perceive a dominant presence of bossa nova in any of these works, although Lyra is the only musician to have composed two tracks. Was it, then, that bossa nova had been overcome by the *viola* and *berimbau* evoked in the trailer episode? Probably not, because the musical reference closest to this universe is precisely the last song, *Grileiro vem...,* composed by the most obscure composer on the album, Rafael de Barros, recognized, at the time, from the square-dance band *Arrasta pé* recorded by Ademilde Fonseca in 1951, and by a few sparse records from the mid-1950s. Billy Blanco's song also brought some popular seasoning to the album in that it was based on the samba tradition, but still quite distant from the turf of the samba schools. What had happened then to CPC's effervescent musical and nationalist debate? The answer seems to lie in the organization's internal politics, with bossa, *viola* and *berimbau* taking back seat on the prime space of the record, in favor of the stronger group, theater, that co-composed the first three songs mentioned above, being superior not only in terms of number and aesthetics, but also highlighted in the order of presentation, being awarded the opening track on each side of the record. Faced with these options, we could actually construe that coadjutants were part of a scenario that legitimated the works of the theatrical artists. Yet, it cannot be ruled out that Billy Blanco, Nora Ney and Rafael de Barros were being honored for their years of militancy in the Brazilian Communist Party.

In all cases, it is noticeable that the participation of the popular musicians on the CPC record *O povo canta*, ["The people sing"], besides being less important, constituted something exotic in everyday production since none of them included these works or, even, a similar type of composition in their professional productions at that time, as can be seen in the LP released by Lyra in 1963, *Depois do carnaval – o sambalanço de Carlos Lyra,* ["After Carnival – Sambaswing of Carlos Lyra"], *Nora Ney & Jorge Goulart* released by Nora Ney in 1962, and, a little more removed, in the 45 released by Rafael de Carvalho in 1961, *É*

só socó/ralando coco. ["It is only a bird/grating coconut"]. In this silence, similar to that of Dorival Caymmi in the politicized partnerships with Jorge Amado in the 1940s (DOMINGUES, 2009: 106-113), it is obvious that the engaged musicians are resistant to the designs of CPC's dominant intellectuality, protecting their own aesthetics and historicity that such primacy marginalized.

Fishing politics

The dissonance in the alliance between popular musicians and CPC ideologues since the founding of the institution became even more evident after the coup of March 31, 1964, when they reconfigured the weight of the capital exchanged by the two groups. It turns out that the joint military-civilian takeover of the state blocked the power structure of CPC intelligentsia, dissolving the organization, dismantling its network of popular organizations and breaking ties with the government. Production and distribution channels of protest music, however, were not only affected too badly, but benefited from the growth in the market that would last for most of the dictatorship (ORTIZ, 1994: 114). Hence the opportunity to form a new equilibrium.

An important symbol of this change was the aforementioned musical *Opinião*, starring Nara Leão (afterwards Maria Bethânia), with Zé Ketti and João do Vale. Schwarz identified it as the first relevant reaction to the coup:

> In this scenario, music was mainly an authentic summary of a social experience, such as the opinion that every citizen has the right to organize and sing, even if the dictatorship does not want it. Thus, they identified for ideological purposes that popular music – which is, along with football, the manifestation of the Brazilian heart – and democracy, the people and authenticity, is against the military regime (SCHWARZ, 1992: 81).

Schwarz was precise in describing the role of music in *Opinião*, in that it gave a sonorous demonstration of the new condition achieved. The songs, once submitted to screenplays and engaged shows, now came to life in the unsystematic fragmentation of media sensibility, just as it happened with *O morro (feio não é bonito)* ["The hill, (ugly is not beautiful)"] by Carlos Lyra and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri. Composed in 1963, the work left its original context as part of the soundtrack of the film adaptation of *Gimba, o president dos valentes* ["Gimba, the president of the valiant"] – a politicized piece by Guarnieri meant to achieve mass repercussions – that had been circulating the channels of modern media. First, it was part of Nara Leão's successful debut album, *Nara*, in 1964. Shortly thereafter, in 1965,

it was the second song in the opening potpourri of the famous LP, *Dois na bossa* ["Two in Bossa"] by Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues, the most successful selling album of the 1960s and phonographic correlation of the popular TV show *O fino da bossa* ["The Fine of Bossa"] led by the same duo on TV Record beginning that year.

The migration of protest art from the institutional circuit proposed by CPC to records and television musicals was perhaps the pinnacle of the creation of what Schwarz (1992: 79-80) called the "saleable symbol of the revolution" – being quickly welcomed by students and the public in general. Regardless of his derogatory judgement as to being saleable – the fundamental characteristic of mass music – the movement that took place was exactly that. It is worth noting, however, that the migration did not occur because of the sole or majority interest of the media, but by the direct actions of engaged artists in these media, like Edu Lobo and the notable composer, singer, pianist, actor and film director Sérgio Ricardo (in which they were accompanied, little by little, by some prominent names among CPC ideologues such as Alfredo Dias Gomes, Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Oduvaldo Vianna Filho and Francisco de Assis). It is significant, however, that the greatest symbol of the new channel for protest music, the MPB ["Brazilian Popular Music"] television festivals, was conceived by Solano Ribeiro, an actor who took same route: from protest to media. He was the producer of the First National Festival of Brazilian Popular Music on TV Excelsior of São Paulo, where he consecrated a style of protest songs by crowning as winner *Arrastão* ["Trawl net"] a *canção-praieira* [songs of the seashore] by Edu Lobo and Vinicius de Moraes, defended by Elis Regina, a bossa nova work inspired on Caymmi that represented the daily life of a pre-capitalist community of fishermen.

It is interesting to point out that a significant share of the critics saw the expansion of engaged art to mass media as a device beneficial only to the conservative civil-military dictatorship in power, as did the literary critic Flora Süssekind:

> The strategy of Castelo Branco's administration was, on the one hand, expansionist—super-development of the mass media, especially television; on the other hand, even liberal in terms of protest art and left intelligentsia, as long as it severed its possible links with the popular strata (SÜSSEKIND, 2004: 22).

From this panorama, Süssekind (2004: 213) concluded that there was a confinement of "left-wing" intellectual production, while, in respect to the masses, television guaranteed "the certainty of effective social control in every household that possessed transmitting equipment". Obviously, such a derogatory interpretation reverberated in protest music that used televised musicals and festivals as its main disseminating vehicle. Independent of a comparative analysis of the effectiveness or depth of the different types of

protest manifestations, we could say, however, that the derogatoriness does not explain the conflicts staged on television and in the mass media, including the censure and persecution motivated by the receptivity to left-wing discourse (DUNN, 2007: 65). More than this, however, Süssekind's argument, confined solely to the power of media, makes it almost impossible for any political action to have come from the artists of mass culture, contrary to what has been shown here. It is worth noting that this is not merely a personal opinion of the author, but an impasse of the leftist intellectuals of the time, in general, pressed between the will to involve the popular in their projects and the refusal of conventional mass media, as argued by Carlos Guilherme Motta (2008: 243-298).

The wave of protest songs unleashed by *Arrastão* was equally despised by literary critic Walnice Nogueira Galvão (1976: 95), in the accusation of the myth of the "day to come", an instrument of "evasion and consolation for intellectually sophisticated people". In this myth – whose greatest representative in what is called MMPB ("Modern Brazilian Popular Music") would be singer and composer from [the northeast state of] Paraíba, Geraldo Vandré, author of hits like *Disparada* (with Théo de Barros) and *Pra não dizer que não falei de flore*s ["To not say that I did not speak of flowers"] – Galvão observed that "there is no option but to sing; what varies is the purpose of singing. Consolation, dissemination, or magical thinking, these are the purposes that the MMPB song proposes for itself" (GALVÃO, 1976: 104). In light of the internal conflicts of the protest art studied here, rather than the reductionist evaluation of the anesthetic effects of the protest song, Galvão's insistence on this myth reflects a popular music strategy to put itself at the forefront of action. In this perspective, Galvão's criticisms are nothing other than the expression of the other extreme of engaged art in play: that of the erudite intelligentsia, who had already made the same accusation of "mere consolation" against popular artists (see the arguments cited above by Carlos Estevam). Similarly, the unequivocalness of the mass media domain, as pointed out by Süssekind, had been anticipated in CPC's seminal writings. These judgements, then, far less than solutions, are part of the problem.

Disqualifying the move of popular musicians to the forefront of the political-musical debate, modeled on CPC, is yet another, if not decisive, major obstacle: the recognition these musicians received by the intellectuals in question during the heat of the hour. An emblematic case was that of Nara Leão, who through *Opinião*, gained significant visibility, prestige and rewards (cf. CASTRO, 2000: 352) and, even at the end of 1964, confessed: "I am making so much money that I don't know where to put it." It was in this good tide that she told a newspaper in 1966: "The military can understand cannons or machine guns, but catches nothing of politics" and "our Armed Forces are useless, as demonstrated in the last revolution, when troop movement was hampered by some flat

tires" (apud CASTRO, 2000: 353). These were incredibly arrogant and foolish statements, in light of the consummate victory of the military, but was given uncommon attention. On the part of the military regime, it responded not by some obscure sheriff, but by the current Minister of War (and future president), General Costa e Silva, with a threat of enforcing the National Security Law. On the part of the high intelligentsia, they were not taken in by some alienating rebellion, but euphorically welcomed her. CPC's leader Ferreira Gullar, even dedicated to her the quatrain: "Young man don't mess / With this Nara Leão / Who goes around armed / With a flower and a song"[7] (apud CASTRO, 2000: 353).

Reviewing the development of protest music among the expressive repercussions of a Nara Leão or Geraldo Vandré during the second half of the 1960s, and the modest presentations of Carlos Lyra and his clan on CPC's trailer around 1963, one does not perceive a rupture per se, but the gradual development of artistic relationships. At first, there is an extremely innovative mechanism of exchange where engaged intellectuals sought mass capital and the legitimacy of the popular to consolidate their goals for power, offering, on the other hand, their recognition, both aesthetically, by accepting the historicity of bossa nova, as well as politically, by participating in the realization of a left-wing project. For the success of this pact, however, protest music, which was not unanimously considered representative of national popular culture, had to establish a complementary pact, exchanging the prestige gained by the intelligentsia and their mass visibility, for the legitimacy of artists considered closer to folkloric "purity". While immediately after the coup, the relationship between intellectuals and popular artists seems to have achieved a new equilibrium with specific weights, albeit comprising the same elements already in place. Having lost its access to power and its network of popular organizations, CPC's intelligentsia, on the one hand, gave up its exclusivity of determining the revolutionary content of works of art and began to demand much more from the mass capital of popular music, to play a more auxiliary role with the artists, who no longer played the part of intermediary between the cultured sphere and the masses to assume an autonomous position in political action. It is difficult, however, to nominate a political winner among the engaged art groups, since the dictatorship was largely dominant in the power projects of the period. From the point of view of the Brazilian cultural milieu, however, the prominence achieved by popular artists after the 1964 coup was something remarkable and had significant repercussions in the following years, whether in the development of protest music of Chico Buarque, João Bosco and Aldir Blanc, Taiguara and Gonzaguinha, among others, or the Tropicalism of Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and his clan.

[7] "Moço não se meta / Com a tal Nara Leão / Que ela anda armada/ De uma flor e de uma canção"

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