

MPB in a Comparative Latin American Context: Music as Social and Political Engagement in the 1960s and 1970s

Krista Brune

When writing my undergraduate thesis about the *nueva canción chilena*, I met Chilean musicians who described Chico Buarque as a musical influence. This initial exposure to a connection between *nueva canción* and *música popular brasileira* (MPB) sparked my curiosity about the reciprocity of this relationship, a question that led to a Fulbright research project in Brazil. During my nine months in Campinas, São Paulo and Rio, I explored these connections, similarities and differences between MPB and the *nueva canción*, only beginning to unravel the complexities of music, national and regional identities, and political engagement through the arts. These questions continue to confound me, yet this paper is an attempt to synthesize and share some of my findings from this research. It remains a work in progress, a project that I intend to continue during graduate study.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Brazil and the countries of the Southern Cone experienced similar political paths, beginning this period with a hope for revolutionary change only to see military dictatorships consolidate their power by the mid 1970s. In the midst of this tumultuous political atmosphere, music emerged as an essential form of social and political engagement in Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay.

The music developing in these Spanish American countries became known as the *nueva canción latinoamericana*. *Nueva canción* artists, like Chileans Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, Argentines Mercedes Sosa and Atahualpa Yupanqui and Uruguayans Daniel Viglietti and Alfredo Zitarrosa, incorporated musical practices from their countries' rural regions and indigenous populations into their songs.¹ Parra, for instance, traveled throughout Chile to research and record folkloric and indigenous music practices, subsequently introducing these songs to a broader Chilean and international public. In addition to re-discovering folkloric traditions, these musicians included typically indigenous rhythms and instruments, like the *charango* and pan flute, in their songs, developing a distinct sound. This song movement became known throughout the Southern Cone for the social and political commitment of its artists. Chilean musicians like Jara and the groups Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún campaigned for Allende, served as cultural ambassadors to his Unidad Popular government, and faced death or exile under Pinochet's rule. Viglietti and Zitarrosa similarly encountered censorship and persecution for their songs and leftist beliefs during the Uruguayan military regime. With repressive governments tightening their control in the region, the *nueva canción* came to represent an often-silenced voice of the people, calling for awareness of social and political realities, resistance to oppressive regimes and the eventual goal of revolutionary change.

During these years, Brazil encountered a similar social and political situation of dictatorial rule. The arts, especially popular music, emerged as a space for criticism, resistance and engagement in the years preceding and during the Brazilian military dictatorship. In spite of its committed qualities,

¹ The literature about the *nueva canción* focuses mostly on Chilean music. For a brief overview of the movement and extensive suggestions for further reading, see Jan Fairley, "Annotated Bibliography of Latin-American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to *nueva canción*." *Popular Music* 5 (1985): 305-356. Additional introductions to this Chilean movement and its social-political importance can be found in: Nancy E. Morris, "'Canto porque es necesario cantar': The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* 21.2 (1986): 117-136; Jeffrey F. Taffet, "'My Guitar Is Not for the Rich': The New Chilean Song Movement and the Politics of Culture," *Journal of American Culture* 20.2 (Summer 1997): 91-103; and Rodrigo Torres, *Perfil de la creación musical en la nueva canción chilena desde sus orígenes hasta 1973* (Santiago de Chile: CENECA, 1980).

MPB of this period is rarely viewed in connection to the *nueva canción latinoamericana*. Articles by Eduardo Carrasco and others have highlighted the rhythmic differences and distinct sonority of MPB and the *nueva canción*, rather than exploring the commonalities or points of encounter between these two broad musical categories.² Comparisons are more frequently drawn between MPB and Caribbean music, specifically the *nueva trova cubana*.³ Casual listeners, as well as musicians and scholars, often comment that Brazilian music “sounds” more like Cuban music, both “modern” rhythms that surged in urban centers and incorporated a range of influences including African beats and European instruments. Direct contact through visits to Cuba and artistic exchanges between MPB artists, most notably Chico Buarque and Milton Nascimento, and *nueva trovadores* Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés furthered this connection between Brazilian and Cuban music.⁴

Although comparisons between Brazilian and Cuban music are more evident, shifting the comparative lens towards the Southern Cone allows for an analysis of how these distinct, yet parallel, musical movements of MPB and the *nueva canción* responded to the need for sociopolitical resistance and commitment in this period. This paper attempts to place MPB in relationship to the Spanish American song movement by exploring qualities typical of the *nueva canción* found in the works of Geraldo Vandré, Chico Buarque and Milton Nascimento. Analyzing the Latin American elements in the songs of these Brazilians provides one entrance into the comparative study of music during these years of social and political turmoil in the region. Other approaches to this comparative question address the reception and diffusion of Spanish American songs in Brazil or of Brazilian music throughout Latin America. Guilherme de Alencar Pinto explores the reception of Spanish American popular song in his brief essay “Loco por ti, America,” while Tânia da Costa Garcia focuses on the role of the Brazilian group Tarancón in the diffusion and production of Spanish American folk music throughout Brazil.⁵ A more common methodology compares and contrasts specific musical movements in two countries, such as Marildo José Nercloni’s study of

² Eduardo Carrasco, *La nueva canción en América Latina* (Santiago de Chile: CENECA, 1982). An essay in English with the same title appeared in the *International Social Science Review* 34.4 (1982): 599-623. In this overview of the *nueva canción*, Carrasco, a musician, member of Quilapayún and philosopher, focuses on the historical and political developments in Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico and Brazil, noting some of the differences between Brazilian music and the songs developing in other Latin American countries.

³ See Mariana Martins Villaça, *Polifonia tropical: Experimentalismo e engajamento na música popular (Brasil e Cuba, 1967/1972)* (São Paulo: Editora Humanitas/FFLCH, 2004) for an insightful comparison between Brazilian Tropicália and the Cuban Grupo de Experimentación Sonora.

⁴ In 1978, Chico Buarque visited Cuba, participating in an awards ceremony at the Casa de las Américas, traveling the country and learning about its music. His 1978 self-titled LP included his recording of Rodríguez’s “Pequena Serenata Diurna”. Buarque praised Cuban music, highlighting its similarities to Brazilian music: “A música cubana é mais próxima da brasileira, em harmonia e ritmo. Por questões políticas, ficou isolada e desconhecida. Eu tenho vontade de divulgá-la de forma mais intensa, talvez produzindo um disco de músicas cubanas. Eu trouxe muitos discos de compositores cubanos e, por enquanto, vou divulgar na medida era possível. Gravei uma canção no novo disco, e dei uma outra, ‘Canção a unidade latino-americana’ para o Milton.” (Isia Cambara, “Chico, sem sufoco ou desabafo” *Folha de São Paulo* 2 Dec. 1978). In his analysis of Cuban music and the Revolution, Robin D. Moore notes the close professional ties established in the mid-1970s between Buarque and Rodríguez, both white musicians, and between Afro-Cuban Pablo Milanés and Afro-Brazilian Milton Nascimento. Robin D. Moore, *Music & Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 146. Rina Benmayor’s earlier article on the *nueva trova* cites Chico Buarque as one of the Latin American musicians admired by the *trovadores*. Rina Benmayor, “La ‘Nueva Trova’: New Cuban Song” *Latin American Music Review* 2.1 (Spring – Summer 1981), 15.

⁵ Guilherme de Alencar Pinto, “Loco por ti, América” *Revista TodaVIA* Dec. 2002. Available WWW: http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar/notas3/nota_guilherme/textoguilherme.htm; Tânia da Costa Garcia, “Tarancón: invenção sonora de um Brasil latino-americano” *ArtCultura: Revista do Instituto de História da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia* 8.13 (Aug – Dec. 2006).

Argentine *rock nacional* and MPB and Denise Milstein's analysis of Uruguayan *beat* and protest movements compared to Brazilian Tropicália and protest music.⁶

Less attention, however, has been focused on the Spanish American traces within Brazilian music, perhaps because of the distinct sonority, the language barrier or the close connection between MPB and the national-popular in Brazil. The country's popular music was a separate, complex world in the middle of the 20th century, with samba gaining important status as a symbol of Brazilian identity, the smooth sounds of bossa nova conquering jazz fans at Carnegie Hall, and new musical stars emerging through the festival circuit. The rhythms of Brazilian music included maxixe, choro, samba, marcha, maracatu, frevo, xote, modas de viola and many more. A desire to re-discover the music of Brazil's diverse regions fueled the folkloric investigations of Brazil's first ethnomusicologist Mário de Andrade in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1960s, artists again turned to studying and performing the country's various musical traditions. Through the Centro Popular da Cultura, these artists and intellectuals attempted to represent national identity and popular culture, striving to create a "popular revolutionary art."⁷ For Geraldo Vandré and other students, the CPC served as one of their first musical or artistic experiences. After participating in the CPC while a law student, Vandré embarked on a more serious musical career.

Vandré may be the MPB artist that most closely resembles the *nueva canción* musicians emerging in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay during the mid 1960s. His interest in Brazilian folklore parallels the research practices of Parra and Jara in rural Chile. When composing the soundtrack for the 1966 film *A hora e a vez de Augusto Matraga*, Vandré traveled through the central western region of Brazil, researching the moda-de-viola and other song forms typical of the *sertão mineiro* where this film is set. In newspaper interviews from these years, Vandré lamented that the musical practices were not more appreciated within Brazil: "O que lamento, em suma, é que o country song ou folk song seja respeitável e a nossa moda de viola não. Quando na realidade, são da mesma natureza e merecem o mesmo respeito, quando feitas pelas pessoas que vivem essas manifestações de calor."⁸ Many of Vandré's songs, especially on his 1968 LP *Canto Geral*, incorporate these more folkloric forms of moda de viola, creating a sound similar to the Spanish American *nueva canción* in terms of rhythm, instrumentation and lyrical content. Elaborating upon this observation, Marcos Napolitano writes:

A sonoridade predominante em *Canto geral* apresentava um elemento bastante singular: entre todos os matizes da canção engajada brasileira, esse conjunto de canções era o que mais se aproximava do projeto da *nueva canción* latino-americana: harmonias consoantes básicas, melodias pungentes, timbres acústicos, domínio de gêneros rurais, temas poéticos portadores de uma mensagem política mais 'explícita' na qual os motes poéticos funcionam como verdadeiras palavras de ordem e não como desenvolvimento de narrativas sutis, líricas e impressionistas.⁹

⁶ Marildo José Nercloni, "MPB e Rock Argentino: Criando nos interstícios, sem perder o próprio, sem desprezar o alheio" *Anais do V Congresso Latinoamericano da LASPM-LA* Rio de Janeiro, 2004. Denise Milstein, "Interacciones entre estado y música popular bajo autoritarismo en Brasil y Uruguay" *Anais do V Congresso Latinoamericano da LASPM-LA* Rio de Janeiro, 2004.

⁷ More information on the CPC da UNE and the national-popular in Brazilian music and culture can be found in Arnaldo Contier, "Edu Lobo e Carlos Lyra: o nacional e o popular na canção de protesto." *Revista Brasileira de História* 15.35 (1998): 13-52; and Miliandre Garcia, *Do teatro militante à música engajada – A experiência do CPC da UNE (1958-1964)*. (São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2007).

⁸ Arthur José Poerner, "Vandré com amor, flor, dor e sem canhão" *Correio da Manhã* 20 Oct. 1968.

⁹ Marcos Napolitano, *A síncope das idéias: A questão da tradição na música popular brasileira* (São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2007), 128-129.

Listening to *Canto Geral* brings to mind the musical aspects of a Quilapayún or Inti-Illimani album from Chile, or songs by Uruguayans Alfredo Zitarrosa or Los Oltimoreños.

Through his interest in the music of the people, his occasionally incendiary statements and his musical creations, Vandr  emerged as the prototype of the Brazilian protest singer in the late 1960s. He explained that, “escrevo can es e poemas a partir de um encantamento pela linguagem popular da literatura de cordel. E por isso acho que o caminho mais f til para nossa m sica   uma rendi o cada vez maior, por parte de quem a fez,   realidade brasileira.”¹⁰ He described the term “artista revolucion rio” as “pleon stica” because, in his view, an artist can only be considered an artist when his art is revolutionary.¹¹ Although viewed as a protest singer, Vandr  found fault with the term because all songs, even love songs, could be defined as a form of protest, yet protest as a classification requires all songs to be categorized as political or non-political.¹² In spite of his objection to this label, Vandr ’s 1968 song “Pra n o dizer que n o falei das flores” (more commonly known as “Caminhando”) ensured that his musical legacy would remain connected to the Brazilian protest song. The initial stanza and the chorus of “Caminhando” serve as a call to arms, referring to protest marches and urging action rather than waiting for the day to come:

Caminhando e cantando e seguindo a can o
Somos todos iguais bra os dados ou n o
Nas escolas, nas ruas, campos constru es
Caminhando e cantando e seguindo a can o

Vem, vamos embora, que esperar n o   saber
Quem sabe faz a for a n o espera acontecer...

Soon banned by the military government, “Caminhando” nonetheless became one of the most popular protest songs in Brazil, reminiscent of *nueva canci n* anthems like “El Pueblo Unido Jam s Ser  Vencido” with protestors chanting the chorus during marches and demonstrations. After a period of exile from 1969 to 1973 spent mostly in Chile and France, Vandr  struggled to regain his musical career, instead living a relatively secluded life as a lawyer in S o Paulo.¹⁴ His music career continues only in the sense that his “Caminhando” has continued to serve as a protest hymn for distinct causes, from the syndicate strikes of the 1980s to calls for re-democratization. As Millor Fernandes explained, “Caminhando” “  o hino nacional perfeito; nasceu no meio da luta, foi crescendo de baixo para cima, cantando, cada vez mais espont nea e emocionalmente, por maior n mero de pessoas.   a nossa Marselhesa.”¹⁵

¹⁰ Margarida Autran e Luiz Carlos Maciel, “Para onde a m sica brasileira vai caminhando” *Fatos e Fotos* 82-87

¹¹ Poerner, op. cit.

¹² Carlos Cruz, “Cantando e seguindo a can o” *O Cruzeiro* 26 Oct. 1968, 24.

¹³ Milstein, op. cit, analyzes this song in her comparison of Brazilian and Uruguayan protest music. Marcelo Ridenti addresses the social and political relevance of “Caminhando” in *Em busca do povo brasileiro: Artistas da revolu o, do CPC   era da tv* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2000) and *O fantasma da revolu o brasileira* (S o Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1995). In her essay about modern MPB, literary critic Walnice Nogueira Galv o referred to the nostalgia and political complacency of some songs, using the idea of “o dia que vir ”. *Saco de Gatos. Ensaios Cr ticos* (S o Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1976).

¹⁴ Vitor Nizzi, “Geraldo Vandr , 70 anos” *Digestivo Cultural* 27 Sept. 2005. Available WWW: <http://www.digestivocultural.com/colunistas/coluna.asp?codigo=1721>

¹⁵ Ridenti, *O fantasma...*, op. cit., 81 (citing Zeunir Ventura, 1968, *o ano que n o terminou* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1988), 206-207).

While Vandr  typified the Brazilian “protest singer” in the mode of *nueva canci n* artists, Chico Buarque may be the best-known MPB figure in Spanish American countries. Musicians from the Cuban *trovadores* to emerging Chilean artists have cited Buarque as a musical influence. In a personal interview, Chilean singer-songwriter Eduardo Peralta described himself as a troubadour in the lines of Violeta Parra, Silvio Rodr guez, Phil Oakes and, somewhat surprisingly, Chico Buarque. This interest in Buarque can be found in other Santiago enclaves, namely the Thursday night performances of Chico’s songs by young Chilean musicians at the Mes n Nerudiano.¹⁶ Walking through record stores on a recent visit to Buenos Aires revealed a similar interest in the music of Chico, with a separate section devoted to Brazilian music that featured Chico, along with Caetano Velosos, Maria Beth nia and Milton Nascimento. Perhaps in response to his popularity in Spanish America, Buarque released *Chico Buarque en Espa ol* in 1982, an anthology that included Spanish versions of his classics like “Que Ser ”, “A pesar de Usted” and “Construcci n.”¹⁷ Noted musicians, including Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti and Venezuelan Soledad Bravo, have also recorded versions of Buarque’s songs.¹⁸

Throughout his career, Buarque has created songs with social and political significance, ranging from nuanced portraits of the quotidian to powerful protest songs. Although carefully constructed poetic lyrics have been a main feature of his songs, their musical qualities cannot be ignored. His songs are typically Brazilian rhythms, mainly sambas, but also marchas and chorinhos.¹⁹ In spite of this “Brazilianness”, or perhaps due to this quality of Buarque’s music, his songs about the details of daily life, from the band passing to Pedro Pedreiro waiting and thinking, relate to listeners beyond Brazilian borders. As military control tightened, his more political songs like “Apesar de voc ” and “C lice” spoke out against the military regime in a subtle way through metaphors and double meanings. Although soon banned by the government censors, “Apesar de voc ” remained a popular clandestine form to express displeasure with the Brazilian military regime and other dictatorships consolidating their power throughout the region. Gaining power from its religious references and the homophone of *c lice* (chalice) and *cala-se* (shut up), Buarque’s 1973 song “C lice” was soon banned by the censors. Following its 1978 re-release, the song became a featured track on top 10 play lists. As Charles Perrone accurately concluded in his astute analysis of MPB masters, “such titles as ‘C lice’ and ‘Constru o’ reveal how Buarque’s organization and presentation of language and sound make popular music a powerful vehicle of social expression.”²⁰

By capturing and commenting on political and social realities through his songs, Buarque’s distinctly Brazilian music embodies one of the essential traits of the Spanish American *nueva canci n*: using music to reveal the often ignored experiences of people throughout the region. His songs achieve the type of social and political engagement desired by *nueva canci n* and *nueva trova* artists. While Buarque’s repertoire, travels and statements reveal a closer connection to the musical experience of Cuba and the *nueva trovador* Silvio Rodr guez, his music speaks to the people and artists throughout Latin America. For instance, Mercedes Sosa, often celebrated as the “voice” of the Latin American

¹⁶ Eduardo Peralta, Personal interview, Santiago de Chile, 20 July 2005.

¹⁷ Daniel Viglietti translated all of the compositions on this album to Spanish, with the exceptions of: “Te amo” (“Eu te amo”) with Tom Jobim and “Querido amigo” (“Meu caro amigo”) with Francis Hime.

¹⁸ Charles A. Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB 1965-1985* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1989), 5.

¹⁹ For a more detailed analysis of the lyrical and musical aspects of Buarque’s works, please see Perrone, op. cit., and Ad lia Bezerra de Meneses, *Desenho m gico: Poseia e pol tica em Chico Buarque*. 3rd ed. (S o Paulo: Ateli  Editora, 2002 (1st ed. 1982)).

²⁰ Perrone, op. cit, 34-35.

protest song in the 1970s and 1980s, praised Buarque in a 1976 interview with the Brazilian magazine *Movimento*: “Um homem que eu admiro, que tem essa honradez no trabalho, e que apesar dos problemas que enfrenta, em cada canção converte a pensar muito no seu povo é Chico Buarque de Hollanda.”²¹ This respect for Buarque extends throughout the region.²²

While Buarque holds the distinction of being the most recognized MPB figure in Spanish America, Milton Nascimento is perhaps the most “Latin American” of the MPB artists. Given the range of his musical influences including jazz, pop, rock, classical music, the traditional Baroque music of Minas Gerais and bossa nova, it is impossible to narrowly define Nascimento and his musical range. To simply call him the most “Latin” of the Brazilian musicians would be to negate the complexities of his compositions, the talent of his voice and the extent of his musical repertoire. However, for a period during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Nascimento actively explored the Spanish American aspects of his music. Referring to geographical similarities and musical points of comparison between Minas Gerais and the Andean nations, specifically the frequency of popular rhythms in 3/4 or 6/8 time in both places, Nascimento has described his home state as “the most Latin American place in Brazil.”²³ In another interview, he further explained this “Latinness” of Minas: “Sempre falo que Minas está muito ligada a esta transação toda. Quem foi a Diamantina pode notar que o ar de Minas tem mais a ver com a América Latina toda, então minhas coisas têm esta latinidade. Isto apesar de eu não ter tanta informações sobre a cultura latino-americana porque não chega muita coisa aqui. Então as coisas saem mais por sair, e eu acho ótimo isso.”²⁴ Nascimento’s music contained a Latin American quality naturally, a trait noticed by critics and recognized by the artist in the 1970s.

During this decade, Nascimento furthered his Latin American ties by traveling throughout the region to research its music and by performing with Argentines Mercedes Sosa, Leon Gieco and Charly Garcia and the Chilean ensemble Grupo Água. The musical exchange between Sosa and Nascimento emerged from mutual respect with Nascimento praising Sosa as “o porta-voz de toda a cultura do povo latino-americano.”²⁵ Their partnership resulted in recordings and performances, such as the duet of Violeta Parra’s “Volver a los 17” on his album *Geraes*. When describing his collaboration with Água, Nascimento emphasized the commonalities with Chileans and other Spanish Americans: “A gente ficou se conhecendo e acabamos descobrindo que temos em comum o pé na estrada, o ideal, a preocupação com tudo essa musica. Nós todos somos índios, temos o mesmo grito, a forme se entende no olhar a essa muralha que construíram, separando o Brasil do

²¹ Gilberto Galvão, “Cultura: O Canto do Continente” *Movimento* 75 (6 nov. 1976),

²² This respect for Buarque is especially prominent in Cuba. Rodríguez, for instance, recognizes the elements of Latin American solidarity in Buarque’s music in an interview published in Víctor Casaus and Luis Rogelio Noguera, *Silvio: Que levante la mano la guitarra* (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984), 209.

²³ Perrone, op. cit., 150, citing a January 1982 interview with Rede Globo.

²⁴ Marganda Autran, “Milton Nascimento” *O Globo* 16 Sept 1976. More recently, Caetano Veloso has contradicted this supposed “Latinness” of Minas Gerais, describing Minas as the most Brazilian state in the country in the 1997 documentary about Milton Nascimento. Perhaps, this discrepancy between Nascimento’s earlier comments and Veloso’s remark is an indication that the more universal can be found in the most local and particular of places or things. Lula Buarque de Hollanda and Caroline Jabor, dir, *Milton Nascimento – A sede do peixe* (Brazil: Warner Music, 1997. DVD. Brazil: EMI, 2004).

²⁵ Emilia Silveira, “Milton Nascimento: Um disco, um acontecimento, uma história de paixões gerais” *Jornal do Brasil* 20 Dec. 1976.

resto do continente, é uma coisa horrorosa. Vergonha para nós, que praticamente dividimos a América do Sul em ‘os de lá’ e ‘os de cá’.”²⁶

Nascimento continued to stress Latin American solidarity through his actions, his musical production and his words. After learning more about Spanish American music, he recorded covers of *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* classics, like Violeta Parra’s “Casamiento de Negros”, Pablo Milanés’s “Canción por la unidad latino-americana” (with Chico Buarque) and Silvio Rodríguez’s “Sueño con Serpientes”. Guilherme de Alencar Pinto viewed this venture into the realm of Spanish American song with a more critical eye, explaining how the folkloric Andean and northern Argentine musical gestures became associated with the resistance of the left throughout Brazil in the 1970s. Pinto notes that this trend

estuvo siempre vinculada en Brasil a una “vuelta a”: ponchos, instrumentos artesanales, indigenismo, valorización *hippie* de lo rural y comunitario. La figura más representativa de esa adhesión fue Milton Nascimento, quien, debido a la censura, usó de manera especialmente creativa esas connotaciones para hacer canciones políticas con textos herméticos o directamente sin texto. Pero todo eso pasó a ser inmediatamente “brasileño”, y nunca dejó de vincularse a una indefinida utopía preindustrial.²⁷

According to Pinto’s analysis, Spanish American *nueva canción* as performed and imagined in Brazil implied a return to an idealized representation of a simpler, rural past or the folkloric imagination of a pre-industrial utopia. This Brazilian version of the *nueva canción* ignored the more complex musical and lyrical elements of the *nueva canción* in the songs of Viglietti and others, instead falling into stereotypical use of *charangos* and *quenás* to symbolize indigenous people and forms of resistance.²⁸

However, Nascimento’s continental outlook extended beyond his occasionally stereotypical renditions of *nueva canción* standards to his own compositions, including 1970’s “Canto Latino” and 1971’s “Os Povos”. This Pan American tendency is perhaps best represented by 1972’s “San Vicente.” In his detailed analysis of this piece, Charles Perrone notes that the song begins slowly, with guitar breaks and accompaniment that bring to mind the Chilean *tonada*. Later, the piece incorporates a triad line typical of the Paraguayan *guarania*, another popular rhythm. The key phrase “coração americano” repeats throughout the song, with lyrical elements contributing to the Latin American traits of the composition.²⁹

More so than the protest singer Vandr e or the famous Brazilian artist-intellectual of Chico Buarque, Milton Nascimento embraces Latin American identity and culture, recognizing the place for these “latino” elements in Brazilian culture because, as he once mentioned, Brazil is a part of Latin America and it is wrong for people to separate Brazil from the rest of the Americas.³⁰ Nascimento recognizes the Bolivarian ideal of a unified Latin American identity and culture, while not denying his uniquely Brazilian and *mineiro* identities. In his musical creations and also his life, Nascimento merges a polyglot of identities, influences and experiences, revealing the complexities of discussing

²⁶ Isa Cambar a, “Milton: Todos somos  ndios, temos o mesmo grito.” *Folha de S o Paulo* 18 Dec. 1976, 25.

²⁷ Pinto, op. cit., 3.

²⁸ Ernesto Donas, “Problematizando la canci n popular...” *Anais do V Congresso Latinoamericano da IASPM-LA*, Rio de Janeiro, 2004.

²⁹ Perrone, op. cit, 151-152.

³⁰ *Horizontes USA* 6 (Apr-May 1978). Milton stated, “Eu acho que tem a ver, porque o Brasil fez parte da Am rica Latina, acho errado o pessoal separar o Brasil do resto da Am rica.”

the Spanish American traits in Brazilian music. MPB and *nueva canción* both emerged not as genres, per se, yet as umbrella terms to categorize and market music created in specific geographic regions during a particular time period. This era was marked by political and social transformations, years of upheaval that often provoked cultural responses of resistance and engagement to the specific challenges facing the nation and its people. Thus, the forms of music developing in Brazil and in the surrounding Southern Cone countries were unique to the context of each nation, yet parallel due to the overarching similarities of the regional political, social and economic situation. During years of greater repression, the need for solidarity beyond national borders expanded, a desire perhaps best illustrated by the increased musical dialogue between Brazilians, Chileans, Argentines, Uruguayans and Cubans during the mid 1970s to early 1980s.