

CHAPTER 8

JORGE MAUTNER AND COUNTERCULTURAL UTOPIA IN BRAZIL

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WHEN GILBERTO GIL, THE FORMER BRAZILIAN MINISTER of Culture under the Lula government, appeared at the 2003 World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, he came with a dramatic message for this elite international community of statesmen, intellectuals, and financial barons: "Either the world becomes Brazilianized, or it will be Nazified."¹ It would be difficult to imagine a more dramatic claim for the moral value of a national project than Gil's statement, which posits a stark dichotomy between the promise of a harmonious "Brazilianized" world and one that devolves into fascism, ethnic strife, and genocide. Indeed, it would be hard to imagine a leader from any other country to make such a claim without causing a scandal or being dismissed as a patriotic crank. Other possible models come to mind for ethnically diverse democratic nations that have managed peaceful internal and external relations, but it seems unlikely that we will see any time soon similar exhortations for the world to be "Canadianized," or "Zambianized."

Gil's claim was even more remarkable given Brazil's notorious social inequality, its high levels of violence, and recent critiques of its race relations from both academics and activists. As one of Brazil's leading singers/songwriters of the last four decades, Gil himself made powerful forays into social critique, including denunciations of racial exclusion. Yet, as his statement in Davos suggests, he has also tapped into a celebratory discourse on Brazilian culture and society that extends back to the first colonial encounter. Together with Gil, Caetano Veloso was the leading voice of *Tropicália*, a multifaceted cultural phenomenon that erupted in the late 1960s with particular force in popular music. *Tropicália* represented an exuberant moment of countercultural affirmation in the face of authoritarian repression, as well as a frequently caustic reflection on the impasses and failures of Brazilian modernity. In recent years, Veloso has explicitly sought to revive a

hopeful, even utopian vision for Brazil as a way to “compensate” for his participation in the creation of disenchantment during the late 1960s (*O Mundo* 46).

Gil was not the author of this memorable slogan that set up an imaginary dichotomy between Brazilian culture and Nazism. He was quoting Jorge Mautner, a writer/singer/songwriter/violinist who has collaborated with Gil and Veloso since the early 1970s but always remained on the margins of the Brazilian popular music scene. In his memoirs, Veloso referred to Mautner as a “precursor to tropicalism” owing to a substantial body of literary production from the early 1960s that presaged many of the themes developed by the tropicalists later in the decade (*Verdade* 449). Mautner’s work draws attention to nationalist dimensions of Tropicália, which have been largely interpreted as antinationalist critiques of Brazilian identity discourse. As the tropicalist movement exploded in the late 1960s, Mautner was living in New York, but connected with Gil and Veloso in 1970 while they were in exile in London. Soon after returning to Brazil in 1972, he established himself as a posttropicalist singer/songwriter. In the ensuing years, he also published several volumes of essays and poetry that positioned him as a spokesperson of the Brazilian counterculture. In 2002, his work was collected in a three-volume set, *Mitologia do Kaos* (Mythology of kaos [a play on the word chaos]), which featured a collection of song lyrics, interviews, newspaper clippings, and writings about Mautner going back to the 1960s.

I will focus here primarily on his essays from the 1970s but would like to first cite a more recent song from *Eu Não Peço Desculpas*, an album he recorded with Veloso in 2002. Mautner’s call to “Brazilianize” the world first appeared in the song “Urge Dracon”:

Either the world is Brazilianized
Or it will become Nazi
Jesus of Nazareth
And the drums of candomblé.²

In Mautner’s vision, the compassionate, pacifist teachings of Jesus and the trance-inducing drums of Afro-Brazilian religion must come together in an ecumenical approach to achieving peace among peoples and nations. “Urge Dracon” appeared as a coda to Veloso’s “O Namorado” (The boyfriend), a pop song about a fashionable girl from Rio’s Zona Sul (South Side) who has a handsomely muscled boyfriend. The refrain, however, reveals that “the boyfriend has a boyfriend,” a parodic homage to Carlinhos Brown’s 1996 song “A Namorada” (The girlfriend), which reverses the roles. The song draws attention to an ambiguous social and sexual milieu in which girls and boys maintain appearances with partners of the opposite sex while pursuing same-sex liaisons. By pairing “O Namorado” with “Urge Dracon,” Mautner celebrates contemporary Brazil as a place of religious plurality, racial mixture, and sexual freedom where guys and gals can have both boyfriends and girlfriends.

Throughout the West, the 1970s are often associated with a period of crisis and disillusionment as revolutionary political, social, and cultural movements were suppressed or otherwise defeated in the late 1960s. In Brazil, the sense

of disillusionment was particularly acute for democratic and progressive forces under a right-wing military regime that ruled from 1964 to 1985. The most draconian period began in late 1968, when hard-line forces within the military assumed control, suspended habeas corpus, dissolved congress, and launched a violent campaign against the civilian opposition and small groups of armed resistance. "The dream is over," as John Lennon intoned in "God" (1970), a statement about his personal disillusionment with the Beatles, which captured a more general sense of exhaustion and retreat from utopian projects. Two years later, upon returning to Brazil from exile in London, Gil would translate this theme for Brazilian youth, albeit in a more light-hearted and humorous vein: "The dream is over / whoever didn't sleep in a sleeping bag didn't even dream."³ Yet Gil's "O Sonho Acabou" was released in 1972 when countercultural energies were still ascendant among Brazilian youth. The political opposition had been crushed, but the hippie movement was in full swing, a vibrant alternative press was emerging, and artists from several fields were experimenting with new forms. There would still be many opportunities for Brazilian youth, mostly middle class, to hit the road and enjoy the unique comforts of a sleeping bag. In retrospect, Gil's song seems less like a requiem for a dream that had passed, as in Lennon's "God," than an inaugural gesture for something yet to come.

Countercultural utopianism emerged at a distinctly unhopeful (one might even say dystopian) moment in Brazilian history, as the military regime became increasingly repressive. Earlier revolutionary projects of national liberation, inspired by the Cuban Revolution, had by the early seventies been defeated. The utopia of the counterculture was a symptom of and response to this defeat that shifted focus from class struggle and anti-imperialist nationalism toward cultural practices. Mautner's multifaceted oeuvre provides unique insights into the Brazilian counterculture and its utopian articulations.

TRAJECTORIES

While Gil's and Veloso's artistic production and career trajectories are well known, Mautner's work as a novelist, poet, essayist, composer, and musician has been largely overlooked. For a left-wing artist of his generation, people who came of age just as Brazil was entering a twenty-year period of right-wing authoritarian rule, Mautner maintained an optimistic view of Brazil as a modern promised land. Much of this sentiment is related directly to his own existential condition as the child of European immigrants who found safety and prosperity in Brazil in the years leading up to the Second World War. Jorge Mautner was born in 1941 to an Austrian couple from Vienna who fled to Rio de Janeiro in the late 1930s. His mother, Anna, was a Catholic of Slavic origin, and his father, Paul, was Jewish.

As in all nations of the Americas that received Jewish immigrants and refugees, Brazil was a place of considerable anti-Semitism (Lesser 27–30). It appears, however, that Mautner's father, as a polyglot European with means and connections, thrived in his adopted homeland. Once in Brazil, Paul Mautner became a leading figure of the anti-Nazi campaign and even met with the president, Getúlio Vargas, to convince him to side with the allied powers, which he eventually did

in 1942. As Jorge remembers, "My father, of course, educated me with all of his might—poetically I might say that he was an avenger for the concentration camps, but it's true. So all of that love that he had for Brazil, he transmitted to me and I knew that if I hadn't been born in Brazil, I would have been reduced to ashes in a crematorium in a Nazi concentration camp."⁴ One of his earliest memories, related in the first chapter of his memoirs, is of attending a hero's parade in downtown Rio for Brazilian soldiers returning triumphantly from the war in 1945 (*O Filho do Holocausto* 16–17).

During his early years in Rio, Jorge Mautner was raised by an Afro-Brazilian nanny, Lúcia, a candomblé priestess who instilled in him an abiding interest in and passion for black culture (*Mitologia do Kaos* 2: 216–17). In the 1940s, Brazil was widely regarded as a racial and ethnic paradise, especially in light of genocidal fascism in Europe but also in relation to a segregated United States. Brazilian intellectuals, most notably Gilberto Freyre, set out to explain and theorize Brazil's unique Portuguese-speaking tropical civilization forged through biological and cultural fusion of European, African, and indigenous peoples. Foreign observers followed Freyre's lead in assessing Brazil as a model for race relations in the modern world. One of the earliest uses of the term *racial democracy* was by French anthropologist Roger Bastide who visited Freyre in Recife in 1944, when the contrast with Western Europe could not have been more evident (Guimarães 142–44). Mautner came from a family of European immigrants, not from landed gentry in northeastern Brazil. Yet his early childhood, profoundly influenced by his nanny, conforms to familiar stories of black-white transculturation most famously described by Freyre in his study *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*; 1933).

Like many artists of his generation, especially those associated with Tropicália, Mautner was deeply influenced by the work of Oswald de Andrade, author of the famous "Manifesto Antropófago" ("Cannibalist Manifesto"; 1928). The manifesto proposes an Americocentric reading of the Enlightenment by affirming the legacy of precolonial indigenous societies, particularly those of coastal Brazil, in the creation of basic human rights that were adopted by European thinkers against an autocratic idealized reading of these societies. Precolonial Brazil was a matriarchal utopia dominated by communal living and ritual cannibalism, whereas the Portuguese colonizers introduced a patriarchal Catholic society based on property rights, enslavement, and sexual repression. For Andrade, ritual cannibalism would provide a metaphor for creating and sustaining a modern national culture premised on the critical assimilation of foreign cultures that was neither imitative nor xenophobic. Forty years later, the tropicalists revived the metaphor to describe their own cultural project in terms of "devouring" international rock in order to produce something new.

Andrade's utopianism, while implicit in the manifesto, becomes explicit in his later writing. In his essay *A Marcha das Utopias* (The march of utopias; 1953), he argued that the colonization of the Americas made possible the very idea of a utopia based on the values and practices of indigenous societies: "Utopias are thus a consequence of the discovery of the New World and, above all, of the new man, of the different man found on the lands of America."⁵ In his later writing,

Andrade reevaluated the Portuguese Catholic colonial legacy of Brazil that he had previously denounced and ridiculed as inherently repressive in the "Manifesto Antropófago." Writing some twenty years later, however, he championed the Portuguese colonial project in Brazil as a bulwark against the Protestant capitalist rationality epitomized by the United States. For Andrade, the conservative Catholic order, which privileged stable hierarchy over market competition, was the very condition of possibility for the creation of a racially and culturally mixed society: "[W]e Brazilians, champions of racial and cultural mixing, are of the Counter-Reformation, even without God or worship. We are the Utopia made real, for better or worse, in the face of a mercenary and mechanic utilitarianism of the North."⁶ According to him, these cultural qualities would eventually lead Brazil to greatness on the world stage. Mautner would develop similar themes in his writings, while trying to reconcile the North-South split in order to propose a trans-American, hemispheric cultural project (Perrone 165).

BRIDGES OF ENERGY

When Mautner was seven, his parents divorced and his mother relocated to São Paulo with a new husband, a German musician who introduced Mautner to the violin, which would become his primary instrument. His father relocated to São Paulo and played an active role in his upbringing. By all accounts, his family education was cosmopolitan and erudite, as his mother, father, and stepfather exposed him to the long tradition of Western thought from classical Greek to contemporary European philosophy. In 1958, after a sudden epiphany, Mautner founded a short-lived anarchist-existential political party, the Partido do Kaos, using a "K" to distinguish it from *caos* (chaos). In 1962, he joined the Communist Party at the invitation of the nuclear physicist Mario Schenberg, but maintained an independent, heterodox position reflected in his writings. In the early 1960s, he established himself as a literary prodigy with a trilogy of novels based on the mythology of Kaos—*Deus da Chuva e da Morte* (God of rain and death; 1962), *Narciso em Tarde Cinza* (Narcissus in gray afternoon; 1965), and *O Vigarista Jorge* (Jorge the hustler; 1965). Following the military coup of 1964, he was detained and warned to be careful with his literary production. When his novel *O Vigarista Jorge* was cited in 1966 as a threat under the new Law of National Security, Mautner decided that it was time to leave the country.

Mautner moved to New York where he worked as a dishwasher, a waiter's assistant, and a typist in the United Nations. Judging from the song "Babylon," which he composed in English in New York, Mautner's exile was initially difficult: "The first time I came to Babylon / I felt so lonely / I felt so lonely and people came along / To mistreat me." "Babylon" was recorded by Gil in London in 1971. Mautner finally secured employment as the translator and personal secretary for the American poet Robert Lowell. During that time, he also befriended Paul Goodman, a key intellectual of the American counterculture, who introduced to him the pacifist philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (*Mitologia do Kaos* 2: 325). Living in New York, he witnessed the insurgent social and political upheaval of the late 1960s. In interacting with blacks, Puerto Ricans, hippies, university students,

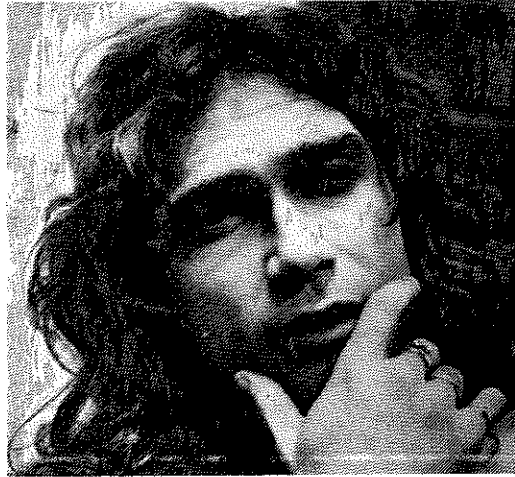


Figure 8.1 Photograph of Jorge Mautner by Alcyr Calvalcante. Published in *Correio da Manhã*, 1972. Courtesy of the Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

and gay activists, he formed an impression of the United States as a place of perpetual social conflict, like the image of a field constantly burned (*Mitologia do Kaos* 2: 326).

Mautner witnessed the latter-stage civil rights movement as it erupted into black power, protests against the Vietnam War, the emergence of the hippies, and the first demonstration of an organized gay liberation movement. He was living in the heart of the American counterculture, while his own country suffered under a crushing military regime that imposed social and political order. Writing in 1971 for *Flor do Mal* (Flower of evil), an early underground journal from Rio, Mautner mused about ways to revive Dionysus, the Greek god of wine associated with carnivals, ritualized ecstasy, and joyful liberation, by developing transcontinental connections between Brazil, the United States, and Africa. In his view, Brazil was like a mythical Orient, a fantastical place of cultural exuberance that was the other side of Babylon, a competitive capitalist jungle: "Bridges of energy and culture will be established between Brazil-Orient and New York-Babylon. With a dual bridge to Africa, from where the essence of the blues and *maracatu* came from."⁷ For all his interest in the Dionysian aspects of rock music, the hippie movement, and carnival, Mautner was an Apollonian figure. As Veloso has recalled, he abhorred the use of drugs and alcohol and eschewed the use of youth slang (Rasec 95).

Mautner moved back to Brazil in early 1972, soon after Veloso and Gil returned from their exile in London. By this time, the focus of his work had moved from literary fiction to popular music. He recorded his first LP *Para Iluminar a Cidade* (To illuminate the city; 1972), featuring album cover notes (entirely in lowercase typescript) by Caetano Veloso about their meeting in London and subsequent travels together in Europe: "[T]ropicalism came to an end and jorge mautner appeared in london with an umbrella. i liked him right away because he is an

incredible guy and also because he immediately began declaring good prophecies (and happily they have come to pass) . . . i became a fan of jorge mautner. his songs have the smell of creative freedom that I only find in jorge ben. in spain he kept talking about nietzsche and pre-socratic philosophers, talking about apollo and dionysus, reading sartre on the beaches of catalonia. We called him maestro.”⁸

Around this time, Mautner initiated a lifelong musical partnership with guitarist/composer Nelson Jacobina with whom he composed his most famous song “Maracatu Atômico” (Atomic *maracatu*; 1972), a musical and poetic affirmation of Afro-Diasporic music, in this case the maracatu from Pernambuco and its insertion into a modern global circuit, as per the final stanza:

The beak of a hummingbird kisses the flower,
 kisses the flower
 And all of the fauna cries with love
 He who holds the standard-bearer has
 art, has art
 And with verve goes by electronic
 atomic *maracatu*.⁹

Charles Perrone has drawn attention to the song’s juxtaposition and fusion of nature and technology, as well as of tradition and modernity, in a way that recalls the vanguardist poetics of Andrade and the pop innovations of Tropicália (171–74). “Maracatu Atômico” was recorded by Gil in the late 1970s with a new arrangement that would provide the foundation for a third iteration by Chico Science and Nação Zumbi, the leading group of the *mangue* beat movement of Recife in the 1990s. The Mautner-Jacobina composition would become, some 25 years after its original recording, a kind of song/manifesto for mangue beat, which fused maracatu with rock, funk, hip-hop, reggae, and other contemporary sounds of the contemporary Afro-Atlantic world.

THE WHITE NEGRO, BRAZILIAN STYLE

In the early 1970s, the northeastern state of Bahia became a kind of Mecca for the youth counterculture. Middle class, mostly white kids from the southern industrial cities flocked to the state capital, Salvador, and surrounding coastal towns, most famously Arembépe, a fishing village that became a meeting point of hippies (and occasionally rock stars like Janis Joplin and Mick Jagger) from all over the world. Together with Veloso and Gil, both natives of Bahia, Mautner spent the summer of 1972 in Salvador. During this period he continued to develop ideas about the counterculture, modern industrial society, and the future promise of Brazil. He was one of the first in Brazil to draw connections between black culture and the counterculture (often referred to as the “underground”) following his experiences with Afro-Bahian culture. Like many artists and intellectuals of his generation, Mautner conceived Afro-Bahian culture (and African cultures in general) as blissfully uninhibited and liberated, explaining in a March 1972 interview to the alternative magazine *Bondinho*: “It’s a tribal culture, it’s an instinctive

culture that hasn't been destroyed by the industrialized world."¹⁰ Mautner sought to elucidate connections between what he called *cultura underground* with the Afro-Diasporic culture that he encountered in Bahia much in the same way that European counterculture sought inspiration in Asian (especially Indian) culture and religion. Of course, much of this discourse is based on a kind of idealized fantasy of black culture as essentially "instinctive" or "Dionysian."

Mautner's musings on the vitality of Afro-Bahian culture remind us of the complexities of countercultural appropriations and celebrations of black culture in the Americas. In many ways they bring to mind the figure of the *white negro*, infamously analyzed by Norman Mailor in the late 1950s. The urban white hipster, according to Mailor, was an American existentialist in rebellion against stultifying conformity of postwar U.S. society (340). As a sign of this rebellion, the hipster adopted the outlook, attitudes, and styles of marginalized black men represented as antisocial, potentially dangerous, but also liberated from the constraints of "civilized life" (348). In embracing this black urban street culture, the white negro was purposefully cultivating his inner psychopath as a way to generate creative energy (344–46). In a similar fashion, Mautner, who has been described as a "*branco enegralhado*" (blackened white, in Junior 15), asserts the liberating power of black culture as a corrective to the disciplinary structures of modern industrial society.

In his first collection of essays, *Fragmentos de Sabonete* (Soap fragments; 1976), Mautner devotes considerable attention to the significance of Afro-Diasporic culture, particularly music, in the formation of an emergent counterculture, which he calls (using one of his many compound neologisms) "hippie-afro-american-renaissance of Indian America, miscegenated America, black America, America of rhythm and pop."¹¹ In the writings of both Mailor and Mautner, black culture is romanticized and essentialized, but accorded different civilizational valence. For Mailor, there is a kind of heroic pathology at work in urban black culture and its white appropriations; while for Mautner, Afro-Diasporic cultures provide the very foundations of a healthy, vibrant society. Modern black music, whether from Brazil, the United States, or elsewhere, was the supreme symbol of cultural vitality and power in the Americas: "We must not be afraid to affirm with great vigor the culture of the Americas, which opens triumphantly to the world: an affirmation of vitality, sound, rock, jazz, blues, sambas, *maracatus*, in sum the great and extremely healthy American negritude!"¹²

Mautner further developed these ideas in a second collection of essays, *Panfletos da Nova Era* (*Pamphlets of the new era*), published in 1980 at the outset of a period known as *abertura* (opening), as the regime began preparing to return to the democratic rule. New social and political movements were emerging as an alliance of industrial workers and intellectuals formed the Worker's Party under the charismatic leadership of the metalworker and union leader, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Afro-Brazilians, women, and gays began organizing to denounce authoritarian rule and press for civil rights. *Panfletos* is a document of this era, when a sense of optimism and hope was once again on the rise after a hiatus of nearly 15 years.

In this volume, he exalted the powers of black culture as "Dionysian, healthy, ironic, evolved to survive in the most hostile worlds, in the most oppressive situations, tempered by patience and stoicism."¹³ These were qualities, as Mautner suggests, that could help progressive forces overcome the dictatorship and provide a cultural and psychic foundation for redemocratization. He was an enthusiastic supporter of new Afro-Brazilian cultural expression, especially the Black Rio movement that adopted the music, styles, and to some extent political posture of the U.S. African American soul counterculture. For Freyre and other conservative critics of the time, Black Rio had generated racial tensions and divisions in Brazilian society. For Mautner, these emergent Afro-Brazilian cultural movements, connected as they were to U.S. African American movements and to a lesser extent liberation movements of the African continent, were an essential component for the democratic liberation of Brazil. Black culture would be the common denominator that would unify the country.

Despite his enthusiasm for contemporary expressions of black culture like soul music, Mautner's vision was in other ways Freyrean in its emphasis on mediation, transculturation, and *mestiçagem* (*miscegenation*). At a time when Brazil was regarded throughout the free world as a dictatorial state that violated human rights and repressed its citizens, Mautner was waxing utopian about its future: "In 1994, exactly two decades from now, Brazil will be entering its first stage of youth, providing a model to the world of a society so original, so diverse, and so endowed with a poetic-fantastic-playful-rhythmic-all-too-human soul (a mixture of white, Indian, and black, where else did this occur?) that it will be a point of reference for the rest of the world."¹⁴ Although Brazil was living under a military dictatorship, it was on the verge of a new democratic era rooted in its hybrid culture. His role as an artist was to channel the creative forces within this culture in order to maximize the human potential of the Brazilian nation: "[M]y entire work is at the service of the powerful, unique, brilliant, *mestiço* Brazilian culture that in its myths and archetypes is in full bloom . . . Huge responsibilities await us all Brazilians, for this time we will construct a nation of continental proportions with social democracy and an original Brazilian philosophy!"¹⁵

COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE?

While there were other artists of his generation that celebrated Brazilian popular culture, Mautner was the only one to develop a distinctly utopian narrative about Brazil and its future potential. In some ways, his vision for Brazil overlapped with the discourse of the regime, which also trumpeted the slogan of "Brasil Grande" (Great Brazil) to convince the population of the nation's growing economic and geopolitical power. In this light, Mautner's project may be understood as an attempt to appropriate the "Brasil Grande" discourse for progressive, social-democratic ends.

Mautner defined his project as a kind of radicalism of the center that was opposed to authoritarian rule but was also critical of sectors of the left that he considered socially conservative, masculinist, and antidemocratic. He regarded machismo as the root cause of political violence, denounced the treatment of

homosexuals under Castro's regime in Cuba, and suggested that the principal weakness of the armed resistance in Brazil was its reliance on a masculinist ideology (Pereira and Buarque de Hollanda 127). He argued that humans were innately bisexual and the repression of same-sex desire would only perpetuate more violence and strife in society (*Mitologia do Kaos* 2: 242).

Mautner's utopian faith in the regenerative, democratizing potential of racial and cultural mixture was coupled with a kind of technological positivism that imagined a postpolitical world where science and technology would replace ideology. He went so far as to prophesize that antagonisms between the left and the right would be overcome by computer technology (*Mitologia do Kaos* 2: 231). He also made some bold predictions about the future of energy production, which in hindsight have proven to be sadly off the mark. He believed that the world was on the verge of developing new technologies that would put an end to oil dependency, which in turn would put an end to modern warfare: "These are happy times, for in less than thirty years, classical warfare and the supremacy of petroleum will be extinct and humans of planet earth will be riding on top of four new sources of energy: 1) solar energy; 2) tidal energy from the ocean; 3) laser rays; 4) gravitational energy that will be harnessed at the beginning of the next century."¹⁶ He obviously overestimated the slow pace of technological advance and the lack of political will (especially in the United States) to transition from a petroleum-based economy to one based on alternative renewable energy sources. He imagined Brazil as a vanguard in renewable energy, predicting that the country would be filled with hydroelectric plants by the end of the twentieth century. What he didn't consider, however, was the environmental and cultural impact of hydroelectric dams, which in many cases destroy the forest habitat of indigenous peoples in the Amazon Basin. Nor could he have imagined the recent enthusiasm over presalt deepwater drilling off the Brazilian coast, which appears to ensure the predominance of an oil-based economy in Brazil for years to come.

In retrospect, *Fragmentos de Sabonete* and *Panfletos da Nova Era* seem overly optimistic and at times even naïve about the prospects for Brazil's future in the 1970s. Mautner clearly overestimated the power of technology to create energy solutions and mediate political conflicts. He also exaggerated Brazil's potential for mediating internal social and political conflicts that would serve as a model to the rest of the world. Yet these essays provide us with a remarkable document of utopian thought for a popular audience. Mautner was not read by philosophers or literary critics. He was read by young Brazilians with countercultural sensibilities who not only opposed the military regime but were also disillusioned with the traditional Brazilian left. They were impressionistic sketches of what Brazil could look like in twenty or thirty years once it was liberated from authoritarian rule: "We are social-democrat-universalist-nationalist-electronic-sweet-anthropophagic-ecological-pacifists with swing and *axé* of the new era of the world, for which Brazil will be one of its principal Meccas and vectors in the twenty-first century."¹⁷

"Brazil is the country of the future and will always be"; so goes the well-known joke about Brazil's extraordinary potential that is forever unrealized due to political and social failures. Thirty years since Mautner published *Panfletos da Nova Era*,

Brazil returned to democratic rule, its economy grew into one of the world's largest, and it began to assert greater influence in the international sphere. The election of Lula in 2003 and the extraordinary growth of the Brazilian economy coupled with modest advances in alleviating poverty have produced a palpable sense of optimism in Brazil, leading some to believe that the future has, in fact, arrived. Mautner regarded Lula's election as a sign of Brazil's evolving role as a world leader: "Brazil has today the first president in world history that embodies the American democratic project, who is a world leader, a *mestiço* genius from Guaranhuns (Pernambuco)."¹⁸ Lula left office with 90 percent approval rating, having lifted some twenty million Brazilians out of poverty and put the country on track to becoming the fifth largest economy in the world by 2016, when Rio de Janeiro becomes the first South American nation to host the Olympics (Philips, "Lula era"). The election of Lula's former chief of staff, Dilma Rousseff, further bolstered a sense of optimism and promise for the future. A former guerilla who was imprisoned and tortured by the military regime in the early 1970s, Rousseff became Brazil's first female president on the first day of 2011, vowing to continue Lula's policies of economic growth, income redistribution, and vigorous internationalism.

Brazil continues to be one of the most unequal countries in the world and suffers from extremely high levels of urban violence. The utopian vision that Mautner prophesized in the late 1970s, informed by the international counter-culture, obviously did not come to fruition. If it had, after all, it wouldn't be a *u-topia*, literally *no place*. Yet his intellectual and artistic project affirmed one of the central values of utopian thought: the ability to imagine a place of human liberation and peaceful coexistence in contexts of political repression, social inequality, and warfare. He imagined not only a place of social justice but also one free of sexual repression, racial and gender hierarchies, and ecological depredation. Mautner's call to "Brazilianize" the world is premised on a utopian vision for his own nation that could be followed by others. For that to happen, it is necessary to first "Brazilianize" Brazil, so that the country might create a society that resembles these utopian ideals.

NOTES

1. "Ou o mundo se brasilifica ou vira nazista" ("Ou o mundo se brasilifica ou vira nazista." Interview with Jorge Mautner and Nelson Jacobina). All translations are by the author, unless a published translation is indicated.
2. "Ou o mundo se brasilifica / Ou vira nazista / Jesus de Nazaré / E os tambores do candomblé."
3. "O sonho acabou / quem não dormiu no *sleeping bag* nem sequer sonhou."
4. "Meu pai me educou, claro, com todas as forças para eu ser—eu digo assim poeticamente—o vingador dos campos de concentração, mas é verdade; então todo o amor ao Brasil que ele tinha, ele transmitiu a mim e eu sabia que, se eu não tivesse nascido no Brasil, eu seria cinza de forno crematório de campo de concentração nazista" ("Ou o mundo se brasilifica ou vira nazista." Interview with Jorge Mautner and Nelson Jacobina).
5. "As Utopias são, portanto, uma consequência da descoberta do Novo Mundo e sobretudo da descoberta do novo homem, do homem diferente encontrado nas terras da América" (Andrade 163).

6. "Nós brasileiros, campeões da miscigenação tanto da raça como da cultura, somos a Contra-Reforma, mesmo sem Deus ou culto. Somos a Utopia realizada, bem ou mal, em face do utilitarismo mercenário e mecânico do Norte" (166).
7. "Pontes de energia e pontes culturais serão estabelecidas entre o Brasil-Oriente, e Nova York-Babilônia. Com uma ponte dupla para a África daonde partiu a essência dos blues e maracatus" ("Para que Dionisius ressuscite . . ." 5).
8. "acabou-se o tropicalismo, em Londres, apareceu Jorge Mautner com um guarda-chuva. gostei logo dele porque ele é uma figura incrível e também porque foi logo me fazendo profecias muito boas (e que felizmente deram certo) . . . fiquei fã de Jorge Mautner. suas canções têm um cheiro de liberdade criadora que eu só encontrara em Jorge Ben. na Espanha ele ficava falando em Nietzsche e nos filósofos pré-socráticos, falando em Apolo e Dionisius, lendo Sartre nas praias de Catalunha. a gente chamava ele de mestre."
9. "O bico do beija-flor beija a flor, / beija a flor / E toda a fauna aflora grita de amor / Quem segura o porta-estandarte tem / arte, tem arte / E aqui passa com raça eletrônico / maracatu atômico."
10. "É uma cultura tribal, é uma cultura instintiva, mas ela não foi destruída pelo mundo industrial" (qtd. in Cohn 29).
11. English translation of "hippie-afro-renascentista-americana da América Índia, da América da miscigenação, da América negra, da América do ritmo e do pop" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 180).
12. "Não devemos ter medo de afirmar, com toda a pujança, a cultura das Américas, que se abre triunfante para o mundo todo: afirmação de vitalismo, som, rock, jazz, blues, sambas, maracatus, enfim a grande e saudabilíssima negritude americana!" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 180).
13. English translation of "dionisiaca, saudável, irônica, treinada para sobreviver nos mundos mais hostis, nas situações mais opressoras, temperada com a paciência e o estoicismo" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 309).
14. "Em 1994, exatamente daqui a 2 décadas, o Brasil estará nascendo para a sua primeira Juventude, dando ao mundo um modelo de sociedade tão original, tão diversificada e tão dotada de alma poético-fantasiada-brincalhona-ritmica-humana demasiadamente humana (mescla de branco, índio, e negro, aonde mais teve isso?) que será como o lugar de referência para o resto do mundo" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 232-33).
15. "[M]inha obra está toda a serviço da pujante e inédita e mestiça e genial imensa cultura brasileira que está em plena aurora de seus mitos e arquétipos . . . Imensas responsabilidades nos esperam desde já, por parte de todos os brasileiros, pois desta vez construiremos a nação-continente com social-democracia e filosofia original brasileira!" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 227).
16. "Felizes tempos, pois em menos de 30 anos, extintas estarão as guerras clássicas e a supremacia do petróleo, e o hominóide desse planeta-terra estará cavalgando no bojo de mais quatro novas fontes de energia: 1) a energia solar; 2) a das mares dos oceanos; 3) a do raio laser; 4) energia da gravidade a ser descoberta nos alvares do século vindouro" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 228).
17. "Nós somos social-democratas-universalistas-nacionalistas-eletrônicos-docemente-antropofágicos-ecológicos-pacifistas com swingue e axé da nova era do mundo, que tem no Brasil uma de suas principais Mecas e vetores fundamentais do ser do século XXI" (*Mitologia do Kaos 2*: 242-43).
18. "O Brasil possui hoje o primeiro presidente na história do mundo que é a realização do projeto democrático americano, que é um líder mundial, um gênio mestiço de Guaranhuns" (qtd. in Cohn 163).

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