

PERFORMING POLITICS: MUSIC, REPRESENTATION, AND CONTROL IN CHILE

by

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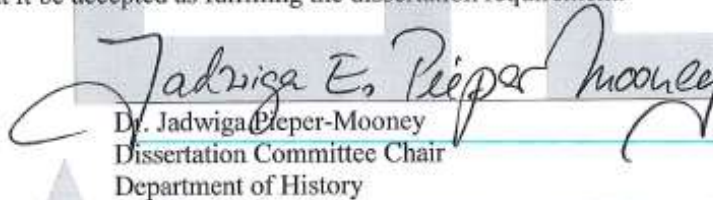
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## **Abstract**

In this study, I explore the politics of musical performance and memory from the 1960s to the third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century. I argue that musical performances in Chile fulfilled three basic functions: to protest the political status quo, to commemorate events of the past, and to imagine new possibilities for political change. In addition, I seek to show that politicized music in Chile also reflects changing visions of community, the relationship between individuals and the state, and belonging in the Chilean polity.

I employ a dual analytical framework that combines historical and musicological analysis to focus on the relationship between the politics of musical performances and changes to Chilean politics writ large, each in context of the other. Historical analysis provides perspective on the relationship between musical performances and mechanisms of resistance, negotiation, and control. Through musicology, I analyze structural factors such as melody, rhythm, and instrumentation which enhanced the usefulness of music to these processes. By combining historical and musicological analysis, I reveal the place of musical works as valuable documents at the intersection of political and cultural history, and I argue that musical performances reveal changes in the meaning of community and Chileanness in a rapidly changing country.

## Introduction

### Music, Performance and Political Representation in Chile from the 1960s to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

In 1970, Sergio Ortega and Claudio Iturra wrote the song “*Venceremos*” (We Shall Overcome) as the final selection on the album *Canto Al Programa* (A Song to the Program), in which the band *Inti-Illimani* musically summarized the electoral platform of Chile’s Popular Unity parties. The first musical performance of a political platform in Chile, “*Venceremos*” conveyed discipline, patriotism and optimism about a democratic socialist future. The theme of discipline appeared even before the lyrics, as “*Venceremos*” featured the standard tempo for marches, 120 beats per minute. Similarities to other marches notwithstanding, “*Venceremos*” also differed from most marches of the day in Chile. This march came from the political left; its lyrics promised an inexorable, revolutionary, and inclusive future:

From the deep crucible of the fatherland  
the clamor of the people rises up,  
the new dawn announces itself  
all Chile begins to sing.

Remembering the valiant soldier,  
whose example made him immortal,  
let us face death first,  
to betray the fatherland, never.

We shall overcome, we shall overcome,  
a thousand chains will have to be broken,  
we shall overcome, we shall overcome,  
we will know how to overcome misery.

We shall overcome, we shall overcome,  
a thousand chains will have to be broken,  
We shall overcome, we shall overcome,  
we will know how to overcome fascism.

Peasants, soldiers, miners  
the woman of the fatherland as well,  
students, domestics, laborers,  
we will accomplish our duty.

We will plant the lands with glory  
the future will be socialist,



all together we shall make history  
to accomplish, to accomplish, to accomplish.<sup>i</sup>

The lyrics to “*Venceremos*” elucidate the promise and idealism that defined the early Popular Unity era, while also revealing how the very heart of the movement excluded others. The first verse of lyrics speaks to the deep need for change in Chile as the 1970s dawned. References to the “crucible of the fatherland” suggest that the entire country was the theater of political operations, and those operations were brewing in a vast melting pot of Chilean society. Next, the musicians who performed it, the publics who listened to records and attended performances, and many Chilean politicians considered music to be a key ingredient in this political brew. “All Chile begins to sing” suggests that this upswell of musical expression is as natural as the “deep crucible of the fatherland” boiling over.

Yet, references to specific groups of Chileans show that although the song claimed to be dedicated to all Chileans, it was mostly intended for poor and disenfranchised groups. Politicians, judges and police were conspicuous by their absence, for instance. While soldiers were mentioned, they were only praised in death, and although their bravery in service was to be emulated, if necessary, they appeared as a separate group from other groups like miners, peasants and women. “*Venceremos*” expressed optimism, confidence, and the inevitability of victory but it also revealed fissures in Chilean society at the very birth of Popular Unity’s political and cultural life; these fissures would only exacerbate with time.

The future imagined in “*Venceremos*” did not materialize. While Popular Unity won the presidential election in 1970, economic boycotts by wealthy Chileans and the United States, and increasingly well-attended protests over rationing severely weakened Popular Unity by 1973. On September 11, 1973, a bloody military coup ended the government of President Salvador Allende and terminated Chile’s republican government. Despite this dramatic and unfavorable turn of political events, “*Venceremos*” remained politically relevant. Through its combination of confident lyrics and a disciplined musical structure, the song still conveyed hope for an imagined socialist future. *Inti-Ilumani Inti-Ilumani*, the song’s creators, performed the song at nearly every show during their nearly fifteen-year exile from Chile, as did many of the other bands which at one time or another were forced to play abroad, and the song became an international socialist anthem.<sup>ii</sup>

In subsequent decades, musical performances remained integral to political developments and contestations. In seventeen years of authoritarianism under General Augusto Pinochet, musical performances – including “*Venceremos*” – often led to incarceration or execution of the

performers or listeners.<sup>iii</sup> The same song which once asked Chilean voters to bring Popular Unity into being was now weaponized against Popular Unity supporters, as the authoritarian state attempted to “clean up” Chilean society by removing socialist influence.<sup>iv</sup> Even at the height of repression, however, performers remained involved in politics. Many, particularly performers who felt excluded by Popular Unity’s socialist model, proudly supported the new authoritarian state.<sup>v</sup> Others resisted authoritarianism, either through exile or at home.<sup>vi</sup>

In this study, I explore the politics of musical performance and memory— starting in the 1960s with Christian Democrats (1964-70), democratic socialists (1970-73) and then the authoritarian government (1973-89). I conclude with political aspects of performance and memory in the 1990s and the 21<sup>st</sup>-century. I show that musical performances in Chile fulfilled three basic functions: to protest the political status quo, to commemorate events of the past, and to imagine new possibilities for political change. I use musical performances and musicians’ statements on political affairs, together with historical and musical evidence, and connect the historical changes to technical and structural aspects of the music through musicological analysis.

The connections I make between history and musicology allow me to focus on the relationship between the politics of musical performances and changes to Chilean politics writ large, each in context of the other. Historical analysis provides perspective on the relationship between musical performances and mechanisms of resistance, negotiation, and control. Through musicology, I analyze structural factors such as melody, rhythm, and instrumentation which enhanced the usefulness of music to these processes. A combined framing through history and musicology explores musical performances as political acts, and addresses political events through lyrical and sonic choices made by performers – like *Inti-Ilumani* and “*Venceremos*” to accentuate the political relevance of their work.

### **Performance, Protest, Commemoration, and Imagination: A Case Study.**

The original performance of “*Venceremos*” imagined a new, socialist community. Protest is a clear theme in the original work, despite being only implied and not expressly stated. For a new type of community to be imagined, songwriters looked for flaws in old political arrangements. The imagination of change and protest went hand in hand.

Performances of “*Venceremos*” shifted dramatically with political changes, suggesting radically different intentions on performers’ part and fluctuating degrees of censorship. This shift in tone and presentation was most evident in the striking difference between the celebratory tone

of the 1970s in contrast to the largely successful effort to silence the song through violent means during the authoritarian period. Authoritarianism ended in 1988 through a democratic plebiscite, and the state gradually dismantled the most visible signs of military censorship in the 1990s and 2000s. Although the return to democracy would suggest a complete musical freedom at first glance, the reality for performers of “*Venceremos*” proved more complex, revealing continuities between authoritarian and electoral democratic politics.

The first recorded, public performance of “*Venceremos*” under the new democracy suggests continuities between the authoritarian and democratic eras of Chilean life. In 1997, musicians performed “*Venceremos*” for the first time in the new democracy, as part of Patricio Guzmán’s documentary film *Chile, la memoria obstinada* (Chile: Obstinate Memory).<sup>vii</sup> *La memoria obstinada* is the sequel to Guzmán’s seminal documentary *La batalla de Chile* (The Battle of Chile), which chronicles the rise and fall of Popular Unity and the atrocities of the military coup; *la memoria obstinada*, for its part, documents the subjectivities of memory and change over time.<sup>viii</sup> *La memoria obstinada* shows a public performance of “*Venceremos*” by musicians who play as a “marching band” in downtown Santiago, attracting attention that ranges from outright acknowledgement and appreciation to careful glimpses. The band performs without words, at a slightly slower *tempo* than the original recording. Even so, one of the melodic instruments, the *zampoña* (an Andean reed pipe often played by leftists during the 1960s and 70s) evokes the possibilities of Popular Unity and the sufferings of the authoritarian period. The slower tempo lends the 1997 version a wordless gravitas that invites listeners to commemorate the violence of authoritarianism and the abridged hopes for Popular Unity. More than that, this performance invites a specific, layered sort of commemoration; the wordless nature of the 1997 version acknowledges the historical existence of censorship, the very apparatus which legalized the repression of “*Venceremos*,” and whose abolition allowed for the performance, wordless or otherwise, of “*Venceremos*” under electoral democracy.

### **Why Music? Music, Community, and Political Change.**

Chilean political music provided me with my first incentive to focus on music and its unique propensities to act politically, as opposed to other art forms. Scholars have made useful connections between music and social movement activism, which inspired new questions for my work. What makes musical performance political? What is the role of music in politics, and is music a form of political action in and of itself?<sup>ix</sup>

In Chile, I found evidence of the physical and emotional qualities of musical performances that scholars have identified in non-Chilean settings. Music's combination of physical accessibility and emotional depth is key to its ability to reach individuals and groups, an ease of access and depth of feeling that it retains irrespective of the listening audience or the format in which listeners take it in. In separate works, Thomas Turino and Mark Mattern point out that there is not necessarily any relationship between the size of the group performing a musical work and the size of the group experiencing that performance. There might be a listening public of one, on a CD player or a smart phone, but that very same performance could also potentially be witnessed by extremely large groups of people. Additionally, in any situation where the audience is larger than a single individual, listeners experience the performance both individually and collectively at the same time.<sup>x</sup>

Experiences like the campaign rallies at which "*Venceremos featured*", *events which often gathered tens of thousands of people*, show that music is more easily accessed by large groups than any other form of cultural expression. In public or communal settings, the individual experience of any given piece of music is inseparable from the communal experience of the work. The simultaneously individual and collective nature of musical experience means that music is uniquely able to transmit messages to large groups, often in extremely short spaces of time. Moreover, the sheer number of formats in which listeners or dancers can experience music makes it more accessible than other art forms.<sup>xi</sup> Indeed, the ubiquity of ways to perform, listen to, or otherwise experience music has led some scholars to use music as a verb, with the concept of "musicking" denoting the accessibility of music to all of the human senses and the equal importance of listeners and performers to the overall musical experience.<sup>xii</sup>

In this study, I explore how performers created and how publics perceived music in Chile between the 1960s and the third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. New technologies, reworkings of traditional performance practices, and diverse political arrangements during the period under study make Chilean music history an ideal window onto the country's political history; indeed, I argue that any analysis of Chilean political history which does not incorporate music will be unable to address the chronological beginnings of community organization, or the transmission of political values through those communities.

In Chile, as in the rest of the world, music can contribute to entirely new community formations. In his book *Acting in Concert*, the sociologist Mark Mattern situates music as a key

force in the creation of communities, and defines the purpose of community as the achieving of collective political action.<sup>xiii</sup> Mattern argues that music does political work through its unique performative and sensory characteristics, and the belief systems of the listening public -- expressed individually and collectively, music is able to speak politically and, possibly, cause change.<sup>xiv</sup> Since music is a social experience as well as an individual one, any given listener's reactions to a piece of music are fundamentally shaped by their place within community groups and their status within those groups; as such, music is uniquely suited to elucidating the social history of the communities it helps to create.<sup>xv</sup> The social experience of music and the role of music as a record of communal social history increases the political power of community members, which Mattern defines as the capacity to imagine or to enact political change; he coins the term "acting in concert," defined as the use of music to increase one's capacity to enact political change democratically while achieving the desired results.<sup>xvi</sup>

My focus on music seeks to contribute to explorations of how music brings about political change, and where music fits chronologically in political processes. Many scholars, particularly Mark Mattern and the sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, see music as largely reflective of political realities; music does not create objective political circumstances, but reflects existing realities in ways which permits change to happen.<sup>xvii</sup> According to this viewpoint, music is a constitutive part of certain political processes, but it gains political relevance only when electoral or representative institutions give musicians the necessary footing to speak their minds. Chronologically speaking, this means that music begins to do political work only when circumstances are propitious. Music reflects larger political realities, but cannot create them.

I am intrigued by the claims of those scholars who critique the idea that music is merely reflective of political realities or a constitutive but insufficient part of political action. In her work on the Chilean *nueva canción*, Patrice McSherry argues that music is a form of political action in itself. Music created political realities which did not exist before the music came into being, such as the election of Popular Unity in 1970 and the increasing polarization which dominated society immediately preceding the military coup.<sup>xviii</sup> The political musicologist John Street takes a global perspective and claims that music is directly political, since more than any other art form, music forges a relationship between the individual citizen, the configuration of individual and collective consciousness, and the citizen's political community.<sup>xix</sup> My evidence supports this claim regarding the political and constructive force of music. I argue that music played a creative role in Chile,

insofar as it brought community formations and objective political circumstances into being which may not have existed without the music; we see this particularly clearly in terms of the deep solidarity between Chilean and foreign musicians, and the uses of music by the “no” side (the anti-authoritarian campaign) in the plebiscite which returned electoral democracy to Chile in 1988.<sup>xx</sup>

Unlike much of the recent work on the relationship between music and politics, which emphasizes music’s role in democracies, my contribution to the subject deals with fundamentally undemocratic times. Much of my work focuses on the authoritarian period between 1973 and 1990, when Congress was in recess, political party activity was outlawed, and the state used music to bolster its legitimacy. I also study the democratic transition of the 1990s and 2000s, aptly called the “negotiated democracy” by opponents.<sup>xxi</sup> I argue that, like the decidedly limited degree of pluralism in terms of the performances tolerated under authoritarianism, continued violence against musicians and listening publics, and the constant presence of censorship in Chilean society speak to the fundamentally undemocratic nature of Chilean Redemocratization. This is all-the-more true in light of the deliberate erasure of the procedural and institutional residue of republican government.

Analyzing re-democratization, I found evidence of music as political action, rather than merely a reflection of political realities. In the early 1990s, musicians still encountered soft forms of censorship, and thus performed in clandestine or semi-clandestine conditions in the name of physical safety. This originated in the authoritarian era, when the state used music to convey popular legitimacy when democratic politics were deliberately absent. I thus show that aesthetic and particularly musical considerations became fundamental aspects of the meanings of Chileanness and the sorts of communities Chileans brought into being through their performances.

### **Performance, Protest, Commemoration, and Imagination: An Introduction to Chilean Historical Context.**

At the onset of this study in the 1960s, lyrics, tone, and the political engagement of performers politicized performances on a large scale for the first time in Chilean history. Violeta Parra, daughter of a family of proud communists, exemplified the new trend of politicized music and politically involved musicians. Parra’s 1964 song “*La carta*” (The Letter) spoke in favor of the redistribution of wealth and denounced police brutality.<sup>xxii</sup> Indeed, Parra inspired increasingly direct forms of political speech, and community-building as a result of that speech, through music

which would extend well beyond her own lifetime. Her legacy would inspire the *nueva canción chilena* genre shortly after her death in 1967.

Forceful claims to rights and equality in song dominated Chilean cultural discourse on politics during the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei (1964-70), and the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende (1970-3). Students of Violeta Parra came together to form *peñas* (listening clubs), communities which gave birth to the *nueva canción chilena* genre, which combined folkloric instruments and presentation styles with original lyrics on the struggles of everyday life.<sup>xxiii</sup> By claiming rights and equality through their music, *nueva canción* performers built communities of like-minded people through the *peña* circuit, and received economic support from the Communist Party of Chile and other leftist movements. Indeed, songs such as “*Venceremos*” ushered in Popular Unity, and placed the *nueva canción* genre at the height of its political power and expressive depth. For the first time in Chilean history, the poor, leftists, and lovers of peasant folklore had a musical style which expressed their views on traditional folkloric practice, united them into identifiable communities and most important, respected and shared their ideologies.

Musicians also performed under the authoritarian government which controlled the nation from September 1973 until March 1990. For some musicians, the authoritarian period was a time of freedom and joy. Musicians such as the orchestra conductor and choir master Vicente Biancci, and *Los Huasos Quincheros* (the longest-running folk group in Chilean history) performed exultations to the new government in the aftermath of the coup, and throughout authoritarian rule.<sup>xxiv</sup> Biancci’s song “*Chile, levántate y anda*” (Chile, Rise Up and Walk) was a semi-religious hymn of thanksgiving for the authoritarian coup, and *Los Huasos Quincheros* took international tours, paid for by the authoritarian government, where they burnished the state’s image in friendly countries.<sup>xxv</sup> Other performers resisted authoritarianism, both internally at home and externally from exile.<sup>xxvi</sup> The band ¡*Karaxú!* (Fuck Off!) funded armed resistance to the authoritarian government through their European performances, and *Los Prisioneros* (The Prisoners) were the first group in Latin America to use music videos to critique the government during the 1980s.<sup>xxvii</sup> As the musicologist Nancy Morris argued, these performances were often the only place anti-authoritarians could gather in community, making resisting performance key to anti-authoritarian political struggles within Chile.<sup>xxviii</sup> I argue that these performance spaces allowed dissidents to create safe spaces to imagine new forms of community, which would eventually grow up to resist

the authoritarian state politically. Performance during the authoritarian period reveals high degrees of political involvement among performers and publics and elucidates the limits and the opportunities of ideological pluralism in Chile under authoritarianism.

Musical performances decisively shaped Chilean politics as authoritarianism neared its end. This shaping of politics by performance was particularly evident during the 1988 plebiscite, in which Chileans voted the authoritarian state out of office in a polarized political and musical environment; not only were Chilean politics polarized, but both sides used music to express their ideologies. Indeed, the plebiscite represented the first free and fair election since March 1973. In this 1988 plebiscite, both the “yes” (pro-authoritarian) and “no” (anti-authoritarian) sides used music and performance to project their respective ideologies and visions of the future Chilean community. Whereas the “yes” campaign projected authoritarian nationalism and gratitude for the state’s emphasis on public order in its musical performances,<sup>xxix</sup> the “no” side projected an optimistic vision of a possible anti-authoritarian future.<sup>xxx</sup> In my analysis of these two performative realities, I argue that “yes” and “no” campaigns proposed fundamentally different visions of Chilean community and nation; musical and cultural performances generated solidarity and critiqued authoritarianism on the “no” side, and provided a basis for the state’s popular – as opposed to democratic -- legitimacy on the “yes” side.

The so-called democratic transition between 1990 and the early twenty-first century limited public performances of cultural production and consolidated media, but musicians still commemorated the victims of authoritarianism and demanded accountability for past violence through their performances. Punk groups such as *Fiskales Ad-Hok* (Ad Hoc Prosecutors) and *Los Peores de Chile* (Chile’s Worst) critiqued the Christian Democratic government of the 1990s for its incompetence, and singers such as Manuel García performed remembrances of authoritarian repression.<sup>xxxii</sup> In doing so, musicians of the democratic transition continued, and innovated upon, forms of critique later used during increasingly large protests during the 21<sup>st</sup>-century against Chile’s neoliberal and inequitable society.<sup>xxxii</sup>

I end this study with an analysis of musical performance and politics in the twenty-first century, when protestors used music and culture to denounce economic inequalities, police brutality, and the privatization of everyday Chilean life. Beginning in a wave of student protests in 2011, and culminating in the so-called *estallido social* (social eruption) of 2019 and 2020, musicians and their publics used online streaming to make their demands visible (and audible) on



an unprecedented scale, recalling the Popular Unity era in innovative ways.<sup>xxxiii</sup> These forms of protest reflected new ways that Chilean youth grouped together into urban tribes, collectives which associated with each other through their own unique symbols and traditions. They later combined symbols from diverse urban tribes in effective and unprecedented ways in performances of political critique.<sup>xxxiv</sup> The tradition of music as protest against the status quo, commemorations of joys and defeats, and imaginations of a better world to come carries through to the present-day with performances in support of a new constitution.<sup>xxxv</sup>

### **Methodology, Musicology and Historiography.**

My primary source materials include media reports from both pro-government and dissident sources, lyrics and sound recordings of songs, and references to musicians' works in their own words. My media sources consist of archived reports from the newspaper *El Mercurio de Chile*, radio documentaries, and dissident forms of video and audio. Through this combination of journalistic sources, I elucidate how musicians, journalists, and others covered performances and musical works in the media during the period under study. Published memoirs of *nueva canción* musicians and other references to musicians' works from the musicians themselves reveal how musicians saw their own performances, and how they wished to be portrayed. I have also relied on lyrics and sound recordings of performances, as well as other sonic forms of protest to draw conclusions about the relationship between performance and politics. The combination of archival, published printed records as well as sonic primary sources allows me to explore the performances and their historical context.

On location in Chile, I benefited from informal conversations with musicians, academics, community organizers, and everyday Chileans. Individual and collective inspiration through sounds, songs, and musical performances transcended boundaries of class, politics and gender, which helped to inspire analysis and research questions.

In two trips to Chile between September 2019 and April 2020, my field research was accompanied and at times disrupted by massive protests against a right-wing president and the neoliberal economic arrangements from the authoritarian era. The protests – and social upheaval – often included highly emotive musical performances on politics. The many layers of these musical expressions further inspired me to explore the connection between musical performance and political change. Most of all, they showed me that the musical, economic, and political legacies

of the authoritarian era remain, as do the unresolved contradictions of Chile's transition to electoral democracy.

Musicology, the study of structural and technical aspects of music-making, such as melody, harmony, rhythm, instrumentation and tonality, provided answers to questions on the politics of musical performance, and the relationship between performance and political change. Musicology inspires a reading of performance which focuses on performers' lyrical, instrumental, esthetic or sonic choices. These choices help musicians to contest, commemorate, or imagine politics and political change. I adopted a methodology inspired by musicologists Bernard Behague and Jennifer Post, who analyze the politics of musical categorization, to draft my own ideas on the intimate relations between the politics of musical categorization and political processes.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Discussions on the relative merits of "artistic" and "folkloric" musical performance show how scholars categorize music. Early twentieth century scholarship differentiated between musicology and the related field of ethnomusicology; musicology for the "artistic" European canon, and ethnomusicology for "folkloric" music. Scholars such as John Erskine, Bernard Behague, Thomas Turino, and Jennifer Post argue that this binary arrangement is both technically flawed and ideologically imperialist. Erskine exposed what he considered the technical flaws of the binary in the 1940s when he pointed out that musically and rhythmically speaking, the differences between art and folk are very slight when they exist at all; Behague and Post both framed this binary categorization as a form of imperialism, since "art" tends to be created by white Europeans and "folk" tends to be created by others.<sup>xxxvii</sup> In this critical light, even the categorization of music becomes a political act.

In the Chilean context, the debates about artistic and folkloric music help reveal the meanings of musical genres such as the *nueva canción* or the *cueca*, Chile's national dance. In 1969, the *Manifiesto del nuevo cancionero argentino* (Manifesto of the Argentine New Song) claimed artistic value of folkloric musical expressions and the revolutionary and liberating potential of musics originating from the peoples of Latin America; specifically, the Manifesto referred to "*las artes populares*" (popular arts), arguing that folkloric music could be an art form worthy of respect.<sup>xxxviii</sup> As Pablo Villa and Patrice McSherry argue in their respective texts, the *Manifiesto* inspired Chilean musicians during the 1960s and 70s, as they sought the same respect for folkloric music afforded to more "artistic" genres in their own variant of the *nueva canción*.<sup>xxxix</sup>

Far from an afterthought, debates about combining folkloric and artistic influences were very much in creators' minds, and staked out a political ideology as well as musical genre.

Under authoritarianism, debates continued over the artistic versus folkloric nature of the *cueca*, a folkloric musical style for which Chile is internationally known. In 1979, the authoritarian government declared the *cueca* Chile's national dance, enshrining it as a folkloric musical style as well as a national art form.<sup>xli</sup> This decision possessed politically conservative implications. The national (artistic) form originates from Chile's central valley, home of much of the country's agricultural production and agrarian elites; indeed, many of the first *cueca* recording artists were large landowners.<sup>xlii</sup> Well before the 1979 decree, however, other regional *cueca* variants were widely practiced but still remain unrecognized by the Chilean state well into the 21<sup>st</sup>-century.<sup>xliii</sup> During authoritarianism, Chilean women expressed themselves through regional *cuecas* and demonstrated the existence of political repression by *bailando sola*, dancing alone, with photographs of their missing family members.<sup>xliiii</sup> In this way, *bailando la cueca sola* used performance as a simultaneous protest and commemoration. Their use of performance also called for political change, and a vindication of the importance of folkloric and critical culture as opposed to artistic, hegemonic variants.

The musicologist Roberto Torres Blanco's work on *canción protesta* (protest song) inspired my thinking on the purposes of political music, and performers' intentionality regarding political change. Torres Blanco argues that protest song is commemorative and performative; characteristics such as the instrumentation or the dress of performers commemorate an idealized past, but performers also require an audience for the intended meaning of protest to be effective in the first place.<sup>xliv</sup> The "protest song" designation keeps commemoration and performance front and center in the mind. When one adds the music historian Malcom Boyd's work on imagination to the commemorative and performative aspects, the resulting combination presents a useful perspective for imagining possible futures.<sup>xlv</sup>

Boyd's work, focused on the French Revolution instead of twentieth century Chile, informs my own analysis of events, such as the 1988 Chilean plebiscite. Boyd argues that music provided an imagined, clandestine subtext due to state censorship. That is: in addition to the text of the musical score, the political situation into which the score was introduced provided a subtext that accompanied the score in the minds of observers. He demonstrates that the libretto of Gluck's opera *Iphigénie en Aulide* gained fame underground, because the character Agamemnon

referenced the absolutist king Louis XVIII of France.<sup>xlvi</sup> Reading the libretto called to mind an imagined performance, perhaps even more powerful than a real performance because no physical performance could legally have occurred.

Imagining possible anti-authoritarian futures ended Chilean authoritarianism by democratic vote in 1988. The scholars Steven Crofts Wiley and Jorge Olalla Mayor argue that imagining these possible, anti-authoritarian futures was key to the success of the “no” vote. The “no” theme song “*Chile, la alegría ya viene*” (Chile, Happiness is on the Way), and their slogan “*sin odio, sin violencia, sin miedo*” (Without hate, without violence, without fear) invited anti-authoritarians to imagine a better future, one that people could make real through voting.<sup>xlvii</sup> Communities which existed clandestinely or underground therefore operated in Chile, just as they did in revolutionary France. More than simply establishing new forms of community, these communities also created cultural hegemony in a Gramscian sense, as an alternative to violence and domination, the favorite tool of the authoritarian state.<sup>xlviii</sup> By helping Chileans to imagine better futures and create a polity and a democratic government based on those imaginaries, Chilean anti-authoritarians showed the power of their own growing cultural hegemony over the violence and fear of prior, authoritarian times.

The art/folk binary debate reflects a deep underlying assumption: tradition, and art for that matter, mean different things to different people, and the meaning of a concept such as tradition or art can change for the same individual depending on context. For this theorization, I employ the framework of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. In the introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm defines tradition as either a response to a novel situation which uses an older situation as a frame of reference, or a sequence of events which establishes its own past by semi-obligatory repetition.<sup>xlix</sup> People give meaning to traditions through processes of repetition and ritualization; traditions are not eternal and unchanging.<sup>l</sup> Moments of social upheaval, for example, may show that old traditions are no longer workable and new traditions are needed.<sup>li</sup> Eric Hobsbawm’s categorization of invented traditions is useful for analyzing change in Chile, thus paying attention to three types: (1); those establishing social cohesion or group membership; (2); those which establish social relations or chains of authority and command; and (3); traditions whose purpose is socialization, or the inculcation of values or behavior patterns.<sup>lii</sup> Historical experiences may to confer legitimacy on a given tradition, in order to give the illusion that the invented tradition is unchanging, when in fact it is constantly changing.<sup>liii</sup> By referring to history

when traditions are in fact born of present circumstances, and strained circumstances at that, tradition links past to present, impacts the future through repetition, and changes how individual people and groups imagine their own lives and their communities.

The concept of invented traditions is central to my understanding of politicized music in Chile between the mid-twentieth century and the 2020s. Violeta Parra and her family invented new music in response to the dominant forms of Chilean folklore. Nonetheless, the use of indigenous instruments and sounds, and the revival of colonial poetical techniques linked their new tradition to supposedly authentic practices of the Chilean and Latin American peasantry, thereby invoking history while packaging that history for a fundamentally changed present. The later tradition of *música típica chilena*, the term political conservatives used for their own often intensely nationalist folkloric practices, peaked during authoritarianism. During the early authoritarian period, the ties that bound Chilean society were strained by political polarization and different cultural currents which sprang up in response to those strains. This polarization and the cultural effervescence as a result suggest strong support for Hobsbawm and Ranger's theorization that traditions are often invented at periods of flux, when old social ties are no longer so convenient as they once were. Likewise, the women who danced the *cueca* alone recalled history and also responded to strained social ties, since their very presence as lone dancers made it clear that their male relatives—key parts of their personal histories—were absent. Closer to the time of writing, the combination of musical and political symbols from different urban tribes may one day be considered traditional if they prove to have historical staying power.

Walter Benjamin's work on the aestheticization of politics further informs my analysis of the period under study. In his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin depicts artistic reproduction tending inexorably toward fascism when produced under market economic imperatives.<sup>liv</sup> As the process of artistic production has become ever faster and easier, the speed-up causes the aura of any given work of art to wither away.<sup>lv</sup> Benjamin also theorizes on the use value of art, specifically the connection between art and ritual. The use value of a work of art lies in its occult significance. When the occult significance—the ritual value of a work of art fades, it is reduced to its value as an exhibition piece, so much so that the merits of a work of art become meaningless except in so far as the work of art is visible to, and observed by, the masses.<sup>lvi</sup>

The introduction of market economic theory into the process of artistic production fundamentally changes how artists produce art and how the public perceives it, further reducing the ritual significance of any given artwork. With the advent of capitalism, the artistic creator faces the market, and their work becomes a product on the market, a process which leads to the cult of personality in art; since the artist faces the market but that market is outside of their reach, the distinction between author and public loses its meaning. Since the artist cannot face the market as a person, they must do so as a personality.<sup>lvii</sup> When aesthetics and personality replace the ritual value of an artistic creation, the observer of a work of art becomes distracted, therefore becoming absorbed into the work of art, rather than absorbing it as the concentrated observer does. As a result, society tends, often incorrectly, to conflate the number of people who observe any given work of art with the quality of that work.<sup>lviii</sup> The same processes that result in aesthetics and exhibition value dominating artistic life also have reflections in political life, often at the same time as the artistic processes occur. The result of this domination of aesthetics over political life is the coming of fascism.<sup>lix</sup>

Benjamin's theorization of the increasing importance of aesthetics shapes my understanding of the relationship between performance and politics in Chile, particularly during the Popular Unity and authoritarian eras. In chapter one of this investigation, I argue that the creators of *nueva canción* preserved the connection between art and ritual, particularly past performances and the physical feel of the environments in which musicians performed *nueva canción* for their audiences. . Nevertheless, the intense polarization in Chilean society caused musical affinities to break across ideological lines, with leftists favoring the *nueva canción*, and rightists and some moderates despising it precisely because of its affiliations with the left. Though Chilean politics had not yet embraced fascism at this point, political ideologies began to reflect aesthetic preference. During authoritarianism, state and business interests collaborated to strengthen government control over the personal lives of citizens, inching closer to fascism in these two important respects.<sup>lx</sup> In two concurrent operations, *Operación limpieza* (Operation Cleanup) and *Operación corte de pelo* (Operation Haircut), the new government changed the physical aspects of city streets and the dress codes and hair styles of young Chileans to remove Marxist and counter-cultural influences from public life.<sup>lxi</sup> Some of these cleanup operations were performative in nature. Some Chileans willingly participated to remove murals, public art installations, and street names which made the Popular Unity famous. Others were forced to cut their hair or change

the way they dressed, to reflect the new authoritarian nationalist aesthetic in both public spaces and on individual bodies. In this way, the state disciplined public spaces and people into a politically conservative, nationalist aesthetic, and as Hobsbawm theorized, turned individual bodies and the spaces they inhabited into artistic, performative reflections of the authoritarian ideology. Just as the fascists who inspired Hobsbawm's reflections made art and aesthetics a symbol of political ideology, the Chilean state aestheticized Chilean politics to achieve its own partisan ends. Finally, in chapter four of this work, I analyze the importance of new technologies, and the combinations of symbols from different communities that led to the *estallido social* and proposed draft constitution of 2022. The importance of aesthetic symbols suggests artistic continuities between Chilean authoritarianism and the country's transition to democracy.

### **Chapter Overview.**

Chapter one, set between the 1960s and September 11, 1973, introduces debates over politicized musical expression and analyzes the impact of these expressions on politics and ideology, paying particular attention to parties and ideologies of the left. Beginning in the 1960s, *nueva canción* musicians experimented with folkloric instruments, as well as dress and poetic styles associated with the urban poor and especially with rural people.<sup>lxii</sup> They explicitly placed the *nueva canción* on equal footing with canonical tradition, and used this new musical legitimacy to call for increased rights and economic equality.<sup>lxiii</sup> Furthermore, they often repudiated "traditional" folkloric music of the mid-twentieth-century, viewing it as conservative and elitist.<sup>lxiv</sup> These musicians, often supported by leftist political parties, combined ideas about music and revolution, and how revolutionary music should be recorded, performed and marketed. After the election of president Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition, the state often censored music considered too bourgeois, or not Chilean enough.<sup>lxv</sup> This apparatus of censorship during Popular Unity at times affected politically conservative performers, but more often affected hippies and members of other counter-cultures which the state considered individualist or ideologically deviant. The 1960s emphasized musical and political debates on the meaning of concepts like freedom, equality and patriotism in Chile, debates which continue to the present moment.

I argue that the expanded political participation in the 1960s was linked to music with lyrics and public performances that critiqued the political present. Performers began to imagine a socialist future from below and worked to make that future reality. This argument brings several

nuances to discussion of music and politics under the Popular Unity. Most important, I read musical performances as political documents in their own right, just as valuable as the platforms of political parties or the statements of national leaders in terms of elucidating the relationship between cultural production and political history. Second, scholars and Popular Unity supporters generally depict Popular Unity as a time of joyful cultural expression, much of it involving thousands of people.<sup>lxvi</sup>

I show that the public, joyful performances by the left were, simultaneously, organized and politically disciplined, particularly after *nueva canción* performers began developing close ideological ties with the Communist Party of Chile. Under the *Unidad Popular* government, artistic performances were not as free and uncontrolled as the spirit they appeared to convey. The government often censored performances from hippies and other counter-cultures that appeared to “distract” from the core of the political mission of creating a new, democratic socialist future for Chile. Third, the *nueva canción* was also exclusive. References to class struggle in the lyrics of songs, as well as imprecise references to the opposition as imperialist or fascist by *nueva canción* performers meant that their musical and political project alienated many Chileans, while it made ambitious demands on behalf of the poor and marginalized. This performative combination of intense organization and revolutionary discipline based on differentiation from more politically conservative musical styles provided legitimacy for Popular Unity’s cultural project.

Chapter two explores the politics of musical performance during the authoritarian period, mostly between the September 11 coup and the promulgation of a new constitution in 1980. In this period, performance revealed important complexities in Chilean politics. An analysis of censorship shows how performers protested against political arrangements, and reveals the relationship between those forms of protest and state violence against performers and publics. At the heart of this relationship between censorship and protest, there is a fundamental contradiction: the authoritarian state vigorously repressed leftist culture while claiming that its actions removed politics from the cultural sphere.<sup>lxvii</sup> In reality, many authoritarians performed intensely nationalist works, particularly at the beginning of the authoritarian period.<sup>lxviii</sup> For some artists, occasionally including self-styled protest singers, authoritarianism became a time of great freedom and joy.<sup>lxix</sup> At the same time as pro-authoritarians performed nationalist exultations, neoliberal economic policies and the municipalization of government functions privatized the economics and localized the physical reach of performances, making it difficult for any but particularly favored performers



to work on a national level. This process allowed censors to single out cultural dissidents for scrutiny and arbitrary treatment, and enabled the censorial state to operate locally, in addition to nationally.<sup>lxx</sup> I conclude the chapter by analyzing performance, and particularly music, as political resistance to authoritarianism, just as new technology and new forms of community became important. By using new technologies such as cassette tapes, music videos and dissident media, musicians resisted censorship and the hegemony of mass media organs, and created alternative (at times clandestine) spaces and forms for Chileans to perform, consume, and express culture.<sup>lxxi</sup> In spite of censorship and municipalization, cultural resistance was both politically effective and highly emotive, which made performance generally and music in particular a key tool in resistance struggles.

In chapter two, I trace aspects of the relationship between censorship, authoritarian nationalism and resistance. Just as the state censored performances, state leaders and collaborators engaged in intensely nationalist performances. They thus aimed to show Chileans the “proper” ideologies to express themselves within the decidedly limited brand of authoritarian pluralism. I argue that censorship illustrates the visible and hidden complexities of authoritarian violence, but Artists claimed new spaces to contest political controls. More than simple changes to the political and economic structure of the country, authoritarian nationalism and economic privatization reinforced each other, permitting intensified control over individual lives and cultural experiences. Even so, critics of authoritarianism resisted, employing different types of new – and often anonymous- technology to spread their messages. Resisting performers restored an element of collective solidary spaces and performance techniques, at a time when pro-authoritarian spaces could be very restricted in membership and nationalist in ideology. By using new technology and creating new spaces for performance, resisting performers created their own vision of community to counteract authoritarian nationalist spaces and resist the state politically.

Chapter three focuses on the early 1980s and the 1988 plebiscite. I analyze new performance styles in both authoritarian and anti-authoritarian directions: the changing sound of public performance which resisted censorship and top-down controls, as well as new forms of pro-authoritarian performances in support of the state. Pro-authoritarians attempted to adapt their cultural messages to new times by appropriating different communities into the authoritarian cultural project. In a process Juan Pablo González refers to as “*el boom Andino*” (The Andean boom), the state and its collaborators within the Chilean media tolerated and even praised Andean

music as a new kind of folklore during the mid-to-late 1970s; in the aftermath of the authoritarian coup, performing or even listening to Andean-influenced music could be a cause for imprisonment or torture.<sup>lxxii</sup> Only a few years later, authoritarians were inventing a new tradition of Andean-influenced music, and attempting to convey a seamless narrative between past and present in order to burnish the state's legitimacy. Next, I focus on anti-authoritarian cultural resistance, both domestic as well as from exile. Dissident forms of performance, especially music and theater, physically brought anti-authoritarians together into new communities which provided alternatives to the highly controlled culture on offer in authoritarian Chile.<sup>lxxiii</sup> Finally, music during the 1988 plebiscite reveals that the two sides in the plebiscite proposed two fundamentally different versions of community. I compare the community of the nation-state and the authoritarian nationalist culture of the "yes" campaign with communities based around imagined concepts of happiness and freedom proposed by the "no" side.<sup>lxxiv</sup>

Chapter three provides new perspectives on music during late authoritarianism. First, I demonstrate that some performers avidly supported the authoritarian state, from the day of the coup until its defeat in the 1988 plebiscite. Second, music and performances spread the state's vision of performance as politically neutral, while still permitting a highly controlled political context in which electoral politics was absent by design. By encouraging certain performances and censoring others, the state and its collaborators commemorated past practices they believed augmented the national cohesion of Chile, thereby proposing an authoritarian nationalist type of community based on loyalty to the nation-state and values contained within "authentic" folklore. Just as performance provided authoritarianism popular legitimacy, performance also re-established democratic government in Chile. I show that anti-authoritarian performances enhanced the possibility of lasting change by creating new, truly diverse communities, in contrast to the neoliberalism and authoritarian nationalism favored by the state and its supporters. More diverse in terms of membership, these communities practiced pluralism in the concepts they imagined and commemorated, freedom, democracy and joy chief among these. As such, I argue that culture as resistance reveals how anti-authoritarians impelled political change: by connecting performance to commemoration and community-building.

Chapter four is set between Chile's return to democracy after the 1988 plebiscite, and the social unrest and constitutional drafting process of 2019 and the 2020s. I analyze musical and performative elements of Chile's democratic transition and *estallido social* of 2019 and 2020, and

the sources of popular discontent with Chilean political institutions. First, I use the historian Christian Matus Madrid's lens of urban tribes to analyze how new, youth-based communities changed dynamics of musical and political expressions during the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>lxxv</sup> Next, I argue that protestors innovated with digital technologies and social networks and older strategies from the Popular Unity and authoritarian eras, a key way the *estallido social* gathered millions of Chileans together in communities of protest.<sup>lxxvi</sup> Through these gatherings, communities of performers and publics made themselves, rather than the institutions of representative democracy, the leaders of Chilean political discourse. At the same time, they demanded change, by bringing together massive groups of protestors, which became impossible to ignore.

Chapter four responds to scholarly debates about urban tribes and reveals uncomfortable continuities in political processes between the authoritarian and democratic periods of Chilean history. I argue that musical performances commemorated past injustice during Chile's democratic transition. The domination of neoliberal economics and the existence of economically induced censorship due to media consolidation weakened performances that criticized the government. Whereas censorship had been enforced through the threat of violence, censorship under electoral democracy took economic forms and excluded critical performers from being able to work.

In the context of neoliberal domination, however, I argue that musicians and their listening publics created new communities represented and identified by new sets of symbols used by Chile's urban tribes, to compliment traditional forms of representation and political contestation. Whereas most scholars refer to urban tribes as merely social gatherings which distract attention and participation away from traditional political institutions, I put urban tribes at the locus of political leadership and activism during the *estallido social* and the years shortly before and after it. By combining symbols from multiple urban tribes and streaming them live on the internet, protestors expanded their repertoire of techniques to demand change through performance. Combining new technology with urban tribal aesthetics updated demands for political change, since new technologies brought protestors' demands to new audiences with unprecedented completeness and on a massive scale. Through this meeting of the urban tribes and new technology, protestors demanded new sets of rights, and the proposed Chilean constitution of 2022.

To conclude: I analyze Chilean political history and musical performance through the combination of protest, commemoration, and imagination in the creation of politicized performance. Musical-political performances and their functions reveal two distinct types of

Chilean nationalism: the egalitarian nationalism of left-wing and progressive politics, and the authoritarian nationalism of more conservative sectors. Egalitarian nationalism protests, commemorates and imagines, and makes rights-based claims to equality and justice through cultural production. Authoritarian nationalism makes community-based claims to loyalty and societal cohesion through patriotic song and commemorates and imagines but does not protest. In the light of these different nationalisms, and the respective functions of performance within those nationalisms, musical performances constitute valuable primary sources on political history, uniquely capable of elucidating the relationships between music and politics through musicological and historical analysis.

Structural and technical aspects of music inspire a separate set of conclusions. Debates around “artistic” versus “folkloric” music often found their reflection in nationalist sentiment. First, *nueva canción* discussed in chapter one, assumed that folkloric traditions from peasants and indigenous peoples had artistic value, as well as political relevance. Authoritarian nationalists, for their part, embraced both artistic and folkloric music when it suited the needs of the authoritarian project. Next, the technique and presentation of musical performances often changed in response to the country’s political situation. The new communities of performers and publics grouped around the “no” campaign during the 1988 plebiscite, and the combination of different performance strategies and technologies during the *estallido social* are two of many examples. Conversely, Chilean politics has changed in response to emerging forms of politicized musical performance, since musical performance inspired the 1988 plebiscite, and spread the *estallido social* well beyond ordinary protest events. Finally, new technologies have led to new types of politicized performance, and, therefore, opportunities to protest, commemorate, or imagine political processes in new ways. These new technologies have often been powerful tools of clandestine or secure forms of political and musical resistance to censorship, and how Chileans expose themselves to new musical and sometimes political trends.

Considering the empowering spectacle of youth-driven protests in Chile during recent years, I strike a cautionary note on aesthetics and spectacle in Chilean politics. It is worrisome when a country’s politicians are undercut by an explosion of popular discontent that has been brewing for decades. The long-standing nature of popular frustration shows that politicians should have anticipated the *estallido social*, but instead chose to ignore social tensions. Nevertheless, the *estallido social* protests did not produce better lives for Chileans, nor result in a new constitution.

On September 4, 2022, the proposed draft constitution received only 38.1% of the vote in a national plebiscite, demonstrating that the proposed constitution proved too radical for most. This defeat indicates that although many people believe that Chilean politics is seriously flawed and that the democratic transition has not met the expectations of many—perhaps most—Chileans, even innovative forms of protest have not achieved structural or functional political change. This failure of the *estallido social* to capitalize on the initiative protestors had seized from politicians indicates that mass participation in Chilean politics is largely driven by aesthetic or symbolic considerations. This aestheticization of politics, begun in the 1960s and continuing well into the present-day, is a troubling sign for a country which hopes to achieve a vibrant, functioning democratic polity. For all the changes to Chilean political life during the democratic transition, the legacies of authoritarianism and the specter of a return to those times remains present, as shown by the power of new aesthetics to displace old political institutions.

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<sup>i</sup> Ortega, Sergio, and Claudio Iturra. “*Venceremos*,” Canto al programa. Discoteca del canto popular, Santiago de Chile, 1970, accessed November 13, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1541/0/Venceremos-claudio-iturra-sergio-ortega>.

*Desde el hondo crisol de la patria  
se levanta el clamor popular,  
ya se anuncia la nueva alborada,  
todo Chile comienza a cantar.*

*Recordando al soldado valiente,  
cuyo ejemplo lo hiciera inmortal,  
enfrentemos primero a la muerte,  
traicionar a la patria jamás.*

*Venceremos, venceremos,  
mil cadenas habrá que romper,  
venceremos, venceremos,  
la miseria sabremos vencer.*

*Venceremos, venceremos,  
mil cadenas habrá que romper,  
venceremos, venceremos,  
el fascismo sabremos vencer.*

*Campesinos, soldados, mineros,  
la mujer de la patria también,  
estudiantes, empleados y obreros,  
cumpliremos con nuestro deber.*

*Sembraremos las tierras de gloria,  
socialista será el porvenir,  
todos juntos haremos la historia  
A cumplir, a cumplir, a cumplir.*

- <sup>ii</sup> Mamani, Ariel. "Exilio, resistencia y adaptación de la Nueva Canción Chilena (1973-1978)." *I Jornadas de Trabajo sobre Exilios Políticos del Cono Sur en el siglo XX*. 2013; In his interviews with *Inti-Illimani*, the journalist Luis Cifuentes-Sebes got Inti members to address the song at several points in his chapter on *Inti-Illimani*'s exile. See Luis Cifuentes-Sebes, "El exilio," Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis. *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014, accessed October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3779/2/el-exilio-por-luis-cifuentes-seves>. Finally, the Cancioneros.com webpage, which I use to cite the song's lyrics, cites several other versions of the work done by different bands in exile. See Ortega, Sergio. "Venceremos," Canto al programa. Discoteca del canto popular, Santiago de Chile, 1970, accessed November 13, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1541/0/Venceremos-claudio-iturra-sergio-ortega>.
- <sup>iii</sup> Víctor Jara, who described himself as a 'revolutionary singer' and a lifelong member of the Communist Party, was executed after performing "Venceremos" in front of his soldier torturers, who had dared him to sing that particular song again. At the time, Jara was illegally imprisoned and had not been tried for, let alone convicted of, any offense. See Joan Jara, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983), 233-44, 245-50.
- <sup>iv</sup> Errázuriz, Luis Hernán. "Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural," *Latin American Research Review* 44.2 (2009): 136-157; "Suspendidos Estudiantes Pelucones," *El Mercurio de Chile* 10 (September 15, 1973); and "Limpieza en la Ciudad," *El Mercurio de Chile* 16 (September 17, 1973).
- <sup>v</sup> *El Mercurio*, Chile's largest newspaper, was staunchly supportive of the new authoritarian government and, in that capacity, frequently referred to different musicians expressing joy over the authoritarian coup. For several articles on this point, see "En la Punta de los Pies," *El Mercurio* (30 September, 1973), 59; Silvia Piñero, "Las condiciones están dadas," *El Mercurio de Chile* 25 (September 18, 1973). (25); "Ahora Será Más Fácil Alegrar al Público," *El Mercurio* (23 September, 1973), 47; and "Otro Himno para la Restauración," *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 14, 1973), 59.
- <sup>vi</sup> For a scholarly article on the fine line between resistance and solidarity among Chilean exiles, see Fairley, Jan, "Analyzing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," *Popular Music* 8, no. 1 (1989): 1-30. For a scholarly treatment of how resistance worked within Chile, see Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez. "'Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos': una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros," *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* 5, no. 1 (2016): 18-37.
- <sup>vii</sup> Guzmán, Patricio. "'La memoria obstinada' (guion cinematográfico)." *Viridiana* 17 (1997): 62-108.
- <sup>viii</sup> Guzmán, Patricio, Elton, Federico, and Fernández, Abilio. *La Batalla De Chile*. Icarus Films, 1975.
- <sup>ix</sup> There is an enormous English-language literature on music as part of social movements, too comprehensive to list it all. Some of the texts which inspire me, particularly in terms of looking at music in a global perspective, are the following. Mattern, Mark. *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998; Turino, Thomas. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2008; Street, John. *Music and Politics*. Contemporary Political Communication. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012; Friedman, Jonathan. *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music*. New York: Routledge, 2013; In this text, see Ingrid Bianca Byerly, "What Every Revolutionary Should Know: A Musical Model of Global Protest." (22-49). Frith, Simon. *Performing Rights: On the Value of Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Rosenthal, Rob, and Richard Flacks. *Playing for Change: Music and Musicians in Service of Social Movements*. New York: Routledge, 2012; and Johnson, Gaye Theresa. *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race, and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California, 2013.
- <sup>x</sup> See Turino, Thomas. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2008. (1-5); and Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*. (15-18).
- <sup>xi</sup> For analyses of each of the ways in which music can be listened to and performed, and the relative merits of each style, see Turino, Thomas. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2008.
- <sup>xii</sup> "Musicking" was originally coined by Christopher Small, although at present, other scholars use the term in somewhat different ways. For the original conception, see Small, Christopher. *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*. Wesleyan University Press, 1998; For a somewhat updated use of "musicking," see Aoki, Shin. "Singing Exoticism: A Historical Anthropology of the G.I. Songs 'China Night' and 'Japanese Rumba.'" *Journal of American History* 103, no. 4.1 (March 2017): 943-955.
- <sup>xiii</sup> For Mattern's thoughts on the purpose of community and the role of music in achieving that purpose, see Mattern, Mark. *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998. (11-15).
- <sup>xiv</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*. (15-8).
- <sup>xv</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*. (17-8).

- <sup>xvi</sup> Mattern, Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action.. (35-6).
- <sup>xvii</sup> Mattern, Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action. (15-6); and Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge Cultural Social Studies. Cambridge, [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. (6-10).
- <sup>xviii</sup> McSherry, J. Patrice. *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. McSherry strives to make this point throughout her book, but states the point explicitly on page 127.
- <sup>xix</sup> Speaking in a global perspective, but in which the United States and United Kingdom plays a dominant role, see Street, John. *Music and Politics. Contemporary Political Communication*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012. (5 and 9).
- <sup>xx</sup> Ashley Black argues that music was fundamental to the construction of solidarity movements with Chile during the authoritarian era, due in no small measure to musical events before authoritarianism, and the personal bonds between musicians which made solidarity possible. See Black, Ashley. "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974. In Stites Mor, Jessica, and Maria Del Carmen Suescun Pozas. *The Art of Solidarity*. 117-145. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018. Just as important, the theme song of the "no" campaign in the 1988 plebiscite called on Chileans to imagine a better, anti-authoritarian future than the present they had under authoritarianism. See Coro Bajo Cuerda Ft. Claudio Guzmán and Rosita Escobar. "Chile, la alegría ya viene." Available on Genius Lyrics. (Originally released 1988). Accessed May 10, 2022. <https://genius.com/Coro-bajo-cuerda-chile-la-alegria-ya-viene-version-completa-lyrics>.
- <sup>xxi</sup> "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Quinto Capítulo – folk." Available on YouTube. Uploaded by Cassette Historia de la Música Chilena. Uploaded September 20, 2016. Accessed June 29, 2022. <https://youtu.be/5algPzCfoIQ>. See between 17:32 and 17:54 for a reference to the "democracia negociada" (negotiated democracy) from a dissident folk musician.
- <sup>xxii</sup> "Los hambrientos piden pan [O la Carta]." Cancioneros. Accessed October 28, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/803/0/los-hambrientos-piden-pan-o-la-carta-violeta-parra>
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Mamani, Ariel Hernán, "Peñas, canción de protesta y transformación política en Chile (1965-1973)," *Música Popular em Revista* 2 (2013), 121-147.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> "El Renacer del Folklore," *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 18, 1973), 25; "En la Punta de los Pies," *El Mercurio* (30 September, 1973), 59; "Viña Concha y Toro Presenta: Coro de la Universidad Técnica del estado Director: Mario Baeza," *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 3, 1973), 28; "Mari Trini: Poesía con Música," *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 6, 1973), 30; and "Otro Himno para la Restauración," *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 14, 1973), 59.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Errázuriz, Luis Hernán. "Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural." *Latin American Research Review* vol 44, no. 2 (2009): 136-157. (149); "Nuevas Canciones para los Quincheros." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. November 17, 1975. (39); and "Otro Himno para la Restauración." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. October 14, 1973. 59.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> For two articles on cultural resistance within Chile, see Jordan, Laura, "Music and "clandestinidad" During the Time of the Chilean Dictatorship: Repression and the Circulation of Music of Resistance and Clandestine Cassettes," *Revista de Música chilena* vol. 62, no. 2 (2009), 77-102; and Fernández, Javier Osorio, "La bicicleta, el Canto Nuevo y las tramas musicales de la disidencia. Música popular, juventud y política en Chile durante la dictadura, 1976-1984," *Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America* vol. 8 no. 3 (2011), 255-286. Various scholars have inspired my thinking with their writings on performance as part of the exile experience. See Becerra-Schmidt, Gustavo, "En torno al exilio y a la transición a una forma de inmigración: Recuerdos sueltos y personales," *Revista musical chilena* vol. 57 no. 199 (2003), 57-65; Mamani, Ariel. "Exilio, resistencia y adaptación de la Nueva Canción Chilena (1973-1978)," *I Jornadas de Trabajo sobre Exilios Políticos del Cono Sur en el siglo XX* (2013); and Luis Cifuentes-Sebes, "El exilio," *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3779/2/el-exilio-por-luis-cifuentes-sebes>.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Fairley, Jan. "Analyzing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," *Popular Music* vol. 8, no. 1 (1989), pp. 1-30; and Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez, "'Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos': una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros," *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* vol. 5, no. 1 (2016), 18-37.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Morris, Nancy, "Canto porque es necesario cantar: the New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* vol. 21, no. 2 (1986), 117-31, 127-8.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Willy Bascañán, a folk singer who was particularly supportive of authoritarianism during the middle and latter parts of its rule, released the song "Soy del Sur" (I am From the South), for release on a campaign spot for the 1988

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plebiscite. See “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre,” YouTube, 17 May, 2022. <https://youtu.be/5V1DO8Kjv8s>. (11:00-12:20).

<sup>xxx</sup>The “No” campaign theme song, “Chile, la Alegría ya Viene” (Chile, Happiness is On The Way) is the most famous example of this imaginative, anti-authoritarian discourse. See Coro Bajo Cuerda Ft. Claudio Guzmán and Rosita Escobar. “Chile, la alegría ya viene,” Genius Lyrics, 10 May, 2022. <https://genius.com/Coro-bajo-cuerda-chile-la-alegria-ya-viene-version-completa-lyrics>.

<sup>xxxii</sup>Fiskales Ad Hoc. (1995), “El circo,” Traga, Santiago (Chile): Culebra Discos; Los Peores de Chile. (1997), “*Cerdo por liebre*,” Trece mordiscos de amor, Santiago (Chile): BMG Chile; García, Manuel. “El viejo comunista.” Pánico. Alerce, Santiago de Chile: 2006. YouTube, accessed July 2, 2022. <https://youtu.be/Ind8fPjqlpA>.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> The most famous of these early protests is the “*Thriller por la Educación*,” in which thousands of Chilean students re-enacted Michael Jackson’s music video of the same name, with some very original twists. See “Thriller por la educación – por una educación pública, Gratuita y de Calidad,” YouTube, 10 July, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/iJAmHgUvd\\_c](https://youtu.be/iJAmHgUvd_c)

. For a scholarly take on this particular protest, see Bush, Daniella Wittern. “Their Dissidence Remains: Lessons from the 2011 Chilean Student Movement,” in *Sustainable Tools for Precarious Times* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019), 69-93. For a scholarly take behind the discontents with the democratic transition as a whole, and not only issues faced by students, see Alison Bruey, “And the Joy?” in *Bread, Justice, and Liberty. Critical Human Rights*, ed. Alison Bruey (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018), 207-212.

<sup>20</sup>The opera singer Ayleen Romero interpreted Víctor Jara’s “*El derecho de vivir en paz*” (The Right to Live in Peace), a classic example of the *nueva canción* genre, during the *estallido social*. See Steadman, Otilia, “An Opera Singer Sang in Protest from Her Window During a Curfew in Chile,” BuzzFeed News, 9 November, 2019.

<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ellievhall/chile-singer-protest-curfew-soprano-santiago-derecho-vivir>; The rapper Ana Tijoux sang—and live streamed—*Cacerolazo* (Cooking Pot), which also brought Popular Unity and authoritarian times to mind. *Cacerolazos*, where Chileans bang cooking pots together, were one of the first forms of mass protest used against Popular Unity in 1972, and later, anti-authoritarians used them against the Pinochet government. See Tijoux, Ana. “#Cacerolazo,” YouTube, July 30, 2022. <https://youtu.be/V2596TA4dzY>. Finally, the rock musician Alex Anwandter wrote “*Paco vampiro*” (Vampire Cop), about police brutality> this is a constant theme in Chilean society ever since the authoritarian era, since the police force, Carabineros de Chile, has resisted modernization. See Anwandter, Alex, “*Paco vampiro*,” YouTube. <https://youtu.be/tdtpGRR-8wU>.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> For the original take on the term “urban tribes,” see Watters, Ethan, *Urban Tribes: Are Friends the New Family?* (Bloomsbury: New York, 2003). For a scholarly take on how these combinations of symbols from different groups became a protest tool in the Chilean context, see Bush, Daniella Wittern. “Their Dissidence Remains: Lessons from the 2011 Chilean Student Movement,” *Sustainable Tools for Precarious Times* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019). 69-93.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Two such works of musical politics in support of Chile’s draft constitution are Grupo Los Treinta Pesos Presenta la Cueca del Apruebo, YouTube, 21 August, 2022. [https://youtu.be/u\\_Fra4a8io4](https://youtu.be/u_Fra4a8io4); and Barradit, Jorge. “¿Recuerdas como fueron estos días?,” Facebook Watch, 21 August, 2022. <https://fb.watch/exMB6gUkvo/>.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Behague and Post both point out the political nature of musical categorizations. See Post, Jennifer C. ed., *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006). See especially Jennifer C. Post, “Introduction,” in Post, Jennifer C., *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006); For a compelling description of the politicized nature of Latin American ethnomusicology by one of the region’s most recognized voices on the subject, see Behague, Bernard, “Boundaries and Borders in the Study of Music in Latin America: A Conceptual Re-Mapping,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista Música Latinoamericana* vol. 21 no. 1, 16-30.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Erskine, John, *What Is Music?* (Philadelphia, New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1944); Behague, Bernard, “Boundaries and Borders in the Study of Music in Latin America: A Conceptual Re-Mapping,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista Música Latinoamericana* vol. 21, no. 1, 16-30; Post, “Introduction,” in *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*; and Turino, Thomas, *Music as social life: The politics of participation* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2008).

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Bucciferro, Claudia, “Songs of exile: music, activism, and solidarity in the Latin American diaspora,” *JOMEC Journal* vol. 11 (2017), 65-82; see especially a quotation on pages 69’70. *El Nuevo Cancionero acoge en sus principios a todos los artistas identificados con sus anhelos de valorar, profundizar, crear y desarrollar el arte popular y en ese sentido buscará la comunicación, el diálogo y el intercambio con todos los artistas y movimientos similares del resto de América. Afirma que el arte, como la vida, debe estar en permanente transformación y por eso, busca integrar el cancionero popular al desarrollo creador del pueblo todo para acompañarlo en su destino, expresando sus sueños, sus alegrías, sus luchas y sus esperanzas.*



<sup>xxxix</sup> Two book-length texts speak to this theme of *nueva canción* as art as well as folk, throughout the whole length of these texts. See Rodríguez, Illa Carrillo, María L. Figueredo, Laura Jordán González, Camila Juárez, Eileen Karmy Bolton, Carlos Molinero, Nancy Morris, and Abril Trigo, *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014). See especially Villa, Pablo, "Introduction," in Rodríguez Et al., *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 1-17; and McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*.

<sup>xl</sup> As discussed in the main body of text, the *cueca* is typically a folkloric genre. The decision to make *cueca* the national dance had politically conservative implications, which I shall address immediately following. For information on the *cueca* as folkloric style and some of the politics of *cueca* between the 1930s and the authoritarian coup, see Rolle, Claudio, "Del Cielito Lindo al Gana la gente: música popular, campañas electorales y uso político de la música popular en Chile," in *Actas IV Congreso Latinoamericano de la Asociación Internacional para el Estudio de la Música Popular* (2002), 1-27; Jordan González, Laura, "The Chilean New Song's Cueca Larga," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Villa, Pablo (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 71-96; and Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, "Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989," *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76.

<sup>xli</sup> On the class position of early *cuequeros*, see Barr-Melej, Patrick, *Reforming Chile: cultural politics, nationalism, and the rise of the middle class* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2002), 101.

<sup>xlii</sup> Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, "Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989," *Revista musical chilena* vol 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76.

<sup>xliii</sup> Several articles on *cuecas* are useful as background information to these debates. See Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, "Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989," *Revista musical chilena* vol 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76; Mallet, Bisailon, Ouimet, Bellemare, Salinas, Mallet, Marilú, Bisailon, Yves, Ouimet, Margaux, Bellemare, Renald, Salinas, Horacio, Films De L'Atalante, National Film Board of Canada, and Women Make Movies. *La Cueca Sola*. New York, N.Y.: Distributed by Women Make Movies; and Rodríguez Fernández, Mario. "Nicanor Parra: La Cueca Sola De 'El Hombre Imaginario'." *Revista Chilena De Literatura*, no. 91 (2015): 25-34.

<sup>xliiv</sup> Blanco, Roberto Torres, "Canción Protesta»: Definición De Un Nuevo Concepto Historiográfico," *Cuadernos De Historia Contemporánea* 27 (2006): 223-46.

<sup>xli v</sup> Boyd, Malcom. Ed. *Music and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

<sup>xli vi</sup> Boyd, *Music and the French Revolution*. See specifically Chapter 1: "Royal Agamemnon: The Two Versions of Gluck's Ephigenie en Aulide," 15-36.

<sup>xli vii</sup> Olalla Mayor, Jorge. "La Historia de un Mensaje Memorabile: Sin Odio, Sin Violencia, Sin Miedo. No Más..." *Ciper Chile*, 24 June, 2022. <https://www.ciperchile.cl/2018/09/25/la-historia-de-un-mensaje-memorabile-sin-odio-sin-violencia-sin-miedo-no-mas/>; And Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts. "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule," *Media, Culture & Society* vol. 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93. For reference to one song to which both authors refer, see Coro Bajo Cuerda Ft. Claudio Guzmán and Rosita Escobar. "Chile, La Alegría ya Viene," *Genius Lyrics*, 10 May, 2022. <https://genius.com/Coro-bajo-cuerda-chile-la-alegría-ya-viene-version-completa-lyrics/>

Morton, Adam David, *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy. Reading Gramsci* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007); and for a comparative example in a Latin American context, see Roseberry, William, "Hegemony and the Language of Contention," in *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, ed. G.M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 355-366. For Krofts-Wiley's thinking on cultural hegemony as applied to the Chilean plebiscite, see Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts, "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule," *Media, Culture & Society* vol. 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93.

<sup>xli x</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-14. (2).

<sup>l</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." (4).

<sup>li</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." (4).

<sup>lii</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." (9).

<sup>liii</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." (12).

<sup>li v</sup> Benjamin, Walter, Ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Marxists.org internet archive, accessed January 8, 2022.

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>. See especially the preface and epilogue for these references to fascism and capitalist economics.

<sup>li v</sup> Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." Sections 1 and 3.

- <sup>lvi</sup> Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." Sections IV and V.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." (X).
- <sup>lviii</sup> Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." (XV).
- <sup>lix</sup> Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." (Epilogue).
- <sup>lx</sup> Carlos Huneeus describes the Chilean state as authoritarian and personalistic, a label somewhat akin to fascism but with some important differences. For his compelling reasoning on this point, see Carlos Huneeus, "The Organization of Political Power," in *The Pinochet Regime*. Boulder, ed. Carlos Huneeus, trans. Lake Sagaris (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008). 179-224.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Errázuriz, Luis Hernán. "Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural," *Latin American Research Review* vol 44 no 2 (2009): 136-157.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres. "Cantar La Diferencia: Violeta Parra Y La Canción Chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo Canto La Diferencia")," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Two book-length texts speak to the relationship between *nueva canción* and the quest for economic equality as dominant themes of the respective works. See Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014); and McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar la diferencia: Violeta Parra y la canción chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo canto la diferencia")," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Patrick Barr-Meje describes Popular Unity's censorship of hippies, Siloists (adherents to a new-age, spiritualist philosophy), and users of marijuana and hallucinogens in Barr-Meje, Patrick, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Rolle, Claudio, "La Nueva Canción Chilena, el proyecto cultural popular y la campaña presidencial y gobierno de Salvador Allende," *Actas del III Congreso latinoamericano de la Asociación Internacional para el estudio de la música popular* (2000), 408-420; and Luis Cifuentes-Sebes, "Los Años de la Esperanza," in Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis, *Fragmentos de un Sueño: Inti-Illimani y la Generación de los 60* (Santiago: Lom ediciones, 2014), cancioneros.com, October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3775/2/los-anos-de-la-esperanza>.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Catarina Preda, "Art Should Be Apolitical: Official Art in Chile," in Preda, Caterina. *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (Springer, 2017), 82-139.
- "Otro Himno para la Restauración." In *El Mercurio de Chile* (14 October, 1973), 59.
- <sup>lxix</sup> "Exclusivo: Erasmo Carlos: "Protesto con Surrealismo y Humor," *El Mercurio de Chile* (30 August 1980), D3.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Preda, Caterina, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (Springer, 2017); and Epstein, Susana, Ian Watson, and Hector Noguera, "Chilean Theater in the Days and Nights of Pinochet: An Interview with Hector Noguera," *TDR* vol. 34 no. 1 (2000): 84-95.
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<sup>lxxvi</sup> Espinosa, Christian Spencer, "Hacia un nuevo cancionero popular: música, creación y política en la revuelta social chilena (2019-2020)," *Boletín Música* 54 (2020): 29-51; Valero, Luis Ramón Pérez, "Poéticas políticas y sonoras: pasado, presente y resignificación de la música popular en las manifestaciones públicas de Chile en 2019," *Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas* vol. 17, no. 1 (2022): 278-293; Ortiz, Sebastián Aravena, "El retrato intervenido en la gráfica callejera como resistencia política. El caso del Estallido Social de Santiago de Chile de 2019." 15 Encuentro Latinoamericano de Diseño, Buenos Aires: [www.sebaaravena.cl](http://www.sebaaravena.cl), 1 July, 2022; and Steadman, Otilia, "An Opera Singer Sang in Protest from Her Window During a Curfew in Chile," *Buzzfeed News*, 9 November, 2019. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ellievhall/chile-singer-protest-curfew-soprano-santiago-derecho-vivir>.

## Chapter One

### Singing Difference: Chilean Political History and Societal Struggle, 1963-1973

On March 11, 1971, Salvador Allende was inaugurated as president of Chile after hard-fought electoral victory and weeks of high drama in the aftermath. Two things distinguish this ceremony from others of this kind. First, Allende was the first self-identified, democratically elected Marxist chief of state in world history. Second, over Allende's head hung a banner which read "*No hay revolución sin canciones*" (There is no revolution without song).<sup>lxxvii</sup> By any reckoning, music was critical to Allende's coalition government, the *Unidad Popular*, Popular Unity. Specifically, music contributed to a collective sense of community among supporters and heightened their visible and audible presence through performance.

This double phenomenon of community building and increasing state presence in citizens' lives has a macro and a micro dimension. Popular Unity demonstrations at times produced tens of thousands of people singing or chanting in unison, the world premiere of Víctor Jara's "*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*" (Questions for Puerto Montt) in 1969 being a classic example.<sup>lxxviii</sup> Community building also took place on the smaller scale of the *peña* (listening club), where small groups of people joined to listen to a new form of folkloric song, *nueva canción* (*new song*), presented by composers who politicized music in an unprecedented way. In the process, musicians as well as listening publics gathered together into like-minded groups united by love for these new, politicized sounds and, later, by left-wing ideologies.

*Nueva canción* challenged both mainstream media and educational structures to build community. To begin, they challenged dominant, mostly transnational record labels by forming a label of their own. Using this new platform to communicate their ideologies, performers even made specific, topical connections to the country's changing political direction by putting the government's political program and virtually unknown episodes from Chilean history into song.

This chapter uses music as a lens through which to analyze Chilean political history. From the first quarter of the twentieth century until 1973, political speech covered a progressively wider array of topics ever-more directly. Chilean political institutions began to seek mass participation about the same time and with the same slow pace as politically conscious music was being theorized, performed, and recorded. By the time the singer-song writer Violeta Parra recorded "*La carta*" (The Letter) in 1963, the increase in mass political participation under the popular Front governments of 1938-52 had matured to bear musical, cultural and political fruit. For the first time

in Chilean history, musicians were performing critiques of injustice through song on a scale audible to the masses; many of those injustices being critiqued musically were also shared by the parties of the Popular Unity. Over the next decade, leftist political music incited people's singing of difference as they walked a new, revolutionary road to change.<sup>lxxix</sup> Through the lives and performance practices of Chile's most important leftist performers, this chapter shows that developments in Chilean music are inseparable from the political events they sometimes catalyzed, and at other times foreshadowed.

In the first part of this chapter, I show that greater political and social equality allowed for increased popular access to political culture, and later inspired politically pointed lyrics on a scale which was appreciable by the country at large. The political left, especially, used music to criticize North American interference in Chilean internal affairs, and to spread certain understandings of what revolutionary music should be. Although these performances were unprecedented and represented unmet social and political demands, new musical expressions hardly reflected uncontrolled popular will. Cultural censorship was present, and at times intense, under Popular Unity's brand of socialist nationalism. Allende's government supported specific political countercultures of the left, but restricted hippies, new-age spiritualities, and other counter-cultures of the long 1960s considered alien to Chile's national project. Musicians also shaped the way these political restrictions were interpreted and implemented, both as critics of others and as the subjects of withering critique themselves. In this way, music was firmly embedded into Chile's political culture. As such, certain musical works which address political subjects directly or programmatically deserve treatment as political documents in their own right. Beginning with Violeta Parra, and her "*La carta*" (the letter), and stretching through the entire *nueva canción* tradition under the Unidad Popular, Chilean politics cannot be understood without looking at the musical documents which both shaped and were shaped by political affairs.

### **New Times: Music, Social Critique, Mass Politics.**

The conventionally accepted chronologies of musical and political change in Chile seem straight-forward: galvanized by the presidential elections results of 1964, musicians began to speak out for social justice, as well as greater political and civil equality. The Chilean communist and socialist parties saw musicians as potential allies, as they had supported Salvador Allende and the *Unidad Popular* in the 1970 elections. Allende rewarded the new song by providing it an institutional role. As *La Unidad Popular* either became unworkable or was sabotaged by

rightists—depending on one’s viewpoint—political affairs became increasingly polarized, both reflecting and catalyzing a pre-existing phenomenon. During the military coup of September 11, 1973, the most active musicians were either detained, killed, or exiled.<sup>lxxx</sup>

While this sequence offers first insights on the connections between music and a presumably rapid pace of political change, analysis of specific musicians’ roles reveals a gradual politicization of culture and reminds us that the Chilean democratic tradition was decidedly partial, by no means open to all actors at all times. I show that musicians demonstrate a distinct awareness of the at times anti-democratic tendencies of their governments. For instance, issues of class interest and political sectarianism emerged as early as the 1890s. By the early 1960s, Violeta Parra’s music addressed many political subjects, from habeas corpus to wealth redistribution. In short, musicians were strategizing a better polity and society well before Allende and the Unidad Popular’s peaceful road to socialism.

### **Political Cultures: The state, rights, and the social question.**

The *Cueca de Balmaceda*, dedicated to President Jose Manuel Balmaceda (1886-91) and its immediate political context reveal that a key feature of populist politics, the veneration of individual political leaders, was present in Chile by 1891. José Manuel Balmaceda had dedicated his presidency to improving Chilean infrastructure; some limited rhetoric circulated about reducing poverty with social programs. The army and Congress rebelled against the government and defeated Balmaceda in a civil war, and the president committed suicide on the day which would have marked the end of his mandate.<sup>lxxxix</sup>

The lyrics to *Cueca de Balmaceda* reflect the existence of political differences that some were prepared to give their lives for. Indeed, although Balmaceda lost the civil war, the anonymous narrator of *Cueca de Balmaceda* clearly believed that the “good guys” or the Balmacedists won the conflict. The song is narrated by the fallen ghost of a Balmaceda partisan. One excerpt of the lyrics reads:

“My life fell so [that]  
His party triumphed!  
He [or it] triumphed as we all know, as is evident  
To punish the bigshot  
By my life! For such insolence.<sup>lxxxii</sup>”

According to this deeply Balmacedist reading of events, the loss of the civil conflict seems either not to matter, or to be worthy of glorification. For our ghostly Balmaceda supporter, claiming a

factually dubious victory over his ideological opponents in death seems to have been preferable to admitting defeat in life. Overall, the song represents an ominous beginning to the documented history of politically motivated music in Chile, indicating that unresolved political disputes could span generations of historical time. Through his choice of a ghost as the song's protagonist, the anonymous writer of *Cueca de Balmaceda* seems to have believed in the generational resonance of political ideologies

By the 1920s, the center and right realized they could use music according to their own electoral taste. Musicologist Claudio Rolle demonstrates that an eponymous parody of the Mexican mariachi standard "*Cielito lindo*," (The Beautiful Sky, 1925) was written for the electoral campaign of the center-right president Arturo Alessandri Palma.<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Alessandri won the election, though his government did little for musicians, or the workers for whom they performed. I cannot find the names or biographical details of anyone who performed at Alessandri campaign rallies. Additionally, the Alessandri government presided over high-profile killings of labor activists and other political dissidents, belying any populist musical references. Populism, in this study, refers to a political philosophy which places "the people" above procedural or institutional considerations, and which seeks to radically reform institutions of the state to make them more responsive to popular will.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> When contextualized, musical campaign performances are forerunners of populist demands and the increasing reliance of mass groups as agents of political change.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

During the latter part of the Great Depression, musicians were inspired by a sequence of Popular Front governments (1938-52) that addressed Chile's unresolved "social question" in unprecedented ways.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> While the term "social question" was originally defined by 19<sup>th</sup> century urban reformers who saw increased crime rates, alcoholism and domestic violence, Popular Front leaders prioritized specific problems. Four problems agglomerated the Popular Front's base: land reform; Chile's shambolic healthcare system; the rights of the working class; and ensuring legal and economic equality for women. Popular Front governments, starting with Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-41) and culminating with Gabriel González Videla (1948-52), attracted a larger populace than ever before to civic participation. Most immediately, this participation manifested in a swell in membership for political parties of the left and center, and political performances, particularly music, also benefited from increased popular participation.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

We see from the music produced during the musical politicizations of the 1960s that the increased visibility of the political left galvanized musicians to express their esteem and respect for its leaders, chief among these being Luis Emilio Recabarren and Salvador Allende.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Both believed in community-based, militant struggle and helped build lasting relationships between Chile's political apparatus and the poor by enhancing party structures and foregrounding workers' rights. Recabarren was instrumental in addressing workers' issues, stressing alliances both across workers' organizations and Chile's varied geography. Recabarren's style was dry and direct: "As I write these lines, I ask myself with great distress how it is possible that the worker who extracts such wealth from the land is so poor he often does not have any food to give to his children. Why does such a phenomenal anachronism exist? In my mind the worker who extracts such wealth should own it and not give it to another just because he makes everyone call him the boss."<sup>lxxxix</sup> Recabarren later founded the Socialist Workers Party of Chile and served briefly in Parliament, inspiring a musical legacy generations later. In 1969, nearly forty-five years after Recabarren's death, singer-songwriter Victor Jara would publish "*A Luis Emilio Recabarren*" (to Luis Emilio Recabarren). In reference to his birth in Chile's northern deserts, Jara writes the following lines:

Thou, tree of such hope,  
born in the middle of the sun.  
Thy fruit matures and sings,  
toward liberation.<sup>xc</sup>

Jara expresses deep appreciation for Recabarren, as well as a belief in the inevitable, revolutionary power of socialism. References to the growth of a tree and the fruit harvest speak to the "naturalness" of this process. Yet the ambiguous title of the album on which we find this song ("I give this into your open hands"), reveals that even adulation of leftist political figures did not come risk-free. Due to Jara's contract with the multinational EMI label and his fear of losing it, he did not choose to provide the album with a more lyrically explicit title.<sup>xc</sup>

Salvador Allende expanded on Recabarren's legacy of advocacy, by placing the poor and other marginalized groups into the nation's legislative policy, rather than its political discourse. At different times in his life he was a doctor, a Member of Parliament, Chile's Minister of Health and Salubrity, and a presidential candidate three times before being elected president in 1970. As Minister of Health under the Popular Front, Allende proposed redistributive measures to improve people's health. In his ground-breaking study *La realidad médico-social chilena* (Chile's Socio-Medical Reality) he offered empirical data regarding Chile's poor for the first time since the mid-



nineteenth century.<sup>xcii</sup> Allende saw the political process of wealth redistribution as fundamental to improving the health of Chile's population.<sup>xciii</sup> The health policy of the Popular Front succeeded in permanently putting the poor, working people, and especially women, on the country's political agenda. The government took poor peoples' needs increasingly seriously with time, peaking during Allende's own presidency.

Musical performance reinforced Allende's visible presence in Chile when he first campaigned for the presidency in 1958. He arrived in remote places with the sound of the *Tren de la victoria* (Victory Train), which brought his message directly to the people. Allende supporters would make political speeches, accompanied by regionally appropriate cultural performances.<sup>xciv</sup> At times the spectacles could be immense, with entire villages showing up to see the political speeches and actively participating in the cultural performances. Undaunted by narrow losses in 1958 and 1964, the Victory Train carried him on rails and campaign trails until he won the presidency in 1970. In a heart-felt tribute, the Chilean songwriter and folklorist Rolando Alarcón wrote the song "*Compañero presidente*" (Comrade President) to commemorate his 1970 electoral victory (from the album *El cantar tiene sentido*, (Singing Makes Sense), 1971).<sup>xcv</sup> This song reveals the importance of leftist leaders and their works to an increasing number of politically active musicians and artists.

Under the Popular Front, the Chilean state dedicated time and money to the formation of a truly national culture. The innovative institution, the *Departamento de Extensión Cultural* (Department of Cultural Outreach), originally founded in 1933, enacted that vision. Directed by the Radical Party member and novelist Tomás Martínez Gatica from 1933 to 1949, the agency was the first to produce and administer state-financed performances, and the first to commission performers expressly for the purpose of playing to rural populations.<sup>xcvi</sup> Despite changes in budgetary allocation and political parties in power, the agency had a nearly fifteen-year-trajectory of active involvement in outreach. Martínez Gatica defined the agency's mission as "sow the seeds of goodness, of love, of truth and of justice, and in this way for the formation of a conscientious and responsible citizen."<sup>xcvii</sup> As early as 1933, subsidized artists began to take tours to either remote or poor parts of the country, organized night schools so workers could educate themselves, and helped regulate the radio broadcasting industry, which was increasingly important as more people gained access to the technology.<sup>xcviii</sup>

More than simply providing performance and spectacle to underserved groups, Martínez Gatica shaped the types of performances the Chilean state used in one form or another until the 1973 coup. Historian Patrick Barr-Melej demonstrates that Chilean government bureaucrats viewed the national culture they were trying to inculcate in two ways: (1) as a means to educate and entertain communities of Chileans seldom exposed to cultural spectacle; and (2) to indoctrinate poor communities with supposedly middle-class values of sobriety, hard work, and patriotism.<sup>xcix</sup> In this way, the *Instituto* not only provided musicians with the power to communicate nationally for the first time, but also to imagine what a Chilean national culture might look like.

As the Popular Front ended, the institutional locus of inculcating “appropriate” values to the masses shifted from the bureaucracy of the executive branch of government to the university system. By 1943, the *Instituto de Investigaciones del Folklore Musical* (Institute for the Study of Musical Folklore) was founded at the University of Chile, with a similar mission statement to Martínez Gatica’s agency. The Institute’s founding manifesto proclaimed its mission to be “find[ing] the best means of bringing to the masses the true traditional culture of the past, the only road for ... conserving and bettering ... popular song.”<sup>c</sup> Providing physical access to culture and music, specifically, were evident priorities for the Popular Front and supportive academics to commemorate the past and imagine the role culture would occupy in a Chilean nation in the process of encouraging civic involvement and participation.

Chilean musicians benefitted from a new and expanding technology: radio broadcasting. The first battery radios that became available in rural regions in the 1950s revolutionized both the content of programs and their connections to their audiences. As Jadwiga Pieper-Mooney argues regarding Chile’s Aconcagua region at this time, Radio was a useful collective practice, and a great equalizer of access to culture for the illiterate.<sup>ci</sup> People in rural regions found new connections to the larger worlds that surrounded them, including specific ideas that impacted their lives.

More important for mass participation and politicization, rural people began to use radio to express themselves. By the 1950s, Violeta Parra and other musicians sold their music using radio and the related medium of the record player. The Parra family, for example, were becoming moderately successful in various groupings, both combinations of family members and in other bands. Violeta Parra, specifically, was becoming a known figure for her innovative, research-based approach to popular folklore and her desire to create new works inspired by the traditions she investigated—she referred to both the folklore she studied and that which she created as “authentic

folklore.”<sup>cii</sup> The increase in musical expression suggests that new technologies impelled cultural change and revived “traditional” forms of folklore and commemoration.

During the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, leftist artists articulated their views through many expressions and formats at great personal risk. Poetry was a particularly fruitful form of expression for leftists. Nicanor Parra, brother of Violeta Parra, was an extremely distinguished poet in his own right. He characterized himself *el anti-poeta* (the anti-poet) to reject poetical conventions, and the name stuck.<sup>ciii</sup> Nicanor Parra was also an active communist. Nicanor, his brother Roberto, and his sister Violeta were all Communist Party members at some point in their lives, as was the diplomat, poet, and Senator Pablo Neruda.

The fate of Pablo Neruda’s poetry shows what could happen to Chilean artists whom the government considered subversive. In Neruda’s epic poem *Canto general para nuestra América* (*A Song for Our America*), written during his political exile in Mexico (1948-52) and published in 1950, he proposed political and cultural directions that could give new freedoms to Latin American people.<sup>civ</sup> He critiqued the United States, particularly in *Canto general*, with poem titles including, “La United Fruit Company” and “El Zarpazo del Águila” (the Claw of the Eagle). Neruda won the Nobel Prize for literature for his *Canto general*, yet he also experienced censorship in his home country where the leadership saw his work as politically subversive. The Communist Party had been criminalized and driven underground in 1949, thus introducing the end of the Popular Front regimes and prompting Neruda’s Mexican exile. As late as 1958, copies of *Canto general* circulated underground in manuscript form. Paradoxically, the Communist Party to which Neruda belonged was no longer criminalized and launched new campaigns in 1958 for the first time in ten years.<sup>cv</sup> The Communist Party’s new involvement in politicized performance suggested a rebirth of political interest in performance and artistic expression.<sup>cvi</sup> Moreover, the increased politicization of artistic expression by leftists was concurrent with international developments at the same time.

Just as Neruda and other poets were introducing politics into their cultural productions, the Soviet Union focused on spreading socialism through cultural messages. By 1932, it was official Soviet foreign policy to contrast the USSR’s music with music from capitalist countries, and within a very short time Soviet composers and performers were winning international music competitions.<sup>cvii</sup> This success led the Soviet Union to expand its efforts to include folkloric music through sponsoring international folklore festivals. Indeed, the Soviet Union was eager to organize musical productions in countries outside the fraternal socialist orbit, Belgium being an early test

case.<sup>cvi</sup> During the early stages of the Cold War, cultural festivals proliferated, involving the countries of the Warsaw Pact and much of the developing world.<sup>cix</sup>

Chilean performers took advantage of the opportunity to play in socialist countries, partly for greater international exposure, and partly due to ideological affinities with socialism. Cultural festivals organized by Communist Parties were the first international exposure for many Chilean folk musicians. Violeta Parra's introduction to the European music scene, her first international exposure, was sponsored by the Soviet Comintern, and Parra's first foreign appearance singing folklore was in socialist Poland.<sup>cx</sup> Víctor Jara also joined the Communist Party of Chile immediately after a foreign tour and was motivated to become a political musician by the solidarity and spirit of community participation he witnessed in socialist countries.<sup>cx</sup>

Cold War socialist nations sought to inculcate proper socialist values of solidarity, civic participation and community spirit through performance— evident in the international circuit of cultural festivals in the eastern block and non-aligned countries. Soviet practices, which Communist Parties of countries like Chile actively embraced - stoked fears of government intrusion among conservatives. Individual private lives became more circumscribed, Bulgaria and Romania being particularly intrusive socialist societies.<sup>cxii</sup> The democratic nature of Chilean socialism did not alleviate these fears among conservatives. Yet, as shown in the expressions by singer-songwriters like Víctor Jara and the Parra family the cultural expansion of the left started much earlier than its electoral victory in Chile, and up to a very late date, control over individual autonomy was probably the last thing musicians or their publics desired.

### **Singing Difference: The Parra Family and Political-Musical Revolutions.**

In different ways, the Parra family and its members offer insight into the development of political-musical revolutions. Violeta Parra's artistic life is a case in point. As a folk singer and ethnographer who chose a nomadic lifestyle, she created an environment that allowed her to “sing difference” as she called it: she surmounted gendered and artistic boundaries through her revival of folkloric tradition and her quest for social justice.<sup>cxiii</sup> For example, Violeta Parra traveled alone at a time when few women did so. She relished her solo travels and sang about them in her song “*La exiliada del sur*” (The Exile from the south), expressing love for out-of-the way places and recognizing the great sacrifice she made to resurrect folkloric traditions.<sup>cxiv</sup>

I left an eye in Los Lagos,  
Through casual carelessness.  
The other I left in Parral in a drinking bar.

I remember that as a girl,  
My soul saw much tumult.  
Miseries and praise stripping bare my thoughts.  
Between the water and the wind,  
I lose myself in the distance.<sup>cxv</sup>

Parra was especially influenced by the southern regions of Chile where she was born, and the Andean influences of northern Chile in contrast to the Central Valley rhythms which inspired her contemporaries. Furthermore, she researched her folkloric music and documented her findings, taking a tape recorder and making copious ethnographic and musicological notes.<sup>cxvi</sup> In short, she investigated the folkloric traditions she used in her work, at a time when other musicians imitated—and sanitized—what they heard.

Violeta Parra performed difference, incorporated her research into her musical creation, and rebranded Chilean rural traditions by adapting popular methods of performance to her personal style. Musically speaking, Parra took to performing alone, instead of in the group settings favored by most Chilean artists. In addition to taking place alone, Parra's performances employed a fundamentally distinct concept of musicianship. She purposefully emphasized rhythm and chords rather than the elaborate, sometimes Baroque melodic flourishes of the male guitarists of her time.<sup>cxvii</sup> Her difference-making was also lyrical, as well as strictly musical. Parra's lyrical presentation was topical, an innovative approach that connected her own style to life ways and customs she observed and documented, rather than the sanitized practices invented by agrarian elites. Her lyrics referred to specific events, instead of the archetypal or theme-driven approach favored by the folklorists of the Central Valley. She was inspired by Chile's long tradition of *lira popular* (popular poetry) which often contains witty political or societal references, and focuses more on specific events than on universal archetypes of romantic love, or the beauty of women or landscapes. Unlike other self-described folklorists of her day, Parra incorporated *lira popular* in her work to an unprecedented extent, often by taking long trips to out-of-the-way places to record the thoughts of popular poets—a task rarely if ever undertaken up to that time.<sup>cxviii</sup> Her difference-making was therefore as much poetic as it was musical, rooted in the popular classes instead of agrarian elites. In these ways, Violeta Parra was imagining new ways to do folklore, while still commemorating past traditions.

Yet, Parra's process of "inventing traditions" is fundamentally different from the ways in which scholars generally depict the process, wherein the "invention" of tradition is a reflection of nostalgia for a usually imagined rural past.<sup>cxix</sup> In this framing, where "invented" traditions have

more to do with nostalgia and imagination than historical practice, traditions are useful in the cohesion of nation-states because they provide a sense of national unity—even if an imaginary one.<sup>cxx</sup> Parra’s process of inventing tradition impacted Chilean cultural nationalism fundamentally differently than inventive processes in other nation-states. The fact that Parra took copious notes and recorded testimonials from rural people and popular poets as the basis of own work means that Parra’s “invented” traditions, to the extent they were invented, were inspired by the real-life experiences of her interviewees, rather than the exigencies of national unity or political convenience.

Violeta Parra’s life habits also involved acts of self-censorship that reveal her strong urge to redirect her musical career to reflect a closer connection to Chilean rural culture and, in making this connection to rural ways of life, to establish political critique. Specifically, she “reinvented” herself as an artist to present her politics more effectively. As the historian Erika Verba documents, Parra released records which sold well in the 1940s and 50s, yet in a short period of time her new, folkloric work took priority to such a singular extent that famous copies of previous recordings don’t even exist anymore.<sup>cxxi</sup> Such a documentary absence seems difficult without work on Parra’s own part. As Verba suggests, “Parra may have rejected much of her own previous body of work because she didn’t feel it to be sufficiently authentic folklore, whereas the committed leftist in her thought much of her previous work insufficiently developed from a political viewpoint.<sup>cxxii</sup>” The absence of Parra’s early music suggests the value Parra placed on her later works of socially critical song, and reveals her contempt for the apolitical “folklore” of the day, including her own prior body of work.

Parra focused on her mission to resurrect folklore in her personal life. She expressed the economic and personal cost of her dedication in a letter written in verse to her brother and artistic mentor Nicanor.

God help me, Nicanor.  
I have so much work,  
Always going here and there,  
Unearthing folklore.  
You don’t know how much pain and suffering,  
The verses I find give me.  
My pockets are poor,  
And I have four little kids  
To whom I must give sustenance.<sup>cxxiii</sup>

In this way, Parra tied her own personal situation into a broader mission to resurrecting supposedly authentic folkloric traditions. As she recognizes, this resurrection of tradition made Parra an outsider in an increasingly modern, industrializing Chile.

Violeta Parra accentuated and contextualized her political message through deliberately chosen rhythms and chords. “*Arriba quemando el sol*” (The Burning Sun Above -- 1960-1961), which speaks of the sufferings of Chile’s saltpeter miners in the northern deserts, exemplifies the politicization of her music. Her lyrics are stark and uncompromising:

We went to the company store  
to buy the ration.  
20 items don’t count.  
The down-sizing of every day.  
And with an empty basket,  
back to the rooming house.<sup>cxxiv</sup>

The musical text accompanies the spare, tragic lyrics. “*Arriba quemando el sol*” is in the key of B-flat major, typical of European marching music since the Renaissance. The rhythm is played exclusively by the Mapuche *trucún* drum, but performed in the classic “left, left, left right left” marching cadence. The rhythms suggest the song’s solemn themes to the listener. By combining traditionally patriotic music and rhythm with gestures of indigeneity, Parra commanded the attention and respect of listeners, introduced indigenous folklore into her own work, and protested an intolerable political situation—the terrible working conditions of the miners who extracted much of Chile’s wealth--all at the same time.

Violeta Parra’s lyrics also blamed religion as a barrier to resistance and revolution. In one lyrical excerpt from “*Porque los pobres no tienen*” (Because the Poor have nothing 1961) Parra made her feelings clear:

Since time immemorial  
Hell was invented  
In order to frighten the poor  
With its eternal punishment ...  
And in order to continue the lie  
They are called by their confessor  
To be told that God does not want any revolution.<sup>cxxv</sup>

Parra’s concepts of revolution were motivated by her own brief participation in the Chilean Communist Party and the communist predilections of her entire family, but she never fully articulated what revolution meant to her. Given direct opinions on other subjects, she seemed to dedicate little thought to revolution *per se*. Nevertheless, the song remains a stinging indictment of

the subjugation of poor people and a protest against the role of organized religion as a subjugating force.

### **“La carta” (The Letter): A New Type of Song**

Violeta Parra’s “*La carta*” at once personalized and universalized her political critique and the singing of difference which made her famous. While her lyrics are innovative in her own career for directly protesting a political situation rather than simply mentioning its effects on the poor, they manifest definite signs of the traditions which inform her composition and performance. Like many of the works Parra researched and collected in this period, the song is written in the 6/8 time signature of the Chilean *cueca* characteristic of Chile’s Biobío region.<sup>cxxvi</sup> There are only four different musical chords, and two of those occur only at the end of each verse to provide resolution. This has a repetitive effect, presumably deliberate, in order that the listener can follow the lyrics without distractions by melody or chords.

Parra’s use of commonplace references accentuates the all-too-common nature of her subject, police brutality and illegal arrest. The lyrics to “*La carta*” address the personal dimension of this rather traumatizing subject. “They sent me a card in the early morning mail. In this letter it says they’ve taken my brother prisoner.<sup>cxxvii</sup>” he song is based on the illegal arrest of Violeta Parra’s eldest brother, the singer and guitarist Roberto Parra at a union demonstration in favor of the Communist Party in 1963.<sup>cxxviii</sup> Parra is clearly proud of her brother, and unrepentant as to the family’s political affiliation. The song ends decisively in a major tone—major generally signifies happiness or peaceful resolution, with Parra singing the last line of the song “the nine [her brothers] are Communists with the favor of God, oh yes.<sup>cxxix</sup>” “*La carta*” thus exemplified a new connection between music and politics. Although it protested a distinctly Chilean event in a personal way, its musical text transcended Chilean national politics by personalizing universal themes of police brutality. Furthermore, the history of political persecution and police brutality was probably relatable for a great many Chileans, given the very recent legalization of the Communist Party from over ten years of underground activity, and the mass incarceration of communists—real or suspected.

Between the mid-1950s and her death in 1967, Violeta Parra achieved a truly revolutionary way to link art and politics. Her innovative way of finding and investigating folklore, her willingness to commemorate marginalized people and groups, and her determination to perform as closely to the traditions of the rural poor as possible inspired a generation of leftist Chilean



musicians. Lest this quest to invent new folklore be confused with the *indigenismo* common to Latin American folklorists during this period, it is worthwhile to remember that Parra's background was by no means elite, having grown up desperately poor and having to work for a living from a very young age.<sup>cxxx</sup> These experiences of poverty and deprivation, rather than elite class position and educational status, were common to many of the leftist musicians who followed in Violeta Parra's footsteps in later years, Víctor Jara being the most famous example.<sup>cxxxi</sup> These musicians would assert their politics ever more publicly, beginning with Parra's example and only ending with military rule in 1973<sup>cxxxii</sup>

### **Music, Politics, Chile: The Early 1960s**

Musicians were aware and resentful of U.S. interference in Chilean affairs at a very early date. Joan Jara describes the heavily commercialized environment around the 1958 election, and her own chagrin at a narrow electoral loss for the Chilean left. "Allende, representing a broad alliance of the left, FRAP," ... (*Frente de Acción Popular*) [the Popular Action Front]<sup>cxxxiii</sup> was fighting against the candidate of the Chilean oligarchy, Jorge Alessandri. Alessandri was heavily backed by multinationals [Jara presumably meant corporations] and it was the first time that US commercial advertising methods were used in political propaganda in Chile, a high-pressure campaign with millions of dollars spent on it. Meanwhile, the left made up for its lack of economic power with massive demonstrations and marches.<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Indeed, this type of demonstration was the only way the left could expose large publics to its message, given the left's lack of presence in the Chilean media.

By 1964, some musicians on the left had begun to joke about the repeated unfavorable electoral showing for the left-wing parties and critiqued the victorious Christian Democracy's widespread appeal and collaboration with the United States. Joan Jara claims that leftists were so stunned by the size of the 1964 electoral campaign, in which the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei was elected president, that they joked that the money must have come from the CIA. They were quite right, in fairness.<sup>cxxxv</sup> Joan Jara's recollections of Frei's dealings with North American mining companies reflected the frustrations musicians of the left felt with Frei's style of government. President Frei had "... promised the Chilenization of the copper mines, a scheme which in practice involved the payment of many millions of dollars to the North American mining companies in return for 51% of the shares, but little effective control.<sup>cxxxvi</sup>" Leftists were stuck in a bind, however, due to Christian Democracy's mass appeal. Jara herself admits that the Frei

administration's campaign slogan, *la revolución en libertad* (the revolution in liberty), was genuinely appealing to many people who didn't favor full-fledged socialism. "The mid-sixties was a bad time for people on the left in Chile," she writes. "A large proportion of working people, particularly women, had voted for Eduardo Frei.<sup>cxxxvii</sup>" Jara's feelings reflect a frustration that working people, and particularly women, were voting for Christian Democracy instead of for a democratic socialist candidate such as Allende. Working people and women, it seems, were two particular targets of the left-wing campaigners, so the fact that they were not receiving votes speaks to a failure of the left's ability to transmit its message effectively or persuasively.

The lyrics to songs from the 1960s reveal that certain folk musicians in Chile felt pan-Latin American sentiments, and specific individuals believed United States foreign policy was a menace to the entire continent. Indeed, the works of Pablo Neruda discussed earlier in this chapter show that Chileans, specifically, helped to establish a tradition of anti-imperialist discourse, with both cultural nationalist and pan-Latin American elements. In keeping with the anti-imperialist and pan-Latin American ideologies of Neruda and others, the singer Sergio Ortega put Pablo Neruda's poem "*La cueca de Joaquín Murrieta*" (The Cueca for Joaquín Murrieta) to song. Sometimes called "*Así como hoy matan negros*" (*Just as They Kill Blacks, the song's lyrics are a critique of United States foreign policy in the least ambiguous possible way*). "Just as today they kill blacks, before it was Mexicans. Now they're killing Chileans, Nicaraguans, and Peruvians.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> Such references unambiguously indicate that some musicians saw the level of U.S. influence as negative and alarmingly high. Moreover, the pan-Latin American references found in Chilean folk music during the 1950s and 60s fit into a historical tradition of cultural nationalism in various Latin American countries, one example being the "*corridos de la revolución*" (corridos of the revolution) in Mexico, wherein musicians vindicate their sense of patriotism through expressions of nationalist sentiment in music.<sup>cxxxix</sup> This strong, pointed critique was adopted with increasing frequency as Chile's political situation evolved toward greater polarization over time.

### **The Battle of the *Refalosas*: Civil/Military Relations in the Mid-1960s**

By 1964, music had become a politically polarizing force, even in the hands of people who prided themselves on supposedly staying out of politics. In late 1964, the singer and producer Rolando Alarcón—a pop star at that time—wrote, and the all-female band *Las Cuatro Brujas* (the four witches) sang a song called "*¿A dónde vas, soldado?*" (Where are you going, soldier), a manifestation of Alarcón's pacifism. One excerpt reads in part: "Where are you going, soldier?"

Where are you going? To a war without quarter? Return and fight for peace.<sup>cxl</sup>” In light of the Communist Party’s underground period between 1949 and 1958,<sup>cxli</sup> references to “war without quarter” take on greater meaning. Communists, after all, were victims of a war without quarter; although they were a non-violent movement, they were incarcerated in massive numbers, often for years at a time without trial. The fact that the singers were the closest thing Chilean folk music had to a superstar girl group is a particularly remarkable statement in a highly patriarchal society. Through relatively innocuous lyrics, Alarcón and *Las Cuatro Brujas* were imagining a future in which the responsibilities of soldiers were changed to reflect new, democratic times.

The polarizing force of music became evident when pacifist musical expressions provoked anger from the armed forces. A serving army officer, Major Joaquín Prieto, listened to the *Cuatro Brujas*’ critique of the military, and resented the perceived insult deeply enough to respond musically. He wrote “*La respuesta del soldado*” (The Soldier’s Response 1964), which extols love of country and the glories of military life and whose lyrics respond to *Las Cuatro Brujas* quite pointedly. “Where am I going, you ask? Where do I go? To defend my homeland because I am a soldier.<sup>cxlii</sup>” This song represents a fissure in the tradition of military as an apolitical force subject to civilian authority.<sup>cxliii</sup> Prieto’s song shows that the military were engaging in political speech and contributing to a growing musical body politic that truly represented both sides of Chile’s political spectrum by commemorating military traditions of civic virtue in song. Given Chile’s history of relatively slight military involvement in politics—the most recent coup was in 1925—any statements by soldiers on political affairs were potentially ominous gestures.

The conflict between leftist composers and the military men wrote political songs became known as the *batalla de las refalosas* (the battle of the *refalosas*)—a dance style common to central Chile, thus confirming the centrality and confrontational potential of musical expression.<sup>cxliv</sup> Singer Rolando Alarcón admitted: “I felt very surprised. My *refalosa* was simply a pacifist song and not against the army. It speaks of war, but it doesn’t refer to Chile because we don’t have a war here.<sup>cxlv</sup>” This reference to the lack of war seems disingenuous on its face, given the lyrical references to a “war without quarter” in Alarcón’s own writing; his statement that the song doesn’t refer to Chile as probably nothing more than playing both ends against the middle. Whatever the reality, members of the military saw national references and acted accordingly. Political debate was opening up in Chile of the 1960s, and even members of a supposedly apolitical institution such as the military responded to the cultural politics of music.

Leftist musicians redoubled their critique of the military, even as most of Chile's radio stations refused to play their work and record stores refused to sell the recording. Isabel and Ángel Parra, Violeta's children, got the last word with their song "*Oyga Usted, General*" (Hear this, General, 1965) in which Isabel Parra—in character--reproaches a general for the death of her son in battle, after she (the mother and singer) had raised that son to avoid violence. Tellingly, most of Chile's privately owned radio stations refused to play either the *Cuatro Brujas* original work, or Isabel and Ángel Parra's response to Prieto.<sup>cxlvi</sup> For many Chileans, the so-called Battle of the *refalosas* was probably no battle at all, since they were only exposed to major Prieto's song without any context. The episode reveals that politically conservative forces dominated the media and indicates that the left—even with celebrity singers--could not be heard on a level playing field. Underground circulation of recordings notwithstanding, Chilean leftists could not hope to reach as many Chileans as the rightist radio stations which refused to allow critical content into the market.

**Singing Newness, Changing Tradition: Peñas, Politics and Performance.**

During the political changes of the 1960s, musicians created new spaces for community formation; *peñas* (listening clubs) strengthened leftist political critique through music, and helped leftist musicians construct culturally and economically viable communities. *Peñas* quickly became ubiquitous in Chile after the founding of the first establishment by Ángel and Isabel Parra in early 1965. They existed in nearly all of Chile's major cities within a year, and by the end of the decade, *peña* culture contributed leftist political critiques of the country's *status quo*.

Violeta Parra sparked the ideas behind the *peñas*, imbuing them with a mission of preserving folklore and creating a physical space for new forms of popular culture. In 1965, the Mayor of the Comuna (municipality) of La Reyna leased Violeta Parra a piece of public land, in admiration for her dedication to folklore. Parra intended the site to serve as a "university of folklore" for the Chilean people, but its distance from urban Santiago, the marginality of the neighborhood, and her own outsider status both within Chilean intellectualism and the community of La Reyna proved difficult.<sup>cxlvii</sup> As Catherine Boyle argues, Parra fought to expand the reach of popular culture in the *carpa* (tent), but reached more people through her songs than direct contact.<sup>cxlviii</sup> In spite of adversity, Parra's two most famous songs date from this period; "*Gracias a la vida*" (Thanks to Life, 1967) and "*Volver a los 17*" (To be 17 Again, 1966/7). Violeta Parra's educational experiment did not thrive where she intended, which suggests two phenomena which Parra had spent much of her artistic career trying to avoid: the evolution of rural traditions away

from those which Parra was attempting to recreate in her music, and the increasing urbanization of Chile in the 1960s.

*Peñas* also had their roots in a genuinely felt, if poorly defined, anti-modernism on Violeta Parra's part. One recollection from Violeta Parra's daughter Isabel speaks pointedly to Parra's sense of purpose in denouncing perceived decadence. "At times lightly and at times with enormous violence, she would reproach us, her children, for our bourgeois lifestyle. We would argue: she would say, let's all go to La Reyna with our kids, husbands, in-laws and the little animals. Luxury is a load of rot. Human beings just consume themselves in household problems.<sup>cxlix</sup>" These recollections of Isabel Parra about her mother indicate that Violeta Parra thought of rural life, centered around family ties and animal husbandry, was the appropriate environment in which her brand of folklore could thrive. So-called "luxury" and "household problems," on the other hand, were the sorts of things that could distract Parra and her family from doing the necessary work of preserving rural life ways. Her family members, who did not take Violeta up on the offer to move to La Reyna, presumably had different views about how best to carry out folklore, or perhaps may have even disagreed with their mother about whether or not the rural traditions Violeta valued were, in fact, worth preserving in the ways that Violeta saw them.

The 1964 presidential elections, and the defeat of Salvador Allende, accentuated the Parra family's political involvement and changed the physical spaces and the political ideology of their folkloric performances. The entire family was angry about another loss for presidential candidate Salvador Allende and a relatively poor showing for the left-wing parties. Indeed, the election results may have inspired Violeta to return to Chile, together with her son Ángel and daughter Isabel; the three of them had been living comfortably in Paris, France since 1962. Nicanor Parra laconically discusses a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile early in 1965 at which his sister Violeta gave an irate speech about the party's poor electoral showing over several cycles. "*She took no prisoners then, in an assembly of the Central Committee!*<sup>cl</sup>" This irate behavior on Violeta Parra's part indicates that she viewed the election loss as something which could have been avoided, if the Communist Party leadership had acted more astutely. Ángel Parra, eldest son of Violeta, shared his mother's anger about the election result, and founded the first *peña* sometime in late March, 1965 so ideologically committed people could have a space to congregate. The *peña de los Parra* became something close to a pilgrimage site over the next ten years for members of the organized left, all-the-more so for music lovers who happened to be

leftists.<sup>cli</sup> In this way, *peñas*, and especially the *peña* founded by Ángel Parra, became a site of musical performance and, increasingly, politically-motivated sociability in the same physical location. *Peñas*, especially the Parra family example, combined political and musical movements in a way never before seen in Chile. Understanding the birth of *peñas* in a desire to protest an unfavorable electoral status quo and do something about it situates the next several years of Chilean political and musical history in proper context.

As evidenced by testimonials from Chilean folklorists and the rapid growth of *peñas*, *peñas* provided access to musical folklore as it was actually practiced by rural Chileans, rather than the more sanitized folklore seen in other places. University *peñas* were particularly well-attended. Within only a few months, the *Universidad Técnica del Estado* (the State Technical University or UTE) had established *peñas* in Santiago, the port city of Valparaíso. Valdivia and Concepción soon followed.<sup>clii</sup> Horacio Salinas, of the famous Chilean band *Inti-Illimani*, was a member of several *peñas* in Chile's second city of Valparaíso during the Frei years. Salinas testifies to a very quick, organic growth of *peñas* among university students in particular:

“Yes, I was a student at the *Universidad de Santa María de Valparaíso* when I learned about the foundation of the *peña* by the *Universidad de Chile de Valparaíso*, August 20 of 1965. I was assigned by the Federation at *Santa María* to participate in it. This *peña* really took off. ... I started in the *peña* cleaning up, serving tables. Then I was named Vice-director for the arts, and I would travel to Santiago to look for artists.<sup>cliii</sup>” This shows that the growth of *peñas* was rapid, and that university students were essential parts of that growth. Furthermore, whereas people of Violeta Parra's age and class backgrounds may have been the original targets of her music, her music, and by extension her ideas, were gaining traction among members of a younger generation.

Community building surpassed all other attractions of *peña* attendance, as we can see through the listening aesthetic *peñas* cultivated and their approach to table service. Some *peñas* functioned like cooperatives or mutual aid societies, where members of the community shared food or work prospects.<sup>cliv</sup> *Peñas* charged only a modest entrance fee and sometimes had no cover at all. Most of the service involved food or wine rather than liquor, which created an atmosphere in which patrons listened to the music rather than drinking. As the members of *Inti-Illimani* attest, the *peña* allowed them to perfect their musical craft, get moderately well-paying gigs, and meet like-minded people instead of having to play commercial music.<sup>clv</sup> *Peñas*, and the publics which patronized them, were becoming self-sufficient communities, not quite bars and concert halls, but with some aspects of both. In this fusion of the bar and the concert hall, *peña* goes and the

musicians who performed for them imagined a new purpose for folkloric music within Chilean society.

### **What is the new song?**

Like many communities, *peñas* began to form their own set of cultural practices. The musical genre most directly associated with *peñas* is the *nueva canción chilena*, Chilean new song), which would influence the political history of Chile during the late 1960s and early 70s. The *nueva canción chilena* drew on pan-Latin American rhythms and instrumentation, the performance and listening aesthetic in the *peñas* and other friendly sites, and the singing of difference and new identity in its lyrics.

*Nueva canción* challenged the dominant musical offerings of the Chilean music industry. Until the mid-1960s, recorded music in Chile was dominated by foreign products. Until folkloric music became popular in the 60s, little Chilean music was actually recorded, outside of two or three regional genres confined to Chile's central valley region.<sup>clvi</sup> Moreover, this music did not represent the way average Chileans actually played those central valley styles. The recorded versions of those song lyrics were particularly bucolic, expressing support for patriarchal gender relations and even brutal class inequalities.<sup>clvii</sup> These sorts of lyrics provided a sanitized version of Chilean history convenient to agrarian elites. The Chilean rock and roll of the 1960s was often performed in English, and some Chilean rock musicians went so far as to hide their identities or even change their legal names to gain more credibility with fans.<sup>clviii</sup> As a result, most Chileans listened to highly commercialized music, dominated by sanitized images of rural ways of life, or a sort of consumerism in which the rock musician was as much the product as anything they sold.

*Nueva canción chilena* was a reaction against the sanitized folklore and the rampant consumerism at the same time. We see this extremely committed attitude manifested in Víctor Jara's song "*Manifiesto*" (Manifesto).<sup>clix</sup> After saying in one line that his guitar "is not for the rich," and making several other thinly veiled references to foreign imperialism, Jara's last verse is an eloquent call to political activism through song.

Over there where everything goes,  
And where everything begins.  
A song which has been valiant,  
Will always be *canción nueva* (new song).<sup>clx</sup>

As can be seen from Jara's lyrics, new song was defining itself. It was shifting from a genre which resurrected folkloric values—though it also did that, to include works which critiqued the status quo. By critiquing the political present, Jara's "song which has been valiant" is an invocation to bravery, to the fearlessness required to critique political arrangements musically.

The dress and performance aesthetic in *nueva canción* reflects the desire on the part of its musicians to undertake "authentic" folklore through closeness to supposedly campesino habits and, later, to appropriating indigenous culture. They based new song on using performance techniques common to the rural areas they discovered through research. Some important *nueva canción* songs included occasional singing in indigenous languages—extremely rare for Chile at that time, and the use of peasant clothing or sober coloring of dress.<sup>clxi</sup> *Nueva canción* often included indigenous instruments and words, several of the most important bands taking on Quechua, Aymara, or Mapuche names<sup>clxii</sup>; indigenous peoples, when depicted in music at all, appeared as either as total primitives or as noble savages.<sup>clxiii</sup> Though problematic, this new approach to indigenous traditions made a greater effort to commemorate those traditions and incorporate them into the Chilean national project.

When political leftists adopted these practices, they collectively referred to these signifiers as an "authentic folklore," without acknowledging their own authorship of the traditions which they assumed were "authentic." *Nueva canción* as a genre often included indigenous instruments to spread a supposedly authentic sound, a practice many listeners admired and revered. A 2014 quotation from José Seves, a founding member of the band *Inti-Illimani*, is instructive: "Another important musical source was Andean music, expressed in the ancient religious festivals in northern Chile and carrying the syncretism of ancient, pre-Columbian cultural events derived from Aymara cultures and vestiges of pre-Inca times that were mixed in the melting pot of *lo criollo*."<sup>clxiv</sup> Seves continues:

This commitment to pan-Latin Americanism is both genuinely felt and inspirational to a great many listeners, spanning a wide history of Chilean politics and a good deal of personal suffering for those on the left. Though the emotional ties of leftists to the traditions they were inventing may be heart-felt,<sup>clxv</sup> the fact remains that Seves' analysis is flawed, historically speaking. Inca and Aymara cultures, for instance, were reshaped and in some cases obliterated by hundreds of years of colonialism and Latin American nationalism, making any metaphor to a "melting pot" ethically



problematic due to the lack of agency of indigenous peoples in the appropriation of their cultures. Nevertheless, the creators of *nueva canción* undoubtedly saw indigenous cultures as closer to the rural ways of life they were trying to emulate and, therefore, worthy of appropriation.

Fascinated by indigenous instruments and rhythms, *nueva canción* musicians began to use instrumentation and rhythmic structures inspired by indigenous groups. In this project, however, musicians appropriated indigenous traditions without considering that such appropriation could be their own invention, rather than a true representation of the past. To cite one example: The *trucún* drum of the Mapuche people, for instance, became common in *nueva canción* songs to convey indigeneity to listeners. The *trucún* is sacred in Mapuche culture, used at the naming of infants and other ceremonies, and not used in secular music. Nor did *nueva canción* practitioners in Chile restrict themselves to Chilean instruments; the Bolivian quena, Venezuelan *tipal* (a relative of the harp and the guitar), and several types of drum not native to Chile complicated the idea of authentic Chilean folklore. Chilean *nueva canción* embraced international instruments; it is the multinational and specifically Andean instrumentation which distinguishes Chilean new song from other types of politically motivated, Latin American folk music.<sup>clxvi</sup>

The transnational circuits of production and distribution into which *nueva canción* was embedded demonstrate its nature as a transnational genre. Chileans Rolando Alarcón and Patricio Manns helped spread *nueva canción* to the rest of the continent; their records were produced and marketed on transnational labels. Due to their contracts with multinationals, Patricio Manns and Rolando Alarcón, likely gained fame for their folkloric music. Despite the efforts of the Popular Unity to limit multinational record companies in Chile, these same firms helped market *nueva canción* to the very end; Víctor Jara's Odeon label boasted about being a capitalist institution that successfully sold communist music as late as 1973.<sup>clxvii</sup>

The listening habits of the earliest *nueva canción chilena* musicians show that they were influenced by foreign rhythms and instrumentations. The city of Paris, France, proved an important place for Latin American folk musicians to meet and exchange ideas, since many Latin Americans had migrated there in search of greater freedom than existed in their native countries. Andean folklore became important in France during this period, although Violeta Parra, for instance, participated in Andean cultural spectacle less than other family members.<sup>clxviii</sup> Argentine folklorist Atahualpa Yupanqui's nearly fifty-year career of combining folkloric music with leftist political activity in Argentina inspired almost everyone who identified with *nueva canción* during the 1960s

and 1970s. According to Joan Jara, Ángel Parra preferred Yupanqui's folkloric work to that of his own mother, Violeta, admiring Yupanqui's polished guitar playing and the Argentine rhythms he revived.<sup>clxix</sup> Through their love of transnational music, *nueva canción* performers imagined new communities which claimed a greater importance for the solidary musical communities around folklore than on the nation-states to which the musicians belonged.<sup>clxx</sup>

Perhaps most tellingly, *nueva canción* depicted poverty differently than other genres, at times by blaming seemingly wealthy individuals or their lackies. While folkloric music in Chile tended to depict relations between members of different social classes as harmonious, if they were described at all, the lyrics to the *nueva canción* songs often directly challenged that idea. Patricio Manns "Arriba en la cordillera" (Up in the Mountains) provides an example through stark, uncompromising lyrics. Manns narrates the song from the point of view of a son whose father has to steal cattle to feed his family and is murdered by the landowner's guards.<sup>clxxi</sup> The second stanza reads as follows:

The white widow in her veil,  
The drover's curse  
Took my old man that night,  
To rob another's cattle.  
Near the Pass of Atacalpo  
At the onset of winter.  
They asked him with beatings,  
And he responded with silences.  
The mountain guards  
Nailed his cross beneath the wind.<sup>clxxii</sup>

Mentions of poverty and other politically sensitive subjects would soon become standard in the *nueva canción* style, but at the time of Mann's "Arriba en la cordillera," the open protest of political and economic realities broke new ground. "Arriba en la cordillera" departs from traditional Chilean folklore in several respects. First, the reference to "nailing his cross beneath the wind" makes the murdered drover into a Christ-like figure, comparing the poverty of the Chilean peasantry with the poverty of Jesus, and the vows of poverty which Catholic priests are required to uphold. Second, the admission in the song that the drover was "robbing another's cattle" situates this man as a victim of circumstance, the lack of economic protection for peasant families; it implies that there would have been no robbery of cattle were society set up on more just foundations. Finally, depictions of the mountain passes and the severe terrain turn the very geography into an obstacle, rather than a bucolic, beautiful presence in much of the Chilean

folklore of the day. In all of these ways, the drover's fate is portrayed as a nearly foregone conclusion, accentuating the injustice of the whole situation.

*Nueva canción* was decidedly and unashamedly internationalist, evident in the affinity of its practitioners and listeners for Cuba and the Cuban Revolution. Joan Jara's physical description of the *peña de los Parra* is instructive regarding the Cuban influence:

Since opening in 1965, the *peña de los Parra* in Carmen 340 had established itself not only as an original and important center for a new sort of song movement but also as a natural meeting place for people with left-wing opinions. It gained the reputation of being a place full of revolutionaries—from Marxists to a new kind of left-wing Christians. It was a place where most of the men wore beards in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.<sup>clxxiii</sup> This indicates broad popular support for the Cuban Revolution in particular, and the inspirational effect of socialist principles in general. Musical movements which attempted to resurrect "authentic" folkloric traditions, over the entire Latin American region but particularly in Chile, were steeped in this ideological component.

In 1967, the *Casa de las Américas* (House of the Americas), a publisher run by the Cuban state, organized the first *Encuentro Internacional de la Canción Protesta* (International Encounter of Protest Song) which directly referenced the influence of Guevarism in the final conference communique and featured artists from over 30 countries.<sup>clxxiv</sup> The communique reads in part:

The task of protest song workers must be to develop themselves from a position at the side of their people, confronting the problems of the society in which they live ... as authors, performers and scholars of protest songs, we raise our voice and demand an immediate and unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam and the total withdrawal of all of the forces of the United States from South Vietnam. We support the growing struggle of black people in the United States against all forces of oppression and exploitation. We support the proletarian and student struggle, which in the capitalist countries is being carried out against workplace exploitation, a faithful ally of imperialism. We support the Cuban Revolution, which has shown that it is the true path that the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America must take to liberate themselves, and we feel honored that Cuba is the site of the first encounter of protest song.<sup>clxxv</sup> Through the communique, protest song workers were setting political and ideological goals for their project, in which political liberation was just as important as the resurrection of traditional forms of folklore. Put another way, the discovery and adaptation of folkloric customs to new times was insufficient in and of itself; ideas of internationalism, solidarity and community were necessary to allow folklore based around the practices and life ways of poor people to flourish. The Cuban Revolution showed

musicians throughout the Latin American continent that militant revolution was not only practicable, but also provided a blueprint for how revolution could support the work of politically conscious music.

Musicians' composition choices and themes in *nueva canción* educated Chileans about virtually unknown episodes from Chile's past, in keeping with the idea that *nueva canción* should fulfill an educational purpose. "*La cantata popular Santa María de Iquique*" (1969), which commemorates a massacre of nitrate workers by the Chilean army in 1907, was likely the first time most of the listening public had even heard about the events in question. After making moderate demands, the military surrounded the hundreds of striking nitrate workers and massacred them in the courtyard of a Catholic school, *El Colegio de Santa María de Iquique* (St. Mary's School at Iquique).<sup>clxxvi</sup> The *Cantata* was originally performed in the *Estadio Chile* stadium during the first Festival of New Song in March, 1970, and released on an album later that year after thousands of people had already heard it.<sup>clxxvii</sup> As performed on the album, the first passage of group singing goes:

We shall be the speakers, we shall tell the truth,  
The truth that is the bitter death of the salt miners.  
We should never forget it.  
Now we ask you to pay attention.<sup>clxxviii</sup>

The *Cantata* succeeded in its aim of getting people to pay attention, by evoking themes of human dignity and the quest for justice in the face of exploitation. Moreover, its story, unknown in its particulars, but all-too-well known in its plot—non-violent demands for justice met with fatal reprisal—proved to be applicable across national borders and political contexts. Indeed, the historian Ileen Karmy Bolton demonstrates that over thirty versions of the song exist in multiple languages, and it is often performed at anti-imperialist protests all over the world.<sup>clxxix</sup> Thus, the *Cantata* has become an international symbol of commemoration of the past, and an imagined better future to come. The massacre of Santa María de Iquique was now a part of national, and to an extent global consciousness, which even the abuses of the military government and the decades since its writing could not obliterate.

Leftist musicians used two strategies to attract audiences during the late 1960s. First, they sought to undermine the government through critique. Second, they recounted previously unknown episodes of the national history and accentuating the positive value of leftist alternatives to build

popular support for their own ideology. Both strategies reinforced existing political polarization in Chile, but also drew new and young adherents to leftist projects.

Víctor Jara's "*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*" (Questions for Puerto Montt) demonstrates *nueva canción*'s potential as tool for mass-communication, but also reveals the extreme political polarization in Chile of the late 1960s. More than simply revealing polarization, *nueva canción* addressed the plight of marginalized groups with vehemence. On March 9, 1969, police under the Interior Ministry dispersed an illegal squatters' settlement in the *población* of Pampa Irigoin, a few kilometers from the port city of Puerto Montt. They used tear gas grenades and machine guns at close range, all these weapons requisitioned from the army. Seven people, including an infant girl, were killed, and many of the sixty wounded were permanently debilitated. The Interior Minister, Edmundo Pérez Ziujoivic, was a wealthy landowner and a close friend of the Irigoin family, a coincidence not lost to those on the left. This event inspired Víctor Jara to write a song that accused Pérez Ziujoivic personally of violence. , Jara performed "*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*," at a rally in 1969 with a huge crowd of 100,000, including the survivors and their family members.<sup>clxxx</sup>

Songs like "*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*" directly confronted politicians and reflected the outrage and indignation of its composer and many musicians. Indeed, the song is a musical declaration of war. The song, composed in the Dorian mode with the tonic center in the key of D, invoked the Catholic Christendom of the European Middle Ages to connote war.<sup>clxxxii</sup> The seminary-educated Víctor Jara surely knew about this tradition. Moreover, the lyrics denounce and condemn Pérez Ziujoivic in the strongest possible terms, including references to blood, and his own personal responsibility for the massacre:

You must respond  
Mr. Pérez Zujovic  
why, to the defenseless people  
they answered with a rifle.  
Mr. Pérez, your conscience  
You buried it in a coffin  
And your hands won't be clean  
With all the rains of the south.<sup>clxxxii</sup>

Through this stanza of lyrics, Jara places the blame for the massacre on Pérez Zujovic, personally. He was the responsible party for why the military answered the protesting squatters "with a rifle," which implies the killings only occurred because he had insisted on breaking up the land takeover. Yet the lyrics go further, seeming to imply that Pérez Zujovic would pay a certain

price for his actions, if only in later life. The minister had, after all, buried [his] conscience in a coffin,” and not even “all of the rains of the south,” where it rains profusely, would be able to rid him of guilt for the deaths and injuries. Understandably, therefore, when Pérez Ziujovic was assassinated in the politically fraught year of 1972, many on the right blamed Jara because of the song, which they claimed inspired the Minister’s assassins. For some, song was becoming a weapon in an ever-more physical conflict.

Just as *Quilapayún* and Víctor Jara educated people through their music, the band *Inti-Illimani* reveals *nueva canción*’s second key function during this period: to support partisan political platforms. *Inti-Illimani Inti-Illimani*’s album, *Canto al Programa* (Song to the Program, 1970) represents the first time in Latin American history that a political party platform was put into song with the declared support of the politicians in question.<sup>clxxxiii</sup> The Popular Unity’s presidential candidate, Salvador Allende announced what he called *las 40 medidas* (the 40 measures), reforms to be implemented by Popular Unity during its first hundred days in office. The forty measures included free primary education, the nationalization of copper, increases in wages and workers’ rights, and the end to the hated colonial era institution of the *latifundio*. The main points of the platform all received musical coverage. The famous song, “*Venceremos*,” originally composed by Luis Advis of *Inti-Illimani* and Sergio Ortega of *Quilapayún*, was later recorded by many famous *nueva canción* artists in Chile and overseas. The song became the unofficial musical theme of Popular Unity during Allende’s election rallies in the 1970 campaign, and throughout the UP years. Its marching rhythm and infectious chorus made it a favorite at rallies.<sup>clxxxiv</sup> “*Venceremos*” represented the start of an entirely new use of physical space for political purposes in Chile: the massive public street march designed to disrupt the day-to-day life in Chilean cities.

The growing political weight and reach of leftist music became evident in 1969, when *nueva canción* artists acquired a new publishing venue for their music and institutionalized their affiliation with the political left through the Communist Party-affiliated record label *Discoteca del Canto Popular* (DICAP). DICAP was originally founded during a brain-storming session between communist students of various nationalities at a festival in Bulgaria. *DICAP* aimed to raise money for the Chilean band *Quilapayún* to play at another festival sponsored by the International Communist Youth, 1969 World Congress of Students, at Warsaw. Chile’s branch of the

Communist Youth sponsored the *Quilapayún* production, which sold better than the wildest dreams of the musicians or their supporters in the Communist Party.<sup>clxxxv</sup>

Soon, *DICAP* was signing artists sympathetic to socialism from all over the country, and those artists participated regularly in rallies for the 1970 Popular Unity presidential candidate, Salvador Allende. Some of these rallies involved tens or hundreds of thousands of individuals.<sup>clxxxvi</sup> Musicians could now perform politically motivated, self-avowedly folkloric music for national audiences, in a continuation and expansion of the national craze for folklore which had begun in the middle of the century. *DICAP*'s origin story shows how a relatively youthful group of innovators engaged communist party politics and received organizational flexibility and freedom, playing a music which combined long-standing forms of presentation and musicianship with a new, ideologically driven character. *DICAP* sold many records, while the high attendance at Allende rallies show that members of the political left could now express their politics musically, to considerable mass appeal.

### **Interregnum: Musical and Political Tension Builds.**

Between the presidential elections in 1970 and Allende's inauguration in March 1971, political tensions in Chile increased significantly, evident in direct attacks by the political right. The rightist paramilitary group *Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Liberty) attempted to stop Popular Unity from coming to power by kidnapping the commander-in-chief of the Chilean army, General Rene Schneider. The entire business was utterly amateur. General Schneider was shot several times, escaped before he could be kidnapped, and died of his injuries in a military hospital two days later. During these events, the relationship between music and politics in Chile took a more confrontational turn as well and mirrored the overall escalation of political violence.

Musicians and musical compositions appeared to help people process incidents of political violence, combining collective feelings and political critiques. One song describes emotions on the Chilean left memorably, conveying contempt for Schneider's killers. Víctor Jara, now a celebrity, wrote "*Las casitas del barrio alto*" ("The Little Houses Uptown") as a musical response to the assassination.<sup>clxxxvii</sup> The song is set to the tune of Malvina Reynolds' "Little Boxes," which conveys a distaste for suburbia and the lifestyle and patterns of etiquette that go with it; Joan Jara taught her husband the original, and Víctor Jara frequently performed Spanish parodies of English-language protest songs.<sup>clxxxviii</sup> Víctor Jara's Spanish language tribute copies the melody, but his version has some distinguishing twists in addition to the language of performance. In the

introduction and between each of the verses, minor sixth chords descend from E down to A, producing a psychedelic, warped sound. The interludes between verses are, quite literally, twisted by sonic dissonance, an instrumental reflection on Chile's warped politics.<sup>clxxxix</sup>

Jara does not pull any punches with his lyrics either.

And the little son of his daddy  
Later goes to the university  
Beginning its problematic  
Tricks and social graces.  
He smokes joints in an Austin mini,  
Plays with bombs and with politics  
He assassinates generals  
And is a seditious gangster. .<sup>cxo</sup>

No call for unity here, a validation of class struggle and ad homonym attacks on the wealthy.

### **Song and the Revolution: Popular Unity as Heard Through Music.**

The links between the *nueva canción* movement and the democratic socialist politics of the Popular Unity appeared in albums such as *Canto al programa*, but even these links to specific programs were only the beginning of the affinity between the *nueva canción* and socialist ideologies. By the time of Allende's inauguration less than a year later, music clearly expressed the theoretical underpinnings of Chilean revolutionary socialism of a democratic kind. Salvador Allende and many of his followers understood that culture could fundamentally change people's attitudes about the society in which they lived.

Allende's policy proposition of a new ministry of culture aligned with many musicians' belief in the power of culture to transform society. Measure forty of Allende's famous 40 measures created this institution, giving cultural affairs their own office in the Chilean cabinet.<sup>cxci</sup> Although the new Ministry of Culture is not expressly mentioned, the "*Canción de la nueva cultura*" (Song for the New Culture) on Inti Illimani's *Canto al programa* speaks to the hope of actually revolutionizing society through popular culture.<sup>cxcii</sup>

May creation and art  
discovering new routes  
go together with the people  
toward the new culture.

The culture of the past  
under a new and pure form  
with the people incorporated  
forges the new culture.



It shall have the highest worth  
the work of men  
the unified conscience  
for the transformations.

We will all be able to enjoy  
creation and art  
and in popular subjects  
the people will take their part.<sup>cxiii</sup>

The “*Canción de la nueva cultura*” specifies the role of culture as a revolutionary force in society, and envisions the revolution in culture coming from both from above and below. The first stanza indicates that “creation and art” are distinct from the people, yet they must “go together with the people” in order to create the new culture effectively, so that it may endure in time. The second stanza reveals that according to Rojas, while “the culture of the past” is an important source of inspiration for the new, revolutionary culture, past culture is insufficient in and of itself. The genuine incorporation of the people, and their authentic—rather than imagined—practices is necessary for the new culture to take root. When read together, the third and fourth stanzas show that if popular practices are truly incorporated into the new culture, the result will be a transformed experience of creation and enjoyment. If the basis of the new culture is popular practice, referred to as “the work of men,” all people will be able to create and enjoy culture on an equal footing. These new processes of access and creation will erase the dichotomy of consumption versus creation in cultural production, since people will be both creators and consumers of culture. In these ways, the “*Canción de la Nueva Cultura*” provides an optimistic roadmap for how revolutionary culture is to be created, and under which conditions it may best succeed. The song also brings what *nueva canción* performers meant by the word “culture” into somewhat clearer focus. Whereas we can only define the “culture of the past” as described in the second stanza by what it is not, the new culture would incorporate the past practices and customs of the people, as well as artistic creation, so long as those practices are real, rather than imagined.

Musicians took their commentaries on political affairs and increased their doctrinal alignment with the Popular Unity to an unprecedented degree, by putting the new government’s entire political program to song. More specific than *Inti-Illimani’s Canto al programa, Las Cuarenta medidas cantadas* (The Forty Measures in Song), an album by the musicologist and university professor Richard Rojas described the forty-point platform of the Popular Unity for its first 100 days in government. As Jedreg Mularski argues, this album took Song to the Program

one step further, by actually putting the policy platform—not merely musicians hopes for the government—into a sung version which neatly summarized each policy measure.<sup>cxciv</sup> Some of these policy summaries could be brutally direct in their language. Measure one, “*Fin de los sueldos fabulosos*” (The End to Fabulous Salaries) places all government bureaucrats into one basket, implying that all of them are corrupt.

No more fabulous salaries  
is the first measure.  
Trusted bureaucrats  
will have no more gift giving.  
This is the end of the managers  
and also the consultants.  
Now, once and for all we end,  
all of this rot.<sup>cxcv</sup>

This measure, delivered in the waltzing *cueca* rhythm in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, is triumphant and almost gloating in tone, as if to celebrate that for the first time in history, government employees will be held to strict account, and actually made to do honest work. Measure five, “*No más viajes fabulosos al extranjero*” (No More Fabulous Pleasure Junkets) expands on the themes of measure one.

No more pleasure junkets  
because it has already cost the people  
now, only the necessary ones  
in the interests of the state.  
Incompetent bureaucrat  
who has traveled the world  
you will never travel again  
the teat is over.  
You will never travel again,  
The teat is over.<sup>cxcvi</sup>

This policy measure is delivered in an innovative, gendered way. The first four lines, limiting pleasure junkets to those in the interests of state, are sung by a male voice, as if the father of a family scolding his children and saying that now, things will be different. The last lines, speaking to the “incompetent bureaucrat” and ending with “the teat is over,” are delivered by a woman, the mother of the Chilean general family. The bureaucrats on foreign trips are portrayed as overgrown babies, and the Chilean people as their mother, grown tired of nursing them. Through *nueva canción*, musicians imagined a new Chilean society, one in which folklore in general, and musical expressions in particular, would be respected as a source of political demands and claims

to rights. Further, *certain nueva canción* musicians now saw themselves as spokesmen for the sectors of Chilean society which supported Popular Unity.

When Popular Unity came to power, the new leadership aimed to make music and art available to everyone, in contrast to the exclusive art scene outside of the *peñas*. Popular Unity consistently used art and performance in its campaigns and received strongly favorable responses from listening publics. The enthusiastic response showed artists that their work could be accessible to--and appreciated by--large groups. A leaflet called *El Pueblo Tiene Arte con Allende* (the People have Art with Allende), distributed during and in the immediate aftermath of Allende's 1970 presidential campaign, blames market economies for artists' lack of exposure to the public: "The cruel conditions that we are subjected to by the capitalist regime denigrate our role as artists, which is, at the same time, used to divide people into first- and second-class citizens. We believe that due to its social nature, art must be within reach for everyone.<sup>cxvii</sup>" Artists now linked their own work to political movements, to integrate their art into Chile's political and cultural future.

Since Popular Unity was now in power, *nueva canción* musicians composed *canciones contingentes* (contingent or situational songs), which commented on specific, usually actionable situations instead of broad themes. *Las 40 Medidas Cantadas*, for example, created a song for each measure of Allende's campaign platform. His work exemplifies situational song.<sup>cxviii</sup> Practitioners of the new song applauded the government for certain acts such as the nationalization of foreign-owned copper mines and the promulgation of a fiscally sound and extensive agrarian reform which finally ended the colonial institution of the *latifundio*.<sup>cxix</sup> Contingent songs supported Popular Unity, but also criticized the insufficiency of government action on topics from reducing food scarcity to improving the education system. Through contingent song, musicians expanded the singing of difference spearheaded by Violeta Parra, not merely by protesting issues which they believed unjustified, but commemorating victories and imagining new societies as well by specifically referring to current political issues and suggesting ways to resolve them. For the first time in Chilean history, an entire category of songs existed for exclusively political purposes.

Contingent song also resonated with new song practitioners, who defined themselves as political agents in their own right. They thought of their music as both informing and shaping the national political discourse. Joan Jara, Víctor Jara's wife, remembers his comments on the inadequacies of the term 'protest song,' and the 1960s counter-culture which came up with the label. Víctor Jara's words show how musicians theorized politically in their day-to-day lives.

The cultural invasion is like a leafy tree which prevents us from seeing our own sun, sky and stars. Therefore in order to see the sky above our heads, the task is to cut this tree off at the roots. US imperialism understands very well the power of communication through music and persists in filling our young people with all sorts of commercial tripe. With professional expertise, they have taken certain measures. First, the commercialization of so-called protest music, second, the creation of idols of protest music who obey the same rules and suffer from the same constraints as the other idols of the consumer music industry—they last a little while and then disappear. Meanwhile they are useful in neutralizing the innate spirit of rebellion of young people. The term protest song is no longer valid because it is ambiguous and has been misused. I prefer the term revolutionary song.<sup>cc</sup>

Jara's comments about "revolutionary song" reveal that he situated his music as an agent in political processes, specifically in the context of a battle against imperialism. First, Jara claimed that he was on the opposite (socialist) side of a "cultural invasion," which consisted of products from capitalist circuits of production. Like a tree which blocked other plants from the energy of the sun, the ubiquity of these other products on the market blocked works from "invaded" cultures from the networks of production and distribution. Jara also took pains to situate this dominance of the capitalist industry within the political context of the Cold War, as a battle between United States-based imperialist forces and anti-imperialist musical productions. According to Jara, United States imperialism used the music industry to communicate certain ideas through music, which he disparaged as "commercial tripe," and to force anti-imperialist musicians to conform within imperialist logics. Specifically, Jara claimed that the concept of "protest song" was at best a commercialization which served the interests of imperialism. Jara was obviously wary of being commercialized as a "protest singer," which he thought could either make him too complicit with the interests of imperialism, or shorten the duration of his musical career and, therefore, his usefulness to anti-imperialism. Ironically, Jara released his own work on the very capitalist Odeon record label, a fact which should raise questions about Jara's own placement within an industry dominated by an ideology he loathed, and his embeddedness—willing or otherwise—with the imperialist interests he claimed to fight against. Yet in the middle of these remarks, Jara proposed a solution. As a precondition for members of cultures which were being "invaded" to recognize the value of their own cultures—"to see the sky above our heads," the "leafy tree" of the "cultural invasion" had to be "cut off at the roots." Just what Jara meant by this remark is unclear. Yet, by insisting on his own identity as a creator of "revolutionary song," rather than protest song, he

believed he was circumventing the logics of capitalist production and imperialist ideology to produce something which anti-imperialists could recognize as their own, and worth protecting.

Political parties of the left and especially the Communist Party, recognized the importance of music in Popular Unity's political project. As the *Coordinadora Folklórica* (Folklore Coordinator) of the Communist Party wrote in its 1971 report to the National Culture Workers Assembly:

The cultural workers have been adding in an increasing level to the revolutionary process, and in this sense the most important movement is that of Chilean *nueva canción*, social song in which groups with political consciousness have realized the principal labor and have inflicted serious blows upon the right in the area of youth and popular preferences. This movement, which has nourished itself in Chilean and Latin American culture, is an influence that has surpassed the frontiers of Chile and has transformed into a powerful tool of operation truth (foreign propaganda tours sponsored by the state) in Europe and principally in South America.<sup>cci</sup>

This communique reveals that the Communist Party saw *nueva canción* in a similar light as Víctor Jara saw his own work. The Party bragged that instead of buying musical offerings from the political right, Chilean youth were attracted to the anti-imperialist *nueva canción*, and the singing of difference proclaimed by *nueva canción* creators. The new song was now becoming an ideological weapon against the right. Additionally, Operation Truth, which will be discussed shortly, helped turn *nueva canción* into a transnational political project, in competition with the transnational record labels which dominated the markets of the global south. Through this combination of a new, "social song" and foreign touring, *nueva canción* was taking its place in the ideological battles of the Cold War, as the support of parties of the left reveals.

Even if not officially designated as such, the *Unidad Popular* government's sponsorship transformed *nueva canción* from an obscure, folkloric genre to become the quasi-official music of the state. The Chilean state nationalized the RCA Victor record label, putting the label's entire infrastructure into government service under the name *Industrias de Radio y Televisión (IRT)*.<sup>ccii</sup> DICAP and IRT became practically interchangeable, with identical artists and much of the same production and technical staff. DICAP, founded and continuously run by the by Communist Youth, now received more funding and technical expertise. Within a short time, people could listen to new song on state-sponsored channels and *nueva canción* musicians began composing everything from campaign materials to commercial jingles for children's entertainment programs. Víctor Jara's work was particularly beloved by Popular Unity supporters; as the writer of the instrumental

jingles between programs on the government-run *Canal 7* (Channel 7), on some of which he also made cartoon animations, Jara became a visible presence between February 1971 and the night of September 10, 1973. According to his wife, “V́ctor had great fun with this, using different variations on the same theme, with different sounds and instruments to give each one its specific character.<sup>cciii</sup>” This reveals that V́ctor Jara was both aware of his role as a government propagandist through his music, and actively enjoying the position. Nor was this propaganda shallow, or ill-thought-out. Only by giving each piece a specific role, and providing specific characters for the instruments themselves, could the propaganda work be carried out truly effectively. This dedication to effectiveness was demonstrated in a very short time. One of these recordings, “*Charagua*” (Aymara for cloud) which usually announced weather forecasts, actually rose to the tenth place on the Chilean pop charts, and indigenous Aymara were visibly and positively moved to thank *Inti-Ilumani* for a live performance of “*Charagua*” in indigenous territory.<sup>cciv</sup> For all the cultural appropriation inherent in the *nueva canci3n* enterprise, Chile’s native peoples were finally being incorporated into the national cultural discourse. True, this incorporation into the national discourse often occurred through very small gestures—one could even say token gestures, such as simply using indigenous instrumentation or aesthetics. Yet even small gestures toward inclusion were more than any other cultural project had undertaken, so small gestures could go a great way toward providing a feeling of inclusion or representation.

With added responsibilities, musicians faced increasing demands on their time and efforts, evident in such initiatives as *Operaci3n Verdad* (Operation Truth), and the *Tren de la cultura*. *Operaci3n Verdad* sent musicians on tour in other countries in support of Popular Unity.<sup>ccv</sup> *Quilapayún* founder Eduardo Carrasco disclosed that the band received early financial support from the Chilean government to travel abroad in support of Popular Unity.<sup>ccvi</sup> V́ctor Jara supported Allende abroad and was deeply beloved by foreign audiences, playing in Mexico City, Lima and Havana, and building relations of cultural diplomacy and exchange.<sup>ccvii</sup>

Musicians’ trips to Cuba and other socialist countries revealed the give-and-take characteristics of these journeys, as Chileans and their hosts imagined new expressions of international solidarity. The relationship between Chile and Cuba functioned as a tool of both education and solidarity for both governments; Chile and Cuba exchanged touring groups, specifically to learn about each other’s techniques of political song.<sup>ccviii</sup> Perhaps the single largest foreign touring effort by musicians on behalf of Popular Unity came in December 1972, at the

Third International Festival of Political Song in East Berlin.<sup>ccix</sup> The trip was explicitly political, as president Allende saw the Chilean delegation off with a speech at the airport, exhorting them to demonstrate their “love for life, for peace, and the condemnation of fascism and imperialism.”<sup>ccx</sup> The delegation arrived in the German Democratic Republic amidst huge public displays of solidarity with the Chilean peaceful road to socialism. In some cases, Chileans also learned organizing strategies from their East German counterparts; the band *Oktoberklub*, which continues to perform today, inspired *Quilapayún* to train others to play their repertoire, bringing their songs to more audiences.<sup>ccxi</sup> *Inti-Illimani Inti-Illimani* also found the GDR to be a favorite place for their international touring and for learning from East German colleagues, their visit to the Tenth World Students’ Congress in August, 1973 being a particularly fruitful exchange.<sup>ccxii</sup>

The *Tren de la cultura* (*Culture train*), meanwhile, played an important role by spreading political and musical messages at home. The same Culture Train that Allende employed in his presidential campaigns now brought Popular Unity supporters to remote areas of Chile as far south as the mostly indigenous *Araucanía* and *Patagonia* regions. In doing so, the Culture Train spread a similar message of support for Popular Unity as Operation Truth, but for the poor and the geographically isolated.<sup>ccxiii</sup> The Chilean leftist parties prioritized reaching isolated areas of the country ever since the Popular Front and used public transport to both spread political messages and provide physical and mediatic spaces for performance.

Empowered to move their political and musical messages to the people, supporters of Popular Unity staged enormous public concerts, influencing political discourse through the sheer number of participants and spectators. This influence was somewhat complicated, however, by their vague references to “fascism,” a quasi-label for projects with which they disagreed. Such concerts gained increased attention with the growing difficulties of the UP’s domestic policies, and many large public concerts took place in 1972. The *Maratón Cultural Antifascista* (Antifascist Cultural Marathon) took place on December 9, 1972, during which amateur and professional musicians played in Santiago’s Plaza de la Constitución for twenty-two hours straight. The audience size is difficult to determine with any exactitude but estimates from Santiago local government put the number at 200,000 people. In a joint manifesto from the musicians, they repudiated the “Nazi fascism” and “all other types of fascism” employed by the parties of the political right and center.<sup>ccxiv</sup> While well-meant and in support of the increasingly challenged politics of the *Unidad Popular*, Mularski’s analysis of the broad uses of the word in the UP press

shows that these references to fascism were nonetheless ill-defined, betraying a group of leftist musicians ubiquitous equation of true, “authentic” culture with themselves and their politics.<sup>ccxv</sup>

Although the range of cultural events and musical messages remained impressive, they failed to turn Chilean politics around by expanding the UP’s base of support. Although Popular Unity supporters greeted these spectacles with fervor, many who did not sympathize with socialism simply stayed away.<sup>ccxvi</sup> Although *nueva canción* was becoming the semi-official music by which Popular Unity was known to Chileans and outsiders, its popularity was waning, given the increasing identification of the music itself with the state and its policies.

Popular Unity relied heavily on folkloric music, and particularly folkloric music as a feature of massive public spectacle, to promote its larger ideology. The mega-rally featuring the folk music of the new song demonstrates that quantity and ease of popular access were the major strategies to spread Popular Unity’s ideology, a trend that emerged from Popular Front during the 1930s. The new song revived rural folkloric traditions, exposed Chileans to new ideologies, and showed people how to form communities around concrete, actionable political goals. Through the ubiquity of the *nueva canción*, the greatest artistic legacy of Popular Unity, more Chileans had access to culture than at any prior time in the country’s history.

### **Stagnation, Polarization, Censorship and Control.**

The massive increase in access to culture, together with the cheerful, celebratory tone of the *nueva canción* could not, in the end, protect the Popular Unity’s political project. More interestingly, the performances which could be consumed so easily was at times highly produced, even controlled by the state. Within the ebullient cultural expansion lay a protectionism that jeopardized alternative views within Chilean democratic socialism.

Just as Popular Unity officials promoted their own brand of leftist counter-culture, they rejected other counter-cultures they considered either imperialist insufficiently revolutionary. Hippie culture, new-age philosophies such as Siloism, and yoga practices were present and thriving in Chile until the 1973 coup, much to the chagrin of both Popular Unity, and the largely rightist Chilean media. Ironically, both the left and right agreed that public consumption of narcotics, conscious gender-bending, and in sexual promiscuity among youth were undesirable. Yet, they consistently they blamed each other for the surge in public immorality.

Cultural frictions were visible in the famous *Piedra Roja* (Red Stone) song festival, and other festivals throughout the Popular Unity era. *Piedra Roja*, called by its organizers *Piedra*



*Rajada* (scratched stone) a misprint in *El Mercurio* and perhaps anti-communist reference, was meant to be a small-scale production. Jorge Gomes, a disgruntled adolescent just emigrated from Scotland, and a few dozen friends, all teenagers or in their 20s at the time organized the event. Thousands of students attended far surpassing organizers' predictions. After three days of increasingly drunken, sometimes violent behavior, police broke up the event and made dozens of arrests.<sup>ccxvii</sup> The festival took place at the height of the 1970 election campaign, which exaggerated the scope of the event and made counter-cultural youths a target of media forces on both the left and the right.<sup>ccxviii</sup> Jorge Gomes was expelled from all Chilean schools on grounds of antisocial behavior, and the Ministry of Education threatened many other counter-cultural students with the same fate.<sup>ccxix</sup>

Other famous festivals also received intense political critique from all sides of the spectrum. The *Viña del Mar* Song Festival, the most internationally famous music festival in the country, became the subject of political disputes in both 1972 and 1973. *Viña del Mar* is a competitive festival, meaning that juries adjudicate the performances and award money and trophies for winners. Performers of the *nueva canción* felt vindicated when the South African exile and prisoner of conscience Miriam Makeba sang her song "*Pata/pata*," a song with no political content in its lyrics or rhythm, but which the African National Congress frequently used at protests, and continues to use today. Political conservatives and their allies in print journalism blasted Makeba's work as politicized, and festival organizers apologized for Makeba's inclusion in the program, a decision which drew criticism from the left-wing press. The 1973 festival took place in a strained, politically polarized environment. Two simultaneous riots broke out in the amphitheater during *Quilapayún's* *nueva canción* performance, as leftist and rightist audience members tried to shout each other down. The following night, the band *Los Huasos Quincheros*, the most famous Chilean musicians of the twentieth century and beloved by Chilean conservatives for their bucolic lyrics and lack of overt political messages of any kind, were canceled by the festival jury without explanation.<sup>ccxx</sup> In this extremely politicized environment, festival organizers felt that even works which did not mention politics at all were too politically sensitive to be played, given *Los Huasos Quincheros* politically conservative audiences.

Regulatory efforts by the *Unidad Popular* reveal some of the concrete obstacles to the government's cultural reach as private ownership held a tight grip on channels of distribution. Even though the legal changes under the UP promoted Chilean music and attempted to regulate

airtime on radio stations, a large audience simply remained out of reach. In musical life, the Congress passed a law mandating that 25% of all airtime on Chilean radio stations be composed of Chilean music.<sup>ccxxi</sup> In reality, most of Chile's media was owned privately, and many of the leading conglomerates were hostile to Chile's socialist government. The *Grupo Edwards*, for example, owner of Chile's *El Mercurio* newspaper and the largest media firm in Chile to this day, famously received CIA funding.<sup>ccxxii</sup> Privately owned radio stations were, in fact, only too happy to obey the new law on airplay, choosing to give more time to the so-called *música típica chilena* (Chilean folk music) associated with elites but actually popular throughout the country and across social strata.<sup>ccxxiii</sup> The leftist project of increasing access to politically motivated performance was encountering the limits of its own popular support.

Popular Unity's efforts to control culture also extended to groups who declared their unwillingness to become enmeshed in political debates. In a well-remembered incident in March, 1973 during the campaign season for municipal elections, the *Brigada Ramona Parra* (the cultural division of the Communist youth), joined police officers in beating hippies and other counter-cultural elements—real or imagined—whom they claimed were all smoking marijuana in public.<sup>ccxxiv</sup> Siloism, a new-age philosophy which combines Roman stoics, regular meditations, and a mostly plant-based diet, was particularly criticized by almost the entire Chilean press for being a foreign—Argentine—import.<sup>ccxxv</sup> Chile of the early 1970s was a difficult country in which to be a non-conformist. Society was sufficiently politicized that even groups who wished to remain outside of politics were politicized by others.

### **Musical Confrontation and the Making of a New “Nation of Enemies.”<sup>ccxxvi</sup>**

A stunning popular march by women, a group traditionally excluded from the public political arena, inspired musicians to articulate Chile's increased political polarization. The song “*Las ollitas*” (The cooking pots) by *Quilapayún* began a trend in which *nueva canción* musicians critiqued those who disagreed with Popular Unity in extremely strong terms.

*Quilapayún* was inspired by the so-called *cacerolazo* (March of empty pots and pans) of December 1, 1971, the first march in the nation's history lead, organized, and largely publicized by women. It was also the first time women used sound collectively in such an unavoidable, public, and political way. Thousands of women marched through the streets of Santiago banging on pots and pans to symbolize their hunger.<sup>ccxxvii</sup> In spite of conventionally accepted scholarly wisdom that the march was an upper-class affair, Margaret Power argues that participants came from diverse

social classes, a troubling sign for Popular Unity.<sup>ccxxviii</sup> Irrespective of the marcher's class position, breadlines were common by late 1971.

*Quilapayún* reacted to the protest with undisguised contempt. The introduction of “*Las ollitas*,” features a monologue between a waiter and a customer at a restaurant. Customer: “Listen, son, bring me a crocodile and avocado sandwich, please.” Waiter (apologetic): “There is no crocodile.” Customer: “This is it!! Where are we going to end up with this government?”<sup>ccxxix</sup> *Quilapayún* also made openly gendered remarks equating women's participation in the march with being ugly—there are four repetitions of the words “*That ugly old hag! Big-bellied glutton! How she bangs it [the cooking pot] that seditious fatty!*”<sup>ccxxx</sup> *Quilapayún* clearly thought the women exaggerated the issues of food scarcity. More than feeling the food scarcity was ungrounded in fact, however, “*Las ollitas*” represents the musical reflection of a political moment of intense polarization, where leftist musicians and their publics felt that those in opposition to the government were their enemies.

With the women's mobilizations of 1972 and subsequent strikes by Chile's professional classes, musicians' roles began to change, and the demands on their time increased. Many started organizing their communities. As Max Berrú, drummer for *Inti-Illimani* said, regarding the energy expended by musicians day-to-day, in addition to any musical activities: “Victor Jara was incredible. When we worked together doing voluntary work, for example, trains brought food into the city. Since the workers were on strike, we had to unload. All of us—the artists—had to pick up and pass back these sacks to a store, then go back and unload again. Víctor was the only one who would carry two sacks.”<sup>ccxxxi</sup> At a time when musicians were putting everything they could into the Popular Unity to ensure its success, Víctor Jara's devotion to the cause was extraordinary, even for others who were doing their best. Being small in stature due to childhood malnutrition, carrying two sacks must have been an extremely demanding task for Jara. The fact that he insisted on doing so is a testament to his singular devotion to his ideology, and the fact that he is remembered for this devotion by other musicians shows that his example was not lost on the rest. Moreover, for particularly famous musicians such as Víctor Jara, personal security was now becoming a problem; they received death threats from political opponents. His wife claimed he began to openly wonder whether he might be harmed for his music by late 1972, nearly a year before Popular Unity eventually fell.<sup>ccxxxii</sup> Jara was under periodical physical attack ever since writing “*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*” in 1969, but 1972 and 1973 the threats increased in number

and seriousness. This increase in danger represents a fundamental change to the role of musicians as Popular Unity supporters and members of Chilean society. Clearly, musicians of the *nueva canción* perceived their duty to be helping the Popular Unity in any way they could. However, the tremendous polarization in Chilean society meant that musicians had to worry about questions of personal security more typically associated with controversial politicians.

In keeping with Chile's intensifying polarization, conservatives began to employ strident public spectacle to demand the end of the Popular Unity. Famously, the wives of junior military officers repeatedly placed chicken feed and bags full of feathers at the doors of their husbands' superiors, a non-verbal accusation of cowardice for not overthrowing the government.<sup>ccxxxiii</sup> This particular activity was coordinated by the women's group *Poder Femenino* (feminine power), rightist women, mostly of upper-class origins, who openly wanted to end Chilean socialism. Margaret Power provides an account of Lucía Maturana, from Chile's agrarian elite, elaborating musically on this chicken theme. She made a habit of singing one of the Spanish-speaking world's most commonplace nursery rhymes, a lullaby called "*los pollitos dicen pío pío pío*" (the little chickens say cheep cheep cheep) out of the window of her car whenever military or police vehicles passed by.<sup>ccxxxiv</sup> These tactics were often used by the political left, which proposed new directions in terms of collective political performance by rightists. Further, the use of ad homonym attacks, physical objects as political signifiers, and mobs became routine tools of political discourse, irrespective of one's place on the political spectrum.

This chapter has detailed the relatively rapid growth of an identification between those who worked with the political left and the *nueva canción* genre. Folklorists who did not identify with the Chilean political left often felt like there was no space for them in the *nueva canción* movement, due to the intense politicization of Chilean culture at that time. Benjamin McKenna, the lead singer of the famous and avowedly apolitical Chilean folk band *Los Huasos Quincheros*, expressed his alienation with the politicized culture of the *nueva canción* in no uncertain terms:

The musicians who started to play this music for the Popular Unity were excellent... and the youth in particular loved it; but the problem was that they put certain political messages and different representations of what Chile was into this music. In reality, it was a very smart political maneuver because the Chilean youth loved the musical style because of its exciting sound and rhythms—linking these exciting sounds and rhythms with a political movement and propaganda was a great

way to get the youth involved with the Popular Unity and feeling as if it were a part of a different community with a different identity.<sup>ccxxxv</sup>

McKenna's remarks about the *nueva canción* convey admiration for the quality of its musicianship, while making his political disagreements with its performers clear. For McKenna, the choice to insert political messages into *nueva canción* bastardized what could have been a beautiful, thoroughly meritorious form of folkloric expression. The choice to politicize the music is all-the-more regrettable, due to the divisions it caused in Chilean society at large. McKenna portrayed *nueva canción* as a politically motivated way in which the Popular Unity and its supporters tried to drive easily manipulated youth away from the society and the values of their elders. In this way, McKenna makes *nueva canción* responsible for the divisions in Chilean society during the latter stages of Popular Unity.

The truly dire economic situation appeared in musical commentary in late 1972 and throughout 1973. Víctor Jara, for his part, wrote “*El waltz del desabastecimiento*” (The Scarcity Waltz), which depicts capitalists joyfully sabotaging the country.<sup>ccxxxvi</sup> The third and final verse of the song reads:

You, who were on a diet,  
and eats like an American,  
start eating like average families,  
Barros Luco and Barros Jarpa.<sup>ccxxxvii</sup>  
As you have neurasthenia  
for food-related reasons,  
Next time you make a *récipe* for stoppages,  
Also stop your kitchen.<sup>ccxxxviii</sup>

Like many other *canciones contingentes*, “*El desabastecimiento*” refers to day-to-day realities faced by average Chileans. By late 1971, people endured long lines for basic necessities like toilet paper, vegetables, tea and even bread. The government set up *Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precios* (Committees of Supplying and Prices-- *JAP*), well aware of the sabotage from the right and the boycotts of Chile by the international finance system. *JAPs* appeared in every neighborhood of the country, which locally regulated the prices of food and passed out food baskets and ration cards to poor people. Many people found the service extremely useful if not lifesaving. Other Chileans denounced that the food basket and ration cards were not universally available, particularly members of parties in opposition to the government.<sup>ccxxxix</sup> Food was now a political weapon on Chile's road to socialism.

In the waning days of Popular Unity, cultural workers continued to work, and the number of artists on foreign tour as part of Operation Truth was, in fact, at its height. Víctor Jara's last recording released while alive is a performance on Peruvian national television from July 17, 1973; Peru was experiencing its own socialist revolution, run by a leftist authoritarian military junta with broad popular support. Between performances of many of his works, he made speeches about his own political views and Chile's specific situation.<sup>ccxi</sup> *Quilapayún* and *Inti-Ilumani* were also on foreign tour, *Quilapayún* in East Germany and *Inti-Ilumani Inti-Ilumani* in Italy. They therefore avoided being detained or worse in the aftermath of the September 11 coup, but at the cost of seventeen years in exile. Víctor Jara was scheduled to perform at the State Technical University and accompany a speech by President Allende on September 11, 1973, the very day of the coup.<sup>ccxli</sup> In a context of increasing socio-economic dislocation, political polarization and the increasing difficulty of mere survival, *nueva canción* musicians continued to commemorate past traditions and imagine the socialist future to come.

## Conclusion

Chilean musicians began to “sing difference” in the early twentieth century, but as I show in this chapter the relationship between the nation's political history, societal struggle, and musicians' vocal expressions emerged in the 1960s. Families like the Parras, most notable Violeta Parra, combined their passion for music and the traditions of poor people with the desire for positive change in their home country. Compositions by Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara showed that musicians invented new music that connected them to political change.

Music linked individual ideas to collective endeavors, evident in the life and work of Violeta Parra and her children. The latter expanded the range of collective performance. Violeta Parra set new expectations regarding perceived authenticity using rural and indigenous symbols. She collected musical practices from rural people and groups and brought these practices to wider audiences through the mediated form of sound recordings and the more direct—if less successful—attempt to educate the public about rural traditions at *La Carpa de la Reyna*. Her “*La carta*” (1963) incorporated not only day-to-day political themes, but examples drawn from Violeta Parra's own life to produce a work which spoke to universal themes of brutality, justice, and equity, all through her own personal example of communicating reality through music. More important than any single work, Violeta Parra “sang difference” to the greatest extent yet seen in Chilean history. Yet, Violeta Parra's work is a product of individual intellect and sacrifice. Very few of her recordings

involve group performance, and her later career—the part associated with politics—is almost entirely Violeta Parra, alone on guitar. Through *peñas*, individual Chileans began to collectivize their music, grouping together to sing difference.

Collective, musical claims for social justice by the *peña* generation coincided with growing political weight of leftist ideas. More specifically, Violeta Parra inspired a generation of folklorists to take up her ideas of “authentic folklore,” chief among these “singing difference”—looking to the poor, the rural, and the marginalized for musical subject matter. Yet it was the Parra family’s long, consistent involvement in the Chilean Communist Party that increased the popularity of Violeta Parra’s work, and the massive “singing of difference” by Chileans. Leftist parties used culture to create a sense of community and national identities ever since the Popular Front. The Communist Youth’s foundation of the *DICAP* record label is a good example, after which leftists transmitted their counter-culture from the bottom up, instead of from the top down. More importantly, music brings people together, at times more permanently and effectively than any electoral means. By the late 1960s, musicians framed political statements through rhythm, sound and rhyme, which united more people together than politicians could in spite of generations of activism.

In the 1970s, Allende’s *Unidad Popular* government used *nueva canción* to spread the message of Chilean socialism, thus emphasizing the new role that cultural expressions could play in creating and imagining a socialist future. Chileans could easily consume more cultural spectacles than ever before. Culture of all kinds, but particularly music, conveyed reality, and educated people politically. Government involvement in culture, seen through music industries, represents a Herculean effort at easily accessible mass education and indoctrination compared with previous administrations. In musical terms, Popular Unity assumed how people listened and reacted to music to implied broad support for its platform. Both the government and supportive musicians aimed to prove to other Chileans and the world that the legitimacy of their political project; they saw large, public gatherings as evidence in support of their assumptions. The large attendance at some of these gatherings shows that, particularly in the early and middle days of Popular Unity, support for the government was probably greater than the political opposition liked to admit. However, the ebullient enthusiasm of listening publics and the single-minded determination of musicians to support the state masked two troubling realities which the *nueva canción* was never able to resolve. Attendance at Popular Unity rallies flattened out as the political

situation became more desperate, and many Chileans, including some musicians would never support politicized culture of any stripe.

While the UP framed its cultural policies as practices of access and democratization, the government also practiced censorship and control of public performance. Laws mandated Chilean folk music on the radio, and nationalized Chile's capitalist record industry. Far from popularizing new song in the privately owned Chilean media, the dispute over radio airtime polarized Chile's media landscape between forces loyal to and those that opposed the *UP* government. The government responded by simply nationalizing much of the record industry, eliminating opportunities for unfavorable legal interpretations. Popular Unity's control over other, apolitical counter-cultures approached censorship, using the coercive policing powers of the state. Just as the government appeared to democratize access to performance, Popular Unity's cultural policies reserved public space for approved performances, to the detriment of other types of artistic or political expression.

Just as the symbiotic relationship between music and leftist politics had grown stronger under the *Unidad Popular*, musical expressions also exposed the growing political tensions and polarization in the nation. The open affiliation of *nueva canción* musicians with the *DICAP* record label reveals the unavoidably political nature of "singing difference." It is difficult to imagine a media landscape dominated by capitalist modes of production in which singers who espouse revolution can find a fair hearing; EMI records was the only exception to this rule. Singers of difference had little option but to politicize their work; the first group—other than *peña* goers—to embrace singing difference was, after all, a political party! With this politicization, *nueva canción* musicians began to shift from simply singing difference, to cataloguing revolutionary achievements and advocating in favor of more inclusive political processes.

Music also accompanied the political tension and economic dislocation that led to the end of Chilean representative democracy by military coup on September 11, 1973. Leftist musicians commented on many subjects from the sabotage of Popular Unity by rightists, to what they claimed was the non-existence of food shortages. Far from suggesting revolutionary change, many leftist musicians now placed the country's ills where they believed them to belong, on deliberate sabotage from the political right. Rightists openly politicized sonic expressions of their own, in a disavowal of their claims to apolitical culture. Indeed, this extreme polarization of culture along political lines



under the Popular Unity, which helped lend popular support to the ideology of apolitical culture, dominant under military rule.

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<sup>lxxvii</sup> Fairley, Jan, "Annotated bibliography of Latin American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to nueva canción," *Popular music* vol. 5 (1985), 305-56. 307.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Víctor Jara's wife, the theater director Joan Jara, describes the "Preguntas por Puerto Montt" premier in detail in the biography of Víctor Jara. She estimates that this gathering, by no means the largest of the time, had ten thousand people singing the chorus in unison. See Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 124-6.

<sup>lxxix</sup> "Singing difference" is originally a term coined by the singer/songwriter Violeta Parra, by which Parra meant that instead of singing about romantic love, sanitized rural customs or other "traditional" subjects in Chilean folklore, Parra was singing about what she believed to be a more authentic—a different—rural identity. See Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar la diferencia: Violeta Parra y la canción chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song 'Yo canto la diferencia')," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.

<sup>lxxx</sup> For some sources which follow this conventionally accepted chronology, see Fairley, Jan, "Annotated bibliography of Latin American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to nueva canción," *Popular music* vol. 5 (1985), 305-56; Fairley, Jan, "La nueva canción latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3.2 (1984): 107-115; Rolle, Claudio, "La 'Nueva Canción Chilena', el proyecto cultural popular y la campaña presidencial y gobierno de Salvador Allende," *Pensamiento Crítico* 2 (2003).

<sup>lxxxi</sup> Collier, Simon, and Sater, William F., *A History of Chile, 1808–2002* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 149-158.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Anonymous, "Cueca de Balmaceda (Popular Chilena)." [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), November 25, 2020.

<https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/332/0/cueca-de-balmaceda-popular-chilena>

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Rolle, Claudio. "Del Cielito Lindo al Gana la gente: música popular, campañas electorales y uso político de la música popular en Chile," in *Actas IV Congreso Latinoamericano de la Asociación Internacional para el Estudio de la Música Popular* (2002), 1-27.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Conniff, Michael L., *Populism in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University Alabama Press, 2012); Bustikova, Lenka, and Petra Guasti, *Populism. Oxford Bibliographies* (2020).

<sup>lxxxv</sup> The historian Paul Drake argues that there were no truly populist movements in Chile of that time, although populist influences and philosophies were on the rise. See Drake, Paul, "Chilean Populism," in *Populism in Latin America* 2nd ed, ed. Michal L. Conniff (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 2012) 71-85.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Analysis of the Popular Unity government needs to go back to the Popular Front era of the 1930s and 40s. Both periods witnessed extensive mobilizations of the Chilean masses, political parties and civil society organizations, and other groups. Indeed, the political parties of the Popular Front era still existed when the Popular Unity came to power decades later, and many of those parties had changed relatively little in their ideologies. The Popular Front era is also a time when a truly national Chilean culture developed for the first time, mostly at the instigation of members of the *Partido Radical* (Radical Party) or government bureaucrats. For the first time in Chilean history, one could make a decent living as a musician.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Whenever I refer to the left, center, or right in politics, I refer to the political spectrum as traditionally defined since the French Revolution. Those whom I call the right generally support traditional social programs and have rather conservative economic outlooks. The left, in contrast, supports an expanded role for the state, betterment of the rights of workers and the poor.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> The left, indeed, was well ahead of other political factions regarding these issues. Recabarren was writing about much of this during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> "Workers' Movements and the Birth of the Chilean Left Luis Emilio Recabarren." Trans. Ryan Judge. In *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*, ed. Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, (Duke University Press, 2013), 233-7. See 234 for the quotation. For background information on the growing parties of the Chilean left during the Popular Front, see "A Manifesto to the Chilean People Democratic Party." Trans. Trevor Martenson. In *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*, ed. Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn (Duke University Press, 2013), 224-6.

<sup>xc</sup> Víctor Jara, "A Luis Emilio Recabarren," *Pongo en Tus Manos Abiertas* (1969). EMI Chile.

[www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed October 25, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/17/0/a-luis-emilio-recabarren-victor-jara>

<sup>xci</sup> EMI Chile, Víctor Jara's record label during the Popular Unity, fulfilled an interesting role. It was the only multinational record label which the Popular Unity government did not nationalize during its time in power, and

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EMI executives bragged about the label's status as a capitalist label which willingly recorded "communist music." See Fairley, Jan., "La nueva canción latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* vol. 3, no. 2 (1984): 107-115

<sup>xcii</sup> Antezana-Pernet, Corinne A. "Mobilizing Women in the Popular Front Era: Feminism, Class, and Politics in the "Movimiento Pro-Emancipación De La Mujer Chilena" (MEMCh), 1935-1950." 1996. 353.

<sup>xciii</sup> Antezana-Pernet, "Mobilizing Women in the Popular Front Era: Feminism, Class, and Politics in the "Movimiento Pro-Emancipación De La Mujer Chilena" (MEMCh), 1935-1950."

<sup>xciv</sup> Krstulović, Ozren, Agnic, *Allende: El Hombre y el Político* (Santiago: Brill Editores, 2008), 145.

<sup>xcv</sup> Alarcón, Rolando, "Compañero Presidente." *El Cantar Tiene Sentido*. Astral (3): Santiago de Chile, (1971). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), 15 November, 2022. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/6412/0/companero-presidente-rolando-alarcon>.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Barr-Melej, Patrick, "Sowing "Seeds of Goodness" in Depression-Era Chile: Politics, the "Social Question," and the Labor Ministry's Cultural Extension Department," *The Americas* vol. 59, no. 4 (Washington) 59, no. 4 (2003): 537-58.

<sup>xcvii</sup> Barr-Melej, "Sowing "Seeds of Goodness" in Depression-Era Chile: Politics, the "Social Question," and the Labor Ministry's Cultural Extension Department," 537-58. 540.

<sup>xcviii</sup> Barr-Melej, "Sowing "Seeds of Goodness" in Depression-Era Chile: Politics, the "Social Question," and the Labor Ministry's Cultural Extension Department," 537-58.

<sup>xcix</sup> Barr-Melej, "Sowing "Seeds of Goodness" in Depression-Era Chile: Politics, the "Social Question," and the Labor Ministry's Cultural Extension Department," 537-58. 541.

<sup>c</sup> The historian Jedrek Mularski provides the translation for the quotation in the text. See Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era: Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 8.

<sup>ci</sup> Pieper-Mooney, Jadwiga E, "Radiodifusión y Cambio en las Adhesiones Políticas de los Trabajadores Rurales: el Ejemplo de la Región de Aconcagua, 1956-1970," *Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales* No. 46 (1999), 179-190.

<sup>cii</sup> Erika Verba, "Back in the Days When She Sang Mexican Songs on the Radio: Before Violeta Parra was Violeta Parra," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 63-83. It is worth noting that concepts of the "authentic" are unempirical, problematic and imprecise. However, Violeta Parra used this word frequently and her particular conception of the "authentic," to which we will return in this chapter, inspired a generation of musicians who followed her.

<sup>ciii</sup> Parra, Nicanor, *Poemas Y Antipoemas*. 3rd ed (Santiago, Chile: Nascimento, 1967).

<sup>civ</sup> Cymerman, Claude Ed., *Pablo Neruda, Canto General: Biblioteca Crítica Hachette* 8 (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1988).

<sup>cv</sup> In her biography of Víctor Jara, Joan Jara describes Pablo Neruda's importance to the Chilean left in general and her husband in particular. See Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*.

<sup>cvi</sup> Through the involvement of many Chilean Communists in art or performance at one kind or another, and the historically tight control Communist parties exercised over the private or personal affairs of their members, we can interpret that the Party was at the very least aware of this expression, and quite probably encouraged it. On the heels of the party's criminalization between 1949 and 1958, it may have been a sensible decision for Communists to be performers, a way of showing that Chilean Communism was not so subversive or all-consuming as critics at the time claimed.

<sup>cvi</sup> Caroline Brooke describes the Soviet Union's two-track policy on music. On the one hand, diplomats and economic planners were keen to ensure that the music the USSR produced for foreign export fell within Stalinist ideological lines. On the other hand, military and police intelligence units tried, for the most part very successfully, to restrict the sorts of music Soviet citizens could listen to. See Brooke, Caroline, "Soviet Music in the International Arena, 1932-41," *European History Quarterly* vol. 31, no. 2 (2001), 231-64. 241-48 for the information on foreign policy and international competitions, 248 and following for information on internal censorship.

<sup>cvi</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *a: Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 34-5. Mularski himself heavily relies on Brooke, Caroline, "Soviet Music in the International Arena, 1932-41," *European History Quarterly* vol. 31, no. 2 (2001): 231-64.

<sup>cix</sup> Socialist Yugoslavia relied heavily on the international circuit of socialist cultural festivals to inculcate socialist values into its population. See Kimberly Elman Zarecorm "NATIONAL IN FORM, SOCIALIST IN CONTENT," in *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1960* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011). 113. Throughout the Cold War, the Soviet Union took pains to educate its own population about folkloric music—considered to have superior socialist ideology to other forms, as well as ideologically acceptable music

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being produced in other countries. See Abraham A. Schwadron, "Music in Soviet Education," *Music Educators Journal* vol. 53, no. 8 (1967): 86-93.

<sup>cx</sup> Romina A. Green-Rioja, "Unearthing Violeta Parra: Counter-memory, Rupture and Authenticity Outside of the Modern." In *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 105-138. The reference to Soviet sponsorship is on 135.

<sup>cx<sup>i</sup></sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 161-5.

<sup>cx<sup>ii</sup></sup> Brunnbauer, Ulf, "Making Bulgarians Socialist: The Fatherland Front in Communist Bulgaria, 1944—1989," *East European Politics and Societies* vol. 22, no. 1 (2008): 44-79; and Catarina Preda, "The Two Modern Dictatorships in Chile and Romania: 1970s-1989," in *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (Springer, 2017), 47-82.

<sup>cx<sup>iii</sup></sup> Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar La Diferencia: Violeta Parra Y La Canción Chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo Canto La Diferencia")," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.

<sup>cx<sup>iv</sup></sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 138.

<sup>cx<sup>v</sup></sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 138. The translation is provided by McSherry.

<sup>cx<sup>vi</sup></sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*. Jara tells the story of this period in an endearing way, claiming that Violeta Parra often made her son Ángel carry her tape recorder and transcribe her field notes. For this reason, Ángel Parra supposedly preferred foreign rhythms and instrumentation in his own work.

<sup>cx<sup>vii</sup></sup> Leonidas Morales, "A Conversation with Nicanor about Violeta," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 35-62; Romina A. Green Rioja, "Counter-Memory, Rupture and Authenticity Outside of the Modern," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 112, 135-8.

<sup>cx<sup>viii</sup></sup> References to *lira popular* can be found in Leonidas Morales, "A Conversation with Nicanor about Violeta," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 35-662. See especially 35-47.

<sup>cx<sup>ix</sup></sup> Eric Hobsbawm, and the contributors to his book *Inventing Tradition*, generally take this view. See Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1-14. Especially 1-2.

<sup>cx<sup>x</sup></sup> See Terence Ranger, "Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 211-262; and Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions in Europe (1870-1914)," 263-307.

<sup>cx<sup>xi</sup></sup> Erika Verba, "Back in the Days When She Sang Mexican Songs on the Radio: Before Violeta Parra was Violeta Parra," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 63-83.

<sup>cx<sup>xii</sup></sup> Erika Verba, "Back in the Days When She Sang Mexican Songs on the Radio: Before Violeta Parra was Violeta Parra," 63-83. 69.

<sup>cx<sup>xiii</sup></sup> Romina A. Green Rioja, "Counter-Memory, Rupture and Authenticity Outside of the Modern," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 105-38. 118-9.

*Válgame Dios, Nicanor,*

*Si tengo tanto trabajo*

*Que ando de arriba p'abajo*

*Desentierrando folklor.*

*No sabía tanto dolor*

*Miseria y padecimiento*

*Me dan los versos que encuentro;*

*Muy pobre está mi bolsillo*

*Y tengo cuatro chiquillos a quienes darle el sustento.*

<sup>cx<sup>xiv</sup></sup> Violeta Parra, "Y Arriba Quemando el Sol." *El Folklore de Chile Según Violeta Parra*. Odeon Argentina: (1962). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed 24 March, 2016. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1580/0/arriba-quemando-el-sol-o-y-arriba-quemando-el-sol-violeta-parra>.

<sup>cx<sup>xv</sup></sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*, 42-3. I rely on Mattern for the translation of this text into English.

<sup>cx<sup>xvi</sup></sup> The 6/8 time signature means that each measure is composed of six equally spaced beats called eighth-notes. The meter is somewhat similar to that of a European waltz, though the rhythmic emphasis on syncopated beats would not be found in Europe.

<sup>cx<sup>xvii</sup></sup> For additional commentary on the family history and the overall political significance of this song, see Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America : Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), (39). "Los hambrientos piden pan [O la Carta]." (Violeta Parra). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), October 28, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/803/0/los-hambrientos-piden-pan-o-la-carta-violeta-parra>.

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*Me mandaron una carta  
Por el correo temprano;  
En esa carta me dice*

*Que cayó preso mi hermano.*

<sup>cxxviii</sup> Mularski alludes to this episode briefly in [Mularski, Jedrek, \*Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era\*. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series. 2014.](#)

<sup>cxxix</sup> “Los hambrientos piden pan [O la Carta].” (Violeta Parra). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), October 28, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/803/0/los-hambrientos-piden-pan-o-la-carta-violeta-parra>.

*Los nueve son comunistas con el favor de mi Dios Ay sí!*

<sup>cxxx</sup> Münnich, Susana, “El dolor y la risa en las décimas de Violeta Parra,” *Anales De Literatura Chilena*, no. 5 (2004): 111-33; and Romina A. Green-Rioja, “Unearthing Violeta Parra: Counter-memory, Rupture and Authenticity Outside of the Modern,” in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 105-138; and Erika Verba, “Back in the Days When She Sang Mexican Songs on the Radio: Before Violeta Parra was Violeta Parra,” in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna (Tamesis Books, 2017), 63-83.

<sup>cxixcxxx</sup> For background on Víctor Jara’s difficult childhood, see Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 29-34.

<sup>cxxxii</sup> The political activity of leftist musicians took many forms. Many, though not all, were members of the Communist Party, the single most popular political option for politicized musicians. Not all were communists, and some did not even identify with the political left.

<sup>cxxxiii</sup> The bracketed translation is my own.

<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 40-1.

<sup>cxxxv</sup> Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 77.

<sup>cxxxvi</sup> Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 97.

<sup>cxxxvii</sup> Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 97.

<sup>cxxxviii</sup> “Así Como Hoy Matan Negros – (Pablo Neruda, Sergio Ortega),” in *Pablo Neruda, Canto General Para Nuestra América*. [Cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), 24 March, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/109/0/asi-como-hoy-matan-negros-pablo-neruda-sergio-ortega>.

*Así como hoy matan negros*

*Antes fueron mexicanos;*

*Ahora matando chilenos,*

*Nicaraguenses, Peruanos.*

<sup>cxxxix</sup> Parra, Max., “Pancho Villa Y El Corrido De La Revolución,” *Caravelle* vol. 88, no. 1 (2007): 139-49; and Conover, Rachel, “Brujería and the U.S.-Mexico Border Outlaws,” in *American Studies Journal* vol. 50, no. 7, 1-17.

<sup>cxli</sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 59. The translation is McSherry’s.

<sup>cxli</sup> The Communist Party of Chile had participated in the Popular Front for ten years and after successfully campaigning for its last presidential candidate, Gabriel González Videla, Videla criminalized the Communists. Several thousand individuals were arrested and held in prison camps in isolated areas. Captain Augusto Pinochet Hugarate, who would eventually become chief of the military junta in 1973, was the military governor of a rather large camp at Chacabuco. A great many other communists left the country and Chile, which had very recently welcomed large numbers of political exiles, was now exiling its own citizens.

<sup>cxlii</sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 59-60. The translation to English is McSherry’s, and she does not provide the Spanish originals for either Prieto’s response or Las Cuatro Brujas’ piece.

<sup>cxliii</sup> This tradition, in which the Chilean military gave up their rights to free expression upon taking the uniform, is generally known as the Schneider Doctrine, in honor of René Schneider, the commander-in-chief of the Chilean armed forces during the 1960s and early 70s. Two articles are enlightening on this point. Kay, Cristobal, “Chile: The Making of a Coup D’Etat,” *Science & Society* vol. 39, no. 1 (New York, 1975): 3-25; Nef, Jorge, “The Politics of Repression: The Social Pathology of the Chilean Military,” *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 1, no. 2 (1974): 58-77.

<sup>cxliv</sup> A *refalosa* is a Chilean dance rhythm in 4/4 time, almost always played in a major key. It is common to the so-called *música típica chilena*, normally associated with conservative political groups.

<sup>cxlv</sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*. The quotation is provided in English in McSherry’s text, and no Spanish translation is given.

<sup>cxlvi</sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 60.

<sup>cxlvii</sup> Catherine Boyle, “Violeta Parra and the Empty Space of La Carpa de la Reyna,” in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 173-88. 181-2.

<sup>cxlviii</sup> Catherine Boyle, “Violeta Parra and the Empty Space of La Carpa de la Reyna,” 173-88.

<sup>cxlix</sup> Catherine Boyle, “Violeta Parra and the Empty Space of La Carpa de la Reyna,” 173-88. 179.

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*A veces con liviandad y otras con enorme violencia, nos reprochaba a nosotros, sus hijos, nuestra forma de vida aburguesada. Discutíamos... decía: 'vámonos todos a La Reyna con maridos, yema, los animales, el lujo es una porquería, los seres humanos se consumen sumergidos en problemas caseros.'*"

<sup>cl</sup> Leonidas Morales. "A Conversation with Nicanor about Violeta," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 35-62. 58. In this text, the article is provided in English and no reference to the original Spanish is provided. In the same book, Romina A. Green provides a translation of the same quotation, *@Violeta no dejó ningún títere con cabeza*," which has roughly a similar meaning in English. See Romina A. Green Rioja, "Counter-Memory, Rupture and Authenticity Outside of the Modern," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, ed. Dillon, Lorna. (Tamesis Books, 2017), 105-8. 112. 132.

<sup>cli</sup> Mamani, Ariel Hernán. "Peñas, canción de protesta y transformación política en Chile (1965-1973)," *Música Popular em Revista* 2 (2013), 226. And Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 43-55.

<sup>clii</sup> Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis. *Fragmentos de un Sueño> Inti-Illimani y la Generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. Found on [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com), October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3775/2/los-anos-de-la-esperanza>

<sup>cliii</sup> Luis Cifuentes-Sebes, "Los Años de la Esperanza," in Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis, *Fragmentos de un Sueño> Inti-Illimani y la Generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3775/2/los-anos-de-la-esperanza>. "Si. Yo era alumno de la Universidad Santa María, de Valparaíso cuando supe de la formación de la peña de la Universidad de Chile de Valparaíso, el 20 de agosto de 1965. Yo fui designada por la Federación de la Santa María para participar en ella. Esta peña agarró un vuelo tremendo. ... Yo primero participé en la peña limpiando, sirviendo las mesas, ETC. Luego fui nombrado vicedirector artístico, y viajaba a Santiago a buscar artistas."

<sup>cliv</sup> The *peña Colo-Colo*, which would become much more famous during military rule than in the *nueva canción* era, is a particularly well-known example of an institution that continues to combine the musical functions of a working *peña* with the institutional role of a mutual aid society or syndicate. It still functions today, in spite of the recent Novel Coronavirus pandemic.

<sup>clv</sup> Luis Cifuentes-Sebes. "Los Años de la Esperanza." Found in Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis. *Fragmentos de un Sueño> Inti-Illimani y la Generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com), October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3775/2/los-anos-de-la-esperanza>. See also McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 97.

<sup>clvi</sup> Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar La Diferencia: Violeta Parra Y La Canción Chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo Canto La Diferencia")," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75. 59-63. Central Valley-based styles also dominated Chilean folkloric music during military rule. See Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, "Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989," *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76.

<sup>clvii</sup> Rimbot, Emmanuelle, "Luchas interpretativas en torno a la definición de lo nacional: La canción urbana de raíz folklórica en Chile," *Voz y Escritura. Revista de Estudios Literarios* 16 (2008): 59-89; Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar La Diferencia: Violeta Parra Y La Canción Chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo Canto La Diferencia)." *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.

<sup>clviii</sup> One rocker who changed his name is Pink Lizard, the son of American missionaries who still goes by that name today. See Barr-Melej, Patrick, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 37.

<sup>clix</sup> Víctor Jara, "Manifiesto," *Manifiesto* (Odeon, 1973). [www.cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com), December 2, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1017/0/manifiesto-victor-jara>.

<sup>clx</sup> Víctor Jara, "Manifiesto," *Manifiesto*.

*Ahí donde llega todo*

*y donde todo comienza*

*Canto que ha sido valiente*

*Siempre será canción nueva.*

<sup>clxi</sup> Márquez, Andrés, "When Ponchos Are Subversive," *Index on Censorship* vol. 12, no. 1 (1983): 8-10.

<sup>clxii</sup> It is critical to note that the *nueva canción* practitioners who were making use of indigenous practices, naming traditions and instruments were not, themselves, indigenous. Admittedly, they appropriated indigenous culture in an artistic search for what they perceived to be authenticity, but the fact remains that this appropriation is ethically quite problematic.

<sup>clxiii</sup> Jan Fairley and Rodrigo Torres Alvarado cover this issue extensively throughout their respective articles.

Fairley, Jan, "La nueva canción latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* vol. 3, no. 2 (1984): 107-

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115ñ Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, "Cantar La Diferencia: Violeta Parra Y La Canción Chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song "Yo Canto La Diferencia")," *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75.

clxiv Seves, José. "Forward The Movement of Musical Identity in Chile (1950-1973): The River of Cultures," in McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, VII-XVI. (IX).

clxv It is worthwhile to remember that all traditions, no matter how respectful of actual past events, are invented to some extent. For this idea I am indebted to Hobsbawm, E. J., and Ranger, T. O. *The Invention of Tradition*.

clxvi Jan Fairley documents the use of various aspects of indigenous cultures extensively. Fairley, Jan, "Annotated bibliography of Latin American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to nueva canción," *Popular music* 5 (1985):305-56.

clxvii Fairley, Jan, "La nueva canción latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* vol. 3, no.2 (1984): 107-115; 113.

clxviii Luis Cifuentes-Sebes, "Música y Otras Hierbas." In Cifuentes-Ceves, Luis, *Fragmentos de un Sueño: Inti-Ilumani y la Generación de los 60.* 2d Ed. (Ediciones Logos, 2000). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), February 24, 2018. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3787/2/musica-y-otras-hierbas-por-luis-cifuentes-seves>; and Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era*. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series (2014), 38-9.

clxix Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 46.

clxx For the idea of "imagined Communities," I am indebted to Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983.

clxxi Manns, Patricio, "Arriba en la cordillera." RCA Records, 1965. [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed February 19, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/106/0/arriba-en-la-cordillera-patricio-manns>.

clxxii Manns, "Arriba en la cordillera."

*La Viuda Blanca en su grupa*

–la maldición del arriero –

llevó mi viejo esa noche

a robar ganado ageno.

Junto al paso de Atacalco

a la entrada del invierno

le preguntaron a golpes

y él respondió con silencio.

Los guardias cordilleranos

clavaron su cruz al viento.

clxxiii Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 103.

clxxiv Moore, Robin D., *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 71, 148.

clxxv Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era*. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series (2014), 57. The translation is Mularski's and he does not provide the Spanish-language original.

clxxvi McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*. McSherry describes the Cantata and the events surrounding it on 29-30, 61, and 82.

clxxvii McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 41.

clxxviii Mark Mattern provides the translation of the lyrics to English without providing the Spanish original. See Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*, 41. For a webpage which provides the lyrics in the original Spanish, see Cantata Santa María de Iquique – *Quilapayún* + Héctor Duvauchelle). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), November 13, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nd/31/0/cantata-santa-maria-de-iquique-quilapayun-hector-duvauchelle>.

clxxix Bolton, Ileen Karmy, "Rememberance is not enough (No basta solo el recuerdo): The Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique 40 years after its release," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Rodríguez, Illa Carrillo, María L. Figueredo, Laura Jordán González, Camila Juárez, Eileen Karmy Bolton, Carlos Molinero, Nancy Morris, and Abril Trigo. (Lexington Books, 2014), 45-70.

clxxx Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 124-6.

clxxxí Víctor Jara, "Preguntas por Puerto Montt." 1969. Released on Pongo en Tus Manos Abiertas. DICAP, Warner Records: [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), January 3, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1233/0/preguntas-por-puerto-montt-victor-jara>.

clxxxii Víctor Jara, "Preguntas por Puerto Montt."

*Usted debe responder*

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señor Pérez Zujovic  
por qué al pueblo indefenso  
contestaron con fucil.  
Señor Pérez, su consciencia  
la enterró en un ataúd  
y no limpiarán sus manos  
toda la lluvia del sur.

<sup>clxxxiii</sup> *Inti-Ilumani*. Canto al Programa. 1970. Discoteca del Canto Popular (DICAP): Santiago, Chile.

www.cancioneros.com. “Canto al Programa – *Inti-Ilumani* – 1970.” Accessed November 13, 2020.

<https://www.cancioneros.com/nd/36/0/canto-al-programa-Inti-Ilumani> .

<sup>clxxxiv</sup> Ortega, Sergio, “*Venceremos*.” Canto al Programa. Discoteca del Canto Popular, Santiago de Chile, 1970.

www.cancioneros.com, November 13, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1541/0/Venceremos-claudio-iturra-sergio-ortega>.

<sup>clxxxv</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 74, 76-8.

<sup>clxxxvi</sup> Rector, John L., *The history of Chile. Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations* (Greenwood Press, 2019), 168.

<sup>clxxxvii</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 147.

<sup>clxxxviii</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 147.

<sup>clxxxix</sup> Jara, Víctor. And Malvina Reynolds, “*Las casitas del barrio altoLas casitas del barrio alto*.” *El derecho de vivir en paz*. DICAP/EMI Chile: Santiago, (1971). www.cancioneros.com. Accessed 20 November, 2022.

<https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/942/2/las-casitas-del-barrio-alto-malvina-reynolds>.

<sup>exc</sup> Jara, Víctor. And Malvina Reynolds. “*Las casitas del barrio altoLas casitas del barrio alto*.”

*Y el hijito de su papi*  
*Luego va a la universidad*  
*Comenzando su problemática*  
*Y la intringulis social.*

*Fuma pitillos en Austin Mini*  
*Juega con bombas y con política,*  
*Asesina a generales*  
*Y es un gánster de la sedición.*

<sup>excí</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 210.

<sup>excii</sup> Rojas, Julio, and Sergio Ortega, “Canción de la nueva cultura.” Canto al Programa. DICAP: Santiago, Chile.

www.cancioneros.com. Accessed November 16, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/181/0/cancion-de-la-nueva-cultura>.

<sup>exciii</sup> Rojas, Julio, and Sergio Ortega, “Canción de la nueva cultura.”

*Que la creación y el arte*  
*descubriendo nuevas rutas*  
*vaya junto con el pueblo*  
*hacia la nueva cultura.*

*La cultura del pasado*  
*bajo forma nueva y pura*  
*con el pueblo incorporado*  
*forja la nueva cultura.*

*Tendrá el más alto valor*  
*el trabajo de los hombres*  
*la conciencia unificada*  
*para las transformaciones.*

*Todos podremos gozar*  
*de la creación y el arte*  
*y en materia popular*  
*el pueblo pondrá su parte.*

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<sup>exciv</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 104.

<sup>excv</sup> “Grupo Lonqui - Las Cuarenta Medidas Cantadas.” YouTube. Accessed December 31, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/3dOx3QNTvzU>.

No más sueldos fabulosos  
Es la primera medida  
Funcionarios de confianza  
Ya no tendrán regalía.  
Se terminan los gestores  
También los consejerías,  
Ya se acaba de una vez  
Con toda esta porquería.

<sup>excvi</sup> “Grupo Lonqui - Las Cuarenta Medidas Cantadas.”

No más viajes de placer  
porque al pueblo le ha costado  
Más solo los necesarios  
en el interés del estado.  
Funcionario incompetente  
que por el mundo has viajado  
Ya nunca más viajarás,  
la mama se ha terminado.  
Nunca más viajarás,  
la mama se ha terminado.

<sup>excvii</sup> *El Pueblo Tiene Arte con Allende*, Leaflet/Catalogue, *El Museo Nacional de Artes Plásticas*. Santiago de Chile. Printed by Empresa Horizonte: Santiago de Chile, 1970. As translated by Berríos, María. “‘Struggle as Culture’: The Museum of Solidarity, 1971–73,” *After all* vol. 44, no. 1 (2017): 132-43. 134.

<sup>excviii</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 104.

<sup>excix</sup> Rojas, Julio, and Sergio Ortega, Canción de la Reforma Agraria. On *Inti-Illimani*, Canto al Programa. Discoteca del canto popular, DICAP: 1970. Santiago, Chile. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/183/0/cancion-de-la-reforma-agraria-julio-rojas-sergio-ortega>.

<sup>cc</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 121. Joan Jara provides this quotation in English.

<sup>cci</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 18.

<sup>ccii</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 138-9.

<sup>cciii</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 160.

<sup>cciv</sup> Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 160. 171.

<sup>ccv</sup> Mark Mattern describes Operation Truth in Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*, 53-4. The members of *Inti-Illimani* make frequent references to Operation Truth in Luis Cifuentes-Sebes collection of interviews with them. See Cifuentes-Ceves, Luis. *Fragmentos de un Sueño: Inti-Illimani y la Generación de los 60.* 2d Ed. Ediciones Logos, 2000. [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), February 24, 2018.

<http://www.cancioneros.com/co/3719/2/fragmentos-de-un-sueno>.

<sup>ccvi</sup> Carrasco, Eduardo, *Quilapayún: La Revolución y las estrellas* (Santiago: Ediciones del Ornitorrinco, 1988), 185-8.

<sup>ccvii</sup> Víctor Jara’s recordings as part of Operation Truth are especially beloved by audiences. See Víctor Jara en Vivo, Ciudad de México D.C 1971. [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com), April 30, 2021.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Mk9A9\\_bq3Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Mk9A9_bq3Q); and Víctor Jara – 1972 – Habla y Canta en Vivo en la Habana. [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com), April 30, 2020; and Víctor Jara en Perú – 17 de julio de 1973. [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com), April 30, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjq-a-3oL9Bc>.

<sup>ccviii</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*, 49. and Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 49.

<sup>ccix</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 18.



- <sup>ccx</sup> Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 18. Mularski does not provide the Spanish original in his text.
- <sup>ccxi</sup> Rodríguez Aedo, Javier, "El Folklore Como Agente Político: La Nueva Canción Chilena Y La Diplomacia Musical (1970-1973)," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos* (2017-06-06), Para. 30.
- <sup>ccxii</sup> Rodríguez Aedo, Javier, "El Folklore Como Agente Político: La Nueva Canción Chilena Y La Diplomacia Musical (1970-1973)," Para. 31.
- <sup>ccxiii</sup> Patrice McSherry describes the *Tren de la Cultura* in McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 94-6; Krstulovi, Ozren, Agnic. *Allende: El Hombre y el Político* (Santiago: Brill Editores, 2008), 145; and Mularski, Jedrek, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America : Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 183-4.
- <sup>ccxiv</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 185.
- <sup>ccxv</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 159-166; 185-6.
- <sup>ccxvi</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 156-7.
- <sup>ccxvii</sup> Barr-Melej, Patrick, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship* (Chappel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 22-44.
- <sup>ccxviii</sup> Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 144-9.
- <sup>ccxix</sup> Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 145-9.
- <sup>ccxx</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 213-6. The cited passage describes both *Viña del Mar* festivals, both 1972 and 1973.
- <sup>ccxxi</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 149.
- <sup>ccxxii</sup> Two articles are useful on this point. See Gárate, Manuel, "El Diario De Agustín," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos*, 2009, *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos*, 2009-01-22; Walescka Pino-Ojeda, "Forensic Memory, Responsibility, and Judgment: The Chilean Documentary in the Postauthoritarian Era," *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 40, no. 1 (2013): 170-86;
- <sup>ccxxiii</sup> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series* (2014), 143-4, 147-9.
- <sup>ccxxiv</sup> Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 16.
- <sup>ccxxv</sup> Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 9-10, 75-9, 174-218.
- <sup>ccxxvi</sup> I take the phrase "nation of enemies" from Valenzuela and Constable's book about Chile under the Pinochet government. See Constable, Pamela, and Valenzuela, Arturo, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet* (Norton Pbk. 1993. ed. New York: Norton, 1993).
- <sup>ccxxvii</sup> Pieper-Mooney, Jadwiga E., *The Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Womens Rights in 20th-Century Chile. Pit Latin American Series* (Pittsburg, Pa: University of Pittsburg Press, 2009), 128-9.
- <sup>ccxxviii</sup> Power, Margaret, *Right-wing women in Chile: Feminine power and the struggle against Allende, 1964-1973* (Penn State Press, 2010), 147-158.
- <sup>ccxxix</sup> Ortega, Sergio, and *Quilapayún*, "Las ollitas." Santiago, Discoteca del Canto Popular, 1972. [cancioneros.com](http://cancioneros.com), accessed April 22, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/947/0/las-ollitas-sergio-ortega>.  
*Oyga hijo, tráigame un sándwich de cocodrilo con palta por favor.*  
*No hay cocodrilo.*  
*¡Esto es el colmo! ¿Hasta dónde vamos a llegar con este gobierno?*
- <sup>ccxxx</sup> Sergio Ortega, and *Quilapayún*, "Las ollitas." Santiago, Discoteca del Canto Popular, 1972. [cancioneros.com](http://cancioneros.com), accessed April 22, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/947/0/las-ollitas-sergio-ortega>.  
*Esa vieja fea, ea!*  
*¡Guatona golosa, osa!*  
*¡Como la golpea, ea!*  
*¡Gorda sediciosa, osa!*

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<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>i</sub> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 110.

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>ii</sub> Joan Jara describes her husband Víctor wondering about being physically threatened for his work on several occasions, including violent attacks and assassination attempts. See Joan Jara, “Without Knowing the End.” In Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 207-232.

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>iii</sub> Power, *Right-wing women in Chile: Feminine power and the struggle against Allende, 1964-1973*, 229-232.

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>iv</sub> Power, *Right-wing women in Chile: Feminine power and the struggle against Allende, 1964-1973*, 230

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>v</sub> Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile during the Cold War Era. Cambria Studies in Latin American Literatures and Cultures Series*, 83-4.

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>vi</sub> Jara, Víctor, “El Desabastecimiento.” Recorded in 1972. EMI Records, Santiago de Chile, December 23, 2020.

<https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/476/0/el-desabastecimiento-victor-jara>

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>vii</sub> This is a joke. The *Barros Luco* is a sandwich named for a particularly inconsequential and corrupt late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Chilean president, composed entirely of rare roast beef and cheese on bread. Barros Luco famously ate the same lunch at the same restaurant each day, the sandwich which now bears his name, washed down with Spanish brandy. The Jarpa family, for their part, are related to the Barros Lucos by marriage, and the Jarpa name has been prominent on the extreme Chilean right for several generations.

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>viii</sub> Víctor Jara, “El Desabastecimiento.” EMI Records, 1972: Santiago, Región Metropolitana, Chile.

<https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/476/0/el-desabastecimiento-victor-jara> .

*Usted que enfrentó la dieta  
y come a la americana  
que se come a la familia  
Barros Luco y Barros Jarpa.  
Como tiene neurastenia  
Por cuestiones de comida  
Cuando recete otro paro  
También pare la cocina.*

<sup>ccxxx</sup><sub>ix</sub> Power, *Right-wing women in Chile: Feminine power and the struggle against Allende, 1964-1973*, 6, 187-90.

<sup>ccx</sup><sub>l</sub> Víctor Jara en Perú – 17 de julio de 1973. [www.youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjqa-3oL9Bc), April 30, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjqa-3oL9Bc>.

<sup>ccx</sup><sub>li</sub> Jara, Joan, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song*, 242, 245-52.

## Chapter Two

### Music, Political Performance, and Contestation over Interpretive Power under Authoritarianism: 1973-1990

On September 11, 1973, singer and guitarist Ángel Parra, eldest son of Violeta Parra, co-founder of the first *nueva canción peña*, prepared for a day of musical activity. Along with fellow musician Víctor Jara, and accompanied by a student choir, Parra was scheduled to provide the musical introduction to Chilean president Salvador Allende's appearance at the *Universidad Técnica del Estado* (State Technical University) in Santiago.<sup>ccxlii</sup> It is not every day that one has the honor to perform alongside the president of one's country. Nonetheless, accompanying Allende was somewhat common for Ángel Parra, as the rhythms of *nueva canción* had become a familiar feature of political events under the *Unidad Popular*, and President Allende embraced the musical celebration that accompanied his politics.<sup>ccxliii</sup>

Yet, by midday on September 11th, Ángel Parra and his fellow musicians knew that none of their original plans would take shape: the political environment had changed dramatically. Under the command of General of the Army Augusto Pinochet Huguarte, the Chilean military and national police mounted a successful coup against the democratically elected government. After delivering a final speech to the nation, President Salvador Allende took his own life. At the time of President Allende's death, the musicians faced the sudden presence of tanks and heavy artillery, trapping them on the university campus.

Events worsened as the military incarcerated thousands of Chileans affiliated with Allende's government, including musicians and other artists. At the *Estadio Chile* (Chile Stadium) in Santiago, one of several concentration camps set up throughout the country, a Chilean army sergeant murdered Víctor Jara, the most famous singer of the *nueva canción*. Many other cultural figures sympathetic to Popular Unity were also murdered for their artistic and political work.

The arrests and murders initiated decades of authoritarianism and violence until the return of elections in the 1990s. Some scholars, the most prominent of these being the sociologist Any Rivera, consider the first three to four years of the military dictatorship as an *apagón cultural*, ("cultural blackout"),<sup>ccxliv</sup> since the artists and publics of the left were persecuted for their politics, often with extreme violence. According to proponents of the cultural blackout thesis, the persecution was so severe that it drove artistic productions of all sorts underground and stopped

many from taking place at all. My examination of cultural life and the political economy of Chilean culture sheds new light on Chile's authoritarian transition, and how Chileans adapted to life in a radically—and rapidly—transformed political system. Specifically, I show that while cultural blackout—including the credible fear of torture or death—was a very real risk for those known or suspected to be leftists, other performers and publics whom the state did not consider threatening could produce and consume art without fear of reprisals. There was, of course, room for art which expressed patriotic sentiments, but there was also a surprising degree of ideological pluralism and even, very occasionally, permitted forms of critiques toward the state. The cultural blackout, though definitely existing, was actually only a blackout for some.

The evidence I present in this chapter complicates the “cultural blackout” thesis in several respects. First, I explore the framing of cultural policies through the lens of new forms of censorship after the September 11, 1973 coup. I demonstrate that censorship intensified institutional control over all kinds of performance throughout the authoritarian period. I elucidate the role of mass media organizations such as *El Mercurio* and *Radio Agricultura*, documenting the collaboration between the media and the authoritarian government. I argue that censorship, as it was exercised in authoritarian Chile, illustrates not only the new complexities of the visible and hidden forms of state violence under authoritarianism, but also the spaces artists claimed to contest top-down control. Whereas the existence of violence against some types of performance supports the idea of a cultural blackout, the fact that some space for critique still existed suggests that this blackout was limited in scope. Second, I examine the two main forms of cultural policy implementation during authoritarianism: the alleged depoliticization of artistic performance—advocated by nationalists, and the privatization and neo-liberalization of performance—advocated by supporters of free market economics. Nationalist and neoliberal ideologies mutually reinforced each other, which I demonstrate through analysis of performance and some aspects of the political economy of cultural production. Through this mutual reinforcement, nationalists and neoliberals commemorated what they called “authentic” performance practices from before Popular Unity came to power, and imagined a nationalist future for Chile rooted in traditional musical practice and new economic ideologies. In explicit contrast with the “singing of difference” discussed in the last chapter, performers who collaborated with the authoritarian state attempted to invent a new identity for Chile by performing nationalist works or accentuating the importance of neoliberalized markets in the production and consumption of performances.<sup>ccxlv</sup> The above evidence complicates

the “cultural blackout” thesis. Performance was not only present, but at times politically active and vibrant. The existence of politicized performance suggests that the idea of cultural blackout may be motivated by the ideology of scholars making such a proposition, since the culture they favored—and in some cases participated in—was, indeed, very much circumscribed.

In the conclusion to the chapter, I use primary source evidence to argue that even in the cases of heavily circumscribed, critical culture, the state did not black out this sort of performance but only restricted it. I focus on street-level resistance to authoritarianism through music and performance, tracing artists’ efforts to restore collective performance in an environment dominated by atomized communities and neoliberal ideology. In stark contrast to clandestine political resistance and underground mobilization, resistance through performance was quite visible at times, and proved both emotionally provocative and politically effective. Thus, resisting performers turned their works of critique into one of the key tools to effectively challenge authoritarianism. In showing that musicians used performances to push back against processes of censorship and control, at times doing so quite publicly, I use critical music to argue that there was no rigid process of cultural blackout.

### **Historiography**

Historians such as Catalina Preda have shown how the Pinochet government repudiated the cultural politics of the UP era and advocated strictly apolitical culture. Preda provides a useful starting point to examine authoritarian cultural policy.

Through the norms and measures it applied, the Pinochet regime imposed apolitical art as the only tolerated art. Apolitical art as the only permitted form of art did not mean complete artistic freedom and the withdrawal of the regime from any interference in the artistic domain. On the contrary, it meant that the regime controlled the form that art took, and sanctioned as congruent with its approach those works of art that did not portray or make any connections to the present in a critical way.<sup>ccxlv</sup>

Whereas Preda’s claim accurately reflects the authoritarian government’s views as to what constituted “political” involvement in culture, my evidence shows that the government tolerated political expressions which did not advocate class-based struggle, and especially favored expressions of nationalist and neoliberal ideology. I show that pro-government performers engaged in politicized culture without substantive restrictions on their activities. From its inception, the authoritarian government used nationalist and neoliberal cultural performances to exclude countercultures of the left, while allowing those that abstained from advocating class

struggle. In fact, I show that performers of the political right and center used their art to contribute to political representation, performances, and competitions for power during authoritarianism. Those expressions represent an important lens through which to study the everyday politics of the new authoritarian state, because performances aligned with rightist ideologies allowed for and at times even encouraged a kind of pluralism in authoritarian Chile. Rightist ideology brought a new nationalism in public performance through displays of patriotic fervor, and the growing importance of private performers and producers in collaboration with—and sometimes in contestation of—the authoritarian state. Rather than traditional nationalism, the sorts of invocations to patriotism and love of country which people across the political spectrum can use, this new nationalism was distinctly rightist in ideology, particularly blending authoritarian and neoliberal elements and excluding rival ideologies from the sense of national belonging. New manifestations of nationalism during the authoritarian era reveal that in alternative spaces and with new political messages, performance during authoritarianism remained just as relevant as it had been under the former Unidad Popular.<sup>ccxlvi</sup>

### **Censorship and Control: Imposing Order in Authoritarian Chile**

By censoring and marginalizing dissident voices, the new authoritarian government-imposed control over Chilean society in general, and over the news media and artistic performance in particular. Legal edicts instituted the administrative and institutional structures of censorship, while the new government physically eliminated symbols associated with the left, and the people who produced them.<sup>ccxlviii</sup> As the state practiced censorship and elimination against the left, it began promoting performances of nationalism and patriotic commemoration.

The military's first performances on September 11, 1973 contextualize commanders' preoccupation with establishing control over culture, society, and the institutions of state. As one of their first military operations, soldiers secured "proper" nationalist musical performances by seizing venues, like radio stations. Shortly after 8 A.M. on September 11, 1973, the Chilean military nationalized the privately-owned Radio Agricultura and several other stations to form the *Red Nacional de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros de Chile* (National Communications Network of the Armed Forces and Carabineros de Chile, hereafter *Red Nacional*).<sup>ccxlix</sup> Chile's national anthem initiated the *Red Nacional's* transmissions, and the anthem repeated throughout the day.<sup>cccl</sup> The only legal source of radio and television during the first two days of authoritarian

rule, the *Red Nacional* broadcast decrees from the junta of the military government and nationalist military marches, some from fascist Spain, or even the German Third Reich.<sup>ccli</sup> For example, at approximately 10:35 in the morning of September 11, 1973, the anthem of the Chilean army was clearly audible over the *Red Nacional*, at a time of day when the military was ordering Chileans to stay at home, or face the rigors of military justice.<sup>cclii</sup> As the armed forces staged the bloody coup, the music evoked an authoritarian future of discipline, patriotism, and sacrifice.

The authoritarian government's first acts regarding censorship and press freedom on September 11, 1973 strongly suggest concern with legal control and interpretive power over the communications media. Several *Bandos*, Edicts, appeared to secure the military Junta's control over communications and infrastructure, particularly the physical means to produce content. Clause 4 of the *Proclamación de la Junta Militar de Gobierno* (the Proclamation of the Military Junta of government), warned: "The press, radio broadcasters, and television channels addicted to the Popular Unity shall immediately suspend their informative activities as of this instant. In the contrary event, they will receive punishment from air and ground forces."<sup>ccliii</sup> The reference to "addiction" to the Popular Unity on the part of certain communications media is striking. The drafters of the Proclamation, the commanders-in-chief of the respective branches of the Chilean military, thought of Popular Unity as an addiction. The military coup was, therefore, akin to locking a drug addict up in a treatment facility and denying her access to addictive chemicals. Indeed, members of the military Junta routinely referred to Marxism as a cancer throughout the authoritarian experiment,<sup>ccliv</sup> further revealing the viability of the metaphor of disease or addiction. For the leaders of the military coup, the "addiction" to the Popular Unity was a choice by its supporters, a choice which the entire country would have to pay for through radical treatment.

These instructions were reiterated and specified in a further edict read over the Red Nacional especially for the communications media: "

(A); All radio stations in the Province of Santiago must immediately silence all their long-wave, short-wave, and FM transmissions until further notice. ... (C): We communicate categorically to all radio stations and television channels that have not been assigned to this network, that failure to silence transmissions will signify that the Military Junta of Government will make dispositions to neutralize them by means of military force: holding their owners, directors and administrative personnel responsible for any material damages or victims which may result. ... (D): The owners and directors responsible for the radio stations and television channels which must silence their transmissions will immediately proceed to

remove from their transmitters any vital elements which may be necessary for proper function: such things as crystals, valves, ETC, ensuring that the stations cannot be made to technically function by persons foreign to themselves, until the military command has reauthorized their transmissions.<sup>cclv</sup>

The specificity in this edict leaves no room for ambiguity. The elaborate, pains-taking nature of the technical instructions for dismantling broadcast equipment was a final warning to any communications media which might attempt to resist authoritarian rule; any stations which were not assigned to the *Red Nacional* were a hair away from physical destruction, and their employees were one act of disobedience away from their own deaths. The threat was clear: obey or die. This threat was carried out on several occasions, most visibly on September 11 when the bombing of *Radio Magallanes* interrupted President Salvador Allende's last speech to Chileans, and throughout the authoritarian period.<sup>cclvi</sup> This shows that the new government was willing to simply destroy anything it considered unacceptable. To remedy the "addiction" to Popular Unity, drastic measures were called for.

*Bando 15* (Edict 15, exemplary of many other edicts) formalized and institutionalized the censorship laws which remained in effect until 1988, suggesting that authoritarians found press censorship both important and useful. Edict 15 gave the authoritarian government complete control over the press. "In accordance with what was disposed by the earlier edicts and because the country is under the state of siege, a strict censorship has been established on the published mediums of communication. An Office of Press Censorship has been established in the Polytechnic Military Academy of the Army.<sup>cclvii</sup>" Press censorship lasted nearly fifteen years in Chile and, in theory, encompassed all forms of print, broadcast, and electronic media, making control over the press a fundamental part of the authoritarian government's political philosophy. Furthermore, press censorship defined which communicative forms, including artistic expressions and performances, the government considered appropriate and inappropriate.

When the press uncritically published the new rules of censorship it became clear that major newspapers, like *El Mercurio*, supported the authoritarian government. In the early days of authoritarianism, government communications were simply printed, without commentary, traditional journalistic reporting, or editorial content.<sup>cclviii</sup> When *El Mercurio* reported news on the new government, it employed sycophantic language and tone rather than maintaining its previous editorial objectivity. In October 1973, *El Mercurio* reported: "Yesterday, the government demonstrated a range of highly specialized short and long wave radio sets, which were being used



to broadcast a programming penetrated with Marxist ideology.<sup>cclix</sup> *El Mercurio* declined to address the specificities of this “Marxist ideology” in any way, indicating that the government’s word was all a journalist—or anyone else—should require. As late as 1988, the paper quoted entire paragraphs of President Pinochet’s speech in a visit to *El Mercurio*’s offices, with only favorable commentaries.<sup>cclx</sup> By 1988, criticism of authoritarianism was becoming increasingly common, and even *El Mercurio* was printing critical comments as early as 1977. When President Pinochet spoke, however, there was no acceptable criticism from Chile’s largest newspaper. These episodes suggest close collaboration between state objectives and the political leanings of *El Mercurio*.

The authoritarian government enforced policy changes through explicit prohibitions of certain musical instruments and performances perceived as pro-leftist, backed by thinly veiled threats of imprisonment. A letter written by the folkloric musician Héctor Pavés to the journalist and music critic René Largo Farías outlined the new government’s policies on which performances were tolerated, and which would be forbidden. Pavés describes a meeting in October, 1973, where musicians affiliated with the Odeon record label were summoned to the corporate offices in Santiago and addressed by an unidentified army Colonel. As Pavés recounts:

The firm told us: that they would be very tough. That they would look at our attitudes, our songs under a magnifying glass. No flute, no quena or charango, because those were identified with the social struggle. That the folklore from the North was not Chilean. That the Cantata de Santa María of which Lucho Advis is the author was a crime “against the country,” at this moment we knew that Lucho needed our prayers. That if Ángel Parra was innocent as a white dove, then like a white dove he would fly away.<sup>cclxi</sup>

This interaction gives some specificity regarding the military’s effort to prevent supposedly leftist musical production and, therefore, control the sorts of commemorations and imaginings musicians could legally carry out. The physical location of the event, and Largo Farías references to “the firm” show that the musicians summoned to the meeting were aware of collaboration between the authoritarian government and private business interests. Moreover, the language the Colonel used toward musicians alternated between threats and open mockery. Sarcastic references to Ángel Parra as a “white dove” suggest that Parra was not innocent in the country’s political crisis, according to the military; indeed, the very idea that he could be blameless was laughable. Finally, the prohibitions of specific musical instruments, justified by their use in “the social struggle” elucidates the government’s motivations in restricting specific practices. The ties to the *nueva canción* and the social struggle, not specific instruments *per se*, were the point at issue.

Finally, the military's threats toward musicians were serious and credible. The new government made good on its threats of retribution by arresting and torturing musicians and other artists who identified with leftist politics.

Arrests, incarcerations, and torture became more than simple retribution against cultural figures; they were highly targeted cultural performances meant to impress potential critics, demonstrations of the fate of those who dared to act up. The Chilean experience can also be interpreted in parallel with other national cases. Michelle Foucault theorizes that in pre-revolutionary France, public executions were choreographed performances of state power and control over the bodies of its citizens.<sup>cclxii</sup> Many Latin American military governments performed violence as spectacle during the 1970s and 80s, when much of the continent was under military government.<sup>cclxiii</sup> In Chile, perhaps the most famous (and brutal) case of such a targeted performance was the theater director, *nueva canción* songwriter, and guitarist Víctor Jara, discussed in chapter one in the context of his public performance in favor of the Popular Unity. After being singled out in a crowd at the *Estadio Chile* (Chile Stadium), prison guards tortured Jara brutally by shattering his hands and wrists, forced him to circulate in the general prison population as a physical reminder to other inmates, and then shot Jara in a back alley four days after the coup.<sup>cclxiv</sup>

While executed in an exceptionally brutal manner, Víctor Jara was not the only public victim. The painter Hugo Riveros Gomes, mentor to the *Brigada Ramona Parra* and other leftist muralists, also met a violent death.<sup>cclxv</sup> The respected concert pianist and orchestra director George Washington Peña Henn was executed in November 1973 in spite of the fact that Peña had never produced any avowedly political music, although his active union organizing was cited as an aggravating factor in his death warrant.<sup>cclxvi</sup> Ángel Parra and his sister Isabel were both exiled, Ángel Parra having to endure prison before exile. Many *nueva canción* musicians such as the bands *Quilapayún* and *Inti-Illimani* were on foreign tour at the time of the coup, and not allowed into Chile until the late 1980s. As the historian Brian Loveman has documented, this policy of killing some, exiling others, and leaving yet others to the Chilean jails, was known as “*destierro, encierro, o entierro*” (Exile, Enclosure, or Death) among members of the political opposition.<sup>cclxvii</sup> This morbid rhyme reminds us of the price many Chilean musicians paid throughout authoritarianism. Sometimes quite publicly, at other times in the controlled anonymity of prisons, the Chilean state also carried out highly performative acts of violence against leftist musicians and artists to

demonstrate the consequences of resistance, as well as to show the populace at large that celebrities were not immune from retribution for ideologically “incorrect” politics.

The military’s relegation of the inclusive, collective sounds of the Popular Unity to the margins of society -by means ranging from censorship to imprisonment- became an early mechanism to implement the authoritarian transition. At times, the new authorities deliberately made leftists, and particularly performers and artists, suffer as much as possible by using their cultural expressions against them. Ángel Parra, for example, was held at the notoriously brutal *Chacabuco* prison. Here, the military held many musicians and artists, and deliberately forced inmates to produce culture--in addition to hard labor--to break their bodies and spirits.<sup>cclxviii</sup> As a former Chacabuco guard who participated in “musical pressure sessions” described in 2013, “The object of making the prisoners sing was to break them down.<sup>cclxix</sup>” As this anonymous prison guard admitted, the use of musical performances made by—and originally for—leftists was now a weapon which officials at Chacabuco were deliberately using against those self-same individuals. Nor was the use of performance against leftist performers reserved for the Chacabuco prison in particular; it was a tool of the carceral policy of the entire Chilean state. The musicologist Robert Neustadt documented that *Chacabuco* was by no means exceptional in this practice; soldiers and police officers routinely tortured suspected leftists, while playing the political music of the *nueva canción* to silence their screams.<sup>cclxx</sup>

The authoritarian government and collaborators even co-opted cultural products produced by political prisoners to burnish the state’s image, profoundly changing the accepted meanings and intended audiences of the original performances. On a tour of inspection of the *Estadio Nacional* (National Stadium) journalists from *El Mercurio* witnessed the 600 prisoners detained on-sight as of mid-October, 1973 break into spontaneous rendition of a poem written by employees from the state-run copper company. The lyrics said in part: “We are free, like the wind and like the sea. Free, like the bird who escapes its prison, and thus learns to fly.<sup>cclxxi</sup>” Less than a year later, with slightly altered lyrics, and transformed into a military march for brass band and male vocals, the song “*Libre como el mar*” (Free as the Sea), featured prominently in *Radio Agricultura*’s September 11<sup>th</sup> Special, a highly nationalist and pro-authoritarian sonic archive of the coup.<sup>cclxxii</sup> In this way, the military and its collaborators in the media transformed a song of hope made by political prisoners into a gesture of thanks for the very government which was imprisoning them.

Culture created by, and for the emotional benefit of, leftists was now justifying the government which had put a targeted group into prison for ideological reasons.

In addition to marginalizing members of specific, targeted groups for their cultural performances, the authoritarian government also targeted book and music distribution to control the population. Public, televised book-burning and the physical destruction of master records and video tapes was frequent in the early days of authoritarianism, indicating that the state saw the destruction of ideologically objectionable performances as a priority for its cultural policy. Military patrols burned some materials, such as the writings of the Popular Unity's Quimantú editorial, as well as anything else real or imagined-produced by leftists. The patrols raided both bookstores and private homes. The music of the *nueva canción* was often targeted for physical destruction. The studios and offices of the *Discoteca del Canto Popular*, the record label which produced much of the *nueva canción* repertoire, were shelled with artillery between September 11 and 12, 1973. The authorities also regularly raided the offices of the *Alerce* record label, which recorded many artists sympathetic to leftist causes after 1976, and once physically destroyed its facilities.<sup>cclxxiii</sup> Record stores, movie theaters, or bookshops could all be raided at any time, and places which sold Víctor Jara albums were targeted often.

Yet, the government's destruction of cultural materials could be comically inconsistent, possibly due to the lack of involvement from General Pinochet and other Junta members regarding the performing arts. During a period where Pinochet's involvement in the intimate details of Chileans' lives achieved legendary proportions, the General hardly ever referenced art or performance at all.<sup>cclxxiv</sup> Caterina Preda documents that record stores in Santiago were raided in 1981 and all Víctor Jara albums were destroyed; yet the same stores were allowed to sell the very same supposedly objectionable material in 1982!<sup>cclxxv</sup> Nor were books immune from arbitrary policies of destruction. A soldier involved in raids on bookshops in the city of Valparaíso recalled the destruction of any book with the word "revolution" in it. When he told a superior officer about the cybernetics revolution, a phrase contained in the title of a book, his superior told him: "That sounds interesting, but I suspect it's dangerous."<sup>cclxxvi</sup> This indicates that when there was any doubt, military officials tended toward the destruction of materials, rather than allowing the possibility that ideologically suspect writings or performances might survive. At least, this is the case in the early days of the authoritarian government. This zeal during the early authoritarian period notwithstanding, destruction of music and books therefore elucidates arbitrariness,

inconsistencies, and simple human errors in the performance of a supposedly impermeable apparatus of authoritarian control.

Inconsistencies in its own performance notwithstanding, the military extended its public performance of cultural elimination to other areas of life, including censorship of the physical appearance of Chileans and the spaces in which they carried out their public lives. In his “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” Walter Benjamin theorized that the reproducibility of art on a large scale removes art from the ritual sphere of life, and introduces art into the political arena.<sup>cclxxvii</sup> This process, which Benjamin called the aesthetization of politics, tends toward fascism by forcing the populace to change the ways in which they physically present themselves to each other and to the state, while giving the state an added degree of control over individual life and expression.<sup>cclxxviii</sup> In Chile, the leadership used performative techniques to eliminate any traces of political speech. They implemented two concurrent operations, *Operación limpieza* (Operation Cleanup) and *Operación corte de pelo* (Operation Haircut) to enforce an authoritarian nationalist aesthetic on physical spaces and their human inhabitants between 1973 and 1976.<sup>cclxxix</sup> *Operación limpieza* sought to eliminate politically motivated murals, statues, posters, and graffiti. Instead of having soldiers carry out the task, military patrols directed Chileans who lived in Popular Unity neighborhoods to demolish the public art installations which had made the UP famous. *Operación corte de pelo*, meanwhile, obliged Chilean youth to change their physical appearances, cutting the long hair associated with Communist or Socialist ideologies, and re-entering the new society with buzz cuts and clean-shaven faces. Just as with community clean-up operations, *Operación corte de pelo* often became a public performance, and group haircuts were common. In this way, the state disciplined subversive individuals and communities, establishing authoritarian control over the human body and public space.

*El Mercurio*, already known for its support of censorship, also approved of the new state attention to “proper” hairstyles and the appearance of public spaces. When school authorities in the central city of Talca suspended over 100 boys, all secondary school students at a prestigious private institution, for wearing their hair too long, *El Mercurio* reported: “This determination caused consternation among the ‘longhaired’ students, but great happiness among parents and guardians, who have supported this measure on the part of the principal.”<sup>cclxxx</sup> Just as the state and media organs had agreed that youth counter-culture could be a threat to public morals under the Popular Unity, *El Mercurio* now supported the authoritarian state in responding to youth rebellion

by physically altering the appearance of those rebellious youth. Furthermore, this draconian gesture was reported to provoke “happiness” among the parents and guardians. This indicates that *El Mercurio* was taking advantage of ideological divisions based on age which existed in Chile of that time, much as the Popular Unity had done. This reveals continuities, rather than differences, between the authoritarian and Popular Unity eras in terms of the attitudes of the respective state apparatuses toward “proper” youth behavior.

On the same day, *El Mercurio* also covered a clean-up operation in Santiago’s *Plaza de Armas*, home to local government buildings and where many Popular Unity supporters lived. Corte de Pelo “Yesterday, the citizenry began to collaborate in the clean-up projects for the city. This spontaneous, cooperative gesture on the part of community members has been noticed in all areas of national activity.”<sup>cclxxxix</sup> Two aspects of *Operaci3n limpieza* and *corte de pelo* are worthy of interpretation. First, though average Chileans did participate in these operations, and *El Mercurio* took pains to portray this participation as spontaneous and willing, the arrests, torture and killings during early authoritarianism should call the “willingness” of the population into serious question, especially in neighborhoods which had built public art projects and were now being forced to destroy them. Second, *limpieza* and *corte de pelo* reveal battles over the concept of “tradition” between the Popular Unity and authoritarian eras. Prior to the military coup, the Popular Unity had claimed to be promoting tradition through the *nueva canci3n* and other supposedly “authentic” artistic performances. *Operaci3n limpieza* and *corte de pelo* reflect the military’s preoccupation with implementing a new, strict sense of order, setting authoritarian rule apart from prior periods in Chile’s history visibly, through public performance of traditional values. This evidence should call the “traditional” nature of both government’s respective cultural projects into question; the *nueva canci3n* was a rebellion and a differentiation from the traditions the authoritarian government prized, and the traditional values being promoted by the military, in their turn, overturned socialist ideas of tradition with more conservative, ordered spectacles.

In addition to controlling the use of public space, the authoritarian government’s policies limited where and when Chileans could be out in public at all. Curfews consolidated the state’s control over society and culture, and physically isolated Chileans from each other by limiting the places and times where they could legally and safely interact. On September 11, 1973, the military declared a State of Siege, and extended either the State of Siege, or the nearly identical State of Emergency, until March 1988.<sup>cclxxxii</sup> As part of the State of Siege, the military established a 6:00

P.M. national curfew and implemented it for nearly nine months. At the local level, curfews were operational during the night for months—or even years at a time, and citizens caught breaking curfew were processed through military justice, which greatly favored the prosecution.<sup>cclxxxiii</sup> The rigorous enforcement of curfews and a nearly constant State of Siege criminalized most night-time occupations of public space, circumscribing “normal” daily life to the workplace and the home.<sup>cclxxxiv</sup>

The authoritarian state also increased its control through attention to cultural administration. Early in the authoritarian period, the government consolidated its interpretive power by placing supporters in important positions and increasing the regulatory and censorial attributes of those institutions. One case in point is *El Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica*, the Counsel on Cinematographic Evaluation. The Counsel was originally created by the constitution of 1925, and film censorship did occur periodically before military rule, especially under Popular Unity. The prior existence of censorship notwithstanding, the authoritarian government increased the Counsel’s membership from 7 to 19, over 75% of whom were appointed by the government.<sup>cclxxxv</sup> In 1974, the government increased the Counsel’s power to an unprecedented extent by implementing extremely broad categories of censorship. The Counsel could now reject films and thereby forbid the national distribution of: “productions that promote ideas opposed to the fundamental basis of the fatherland or the nation such as Marxism...; those that offend the states with which Chile has international relations; those that are contrary to public order, morals or good habits; or those that induce to the perpetration of anti-social or criminal acts.”<sup>cclxxxvi</sup> Filling administrative institutions with loyalists and expanding authoritarian power awarded broad discretion and control for bureaucrats to suppress what they defined as subversive culture. The guidelines on film censorship elucidate the boundaries of customary practices, and provide an indication about which practices should be viewed as not customary, and therefore prohibited. Marxism or other ideologies which promoted class struggle were explicitly outside the boundaries of proper performance, clearly situating the state’s views within the political context of the Cold War. The injunction not to offend the states with which Chile had international relations suggests that even the pretext of another state taking offense at a Chilean film justified prohibition. The other two categories of prohibition are vague, as if to provide censors with the broadest possible latitude to censor conceivably objectionable material. Although the motives of film censors or any primary source documents on the subject are outside the purview of this

investigation, *Operaci3n limpieza* and *corte de pelo* give some indication of the sorts of behaviors which could lead to banning of any given piece of cinema. The improper physical appearance of youth, any gestures of unwillingness to collaborate with the authoritarian project, or non-conformism in social situations could all be construed as contrary to public morals or anti-social, for instance. Through the explicit guidelines on film censorship, the authoritarian government provided itself with extremely broad latitude to legislate morality, elucidating the importance of moral questions to the authoritarian attempt to create a new Chile, and the importance of proper performance in establishing the new national identity.

Authoritarian controls over performance also had more specifically economic dimensions. In particular, the authoritarian government claimed economic insolvency as an excuse to further marginalize alternative countercultures. As of 1976, funding rules required producers to submit estimates for gross receipts from ticket sales to the municipal government where the performance was held and pay the differential between estimate and ticket sales out of pocket. The government only applied the policy selectively, however; soccer matches, state ceremonies, and corporate productions were nearly always exempt.<sup>cclxxxvii</sup> This selective application of rules enabled the authoritarian government to marginalize certain cultural expressions and subject their performers and producers to arbitrary practices and the fear of scarcity—real or imagined.

Private philanthropies, major performance sponsors at the time, pressured artists and venues by reiterating the necessity for productions to pay for themselves. C3sar Sepulveda, oligarch, opera-lover, and philanthropist, put it this way:

The state has a role to accomplish but we believe we must help it ... Art is a product that has to be sold and not given away. Why should one pay for a pair of shoes and not for a Beethoven sonata? Secondly, art has to be managed with the same “marketing” techniques used to sell a refrigerator or a blender ... If the municipal theater, for example, passes through a period where it has only half of the auditorium full, it should do a market study and discover where the fault is  
...  
<sup>cclxxxviii</sup>

As Catarina Preda states, Sepulveda’s views are “evocative of the private companies’ vision of art as a product or investment like any other.”<sup>cclxxxix</sup> This emphasis on the primacy of economic considerations, common to nearly all cultural philanthropies at that time, reveals the importance of neoliberal and individualist ideals to the culture available to Chileans for consumption. This placed pressure to succeed economically on all artistic productions, ensuring that monetary considerations were at least as important as the art which was on offer. It also meant



added pressure for any production which attempted to foster communitarian values, either through the art itself or through the openness to having people who could not pay admission charges in attendance. In this way, any production which might tend toward communitarianism was forced to conform to the neoliberal ideology of a market economy, in addition to the restrictions on politically objectionable content and the dire penalties which could befall objectionable artists.

At times, the authoritarian government applied punitive policies toward the entire artistic sector of the economy, not just targeted groups, indicating the extent of the state's preoccupation with control. Value added taxes ranged between 20 and 22% for cinema, and between 22 and 29% for books and music.<sup>ccxc</sup> Moreover, enforcement of tax law was vigorous during the 1980s, since the state needed revenue in a time of strict austerity.<sup>ccxcii</sup> At a time when the purchasing power of working Chileans was already shrinking, the regressive nature of value added taxation on artistic productions strongly limited the ability of wage-earners to buy art or books, or to attend performances.<sup>ccxciii</sup> Tax policies encouraged performers to self-censor to attract the widest possible audiences. Changes to the Chilean tax code therefore elucidate at times coercive dimensions of economic life under Chile's authoritarian state. Specifically, the commodification of performance increased the importance of competition between artistic productions in Chile's aggressively neoliberal economy. Not only were performances and performers at risk of censorship, but they now had to compete with each other for scarce publics, and their money. Finally, the tax changes also impacted group performance more than the works of art created by individuals, since value added taxation necessarily meant less money to pay performers. This combination of factors incentivized competition between productions in general, and particularly incentivized productions to be as small as possible in terms of the number of participants.

Reforms to the Chilean system of social security also adversely affected workers in cultural industries, particularly creators and performers. Before the September 11 coup, Chile's solidary pension system, in particular, was a source of national pride. In its proclamation of the Junta of Military Government, the new authorities decreed: "the workers of Chile can rest assured, the social and economic advances they have achieved to date will not suffer fundamental alteration."<sup>ccxciii</sup> This was an empty promise, however. In fact, the authoritarian government reformed the country's retirement system, by making contributions to social security individual rather than solidary, and excluding the self-employed.<sup>ccxciv</sup> Since musicians and many other performers were classified as self-employed workers, many had no realistic chance to retire.<sup>ccxcv</sup>

In this way, reforms to the social security system increased the precariousness of performance as a career option, while the state successfully avoided taking responsibility for performers precarious livelihoods.

Alterations to the governmental structure of Chile also localized and restricted access to art and performances, both for performers and consumers. Between 1973 and 1976, the authoritarian government transferred responsibilities for many areas of state/citizen interaction, including cultural affairs, from the national government to the municipalities. Under the new rules, each municipality required performance permits, which made national touring particularly difficult; any given show could get canceled, for any reason or none at all, at any time.<sup>ccxcvi</sup> The localization of the power to censor artistic production, brought about through municipalization, shows both an expansion of state power and a localization of its influence. This process, in turn, reveals intimate dimensions of state violence upon citizens during the country's authoritarian process. Rather than weakening state power, as municipalization processes often do, Chilean municipalization made the power to censor more diffuse geographically, but also increased the number of ways in which any given Chilean would get caught up in the censorial apparatus. Chileans now had to worry about censorship from two major sources: the national government which could torture or kill them, and the local government which could cancel their performances for any reason, or without providing a reason.

### **Performing authoritarian nationalism: patriotism as Art and Performance.**

Not all artists belonged to repressed, leftist countercultures. In the aftermath of September 11, many artists who had either remained silent or actively opposed Popular Unity contributed to an outpouring of patriotic, sometimes avowedly anti-Communist cultural performance. Highly nationalist performance cast ideological light on the patriotic sentiment with which certain Chileans greeted the military coup. Moreover, looking at performance as a source of political legitimacy elucidates how the authoritarian government used performers and their work to augment its credibility with Chileans by commemorating the new military government and by accentuating so-called traditional Chilean values.

In examining the Chilean experience, it is worthwhile to examine Chile in comparative perspective. Luis Velazco Pufleau has documented that under the leadership of the orchestral composer Carlos Chaves and spanning several presidential administrations, the Mexican government attempted to use combinations of indigenous and European musical styles to create

national unity within Mexico, and burnish the revolutionary government's international image.<sup>ccxcvii</sup> In doing so, the Mexican state attempted to incorporate Mexicans with broadly different political persuasions into the country's artistic life, making music a conciliatory, unifying force.<sup>ccxcviii</sup> While the Chilean case is in some superficial respects similar to the Mexican, this chapter and discussions of the so-called Andean boom in chapter three will reveal that in Chile, gestures toward the country's indigenous past were token at best, and the levels of violence against political opponents who expressed themselves musically were altogether greater than was the case in revolutionary Mexico. Specifically, whereas Mexican musical elites tried to politicize music in a way which could include the greatest number of people, the Chilean state sought to physically erase left-wing and communitarian ideologies from cultural life—through violence if necessary, and employed more politically conservative, elitist concepts of “tradition” as the groundworks for the national unity they were attempting to construct.

In the aftermath of the coup, those who supported the authoritarian government emphasized the nationalist elements of their cultural performances. The *Especial 11 de septiembre* (the September 11 Special) produced by *Radio Agricultura*, became a famous example of these intensely patriotic displays. Broadcast each September 11 between 1974 and 1991, the year after the return to electoral democracy, the documentary provides a sonic archive of September 11, 1973, and an openly nationalist exultation of the military coup. Notably, the documentary was narrated by the public intellectual and musical composer Francisco “*Gabito*” Hernández, who provided editorial commentaries about the ills of the Popular Unity government and glorified the military. In response to the infamous bombing of *La Moneda* (Chile's presidential palace) with the President still inside, Hernández had the following to say:

Chile edged toward midday. ... From the position of the observers, one could see the first effects of the rockets, which had done famous work on their target. Smoke began to billow from *La Moneda*, because the hard-headedness of Allende had desired it thus. That attitude now bore fruits desired by no one, augmented by new strafing flights from the Hawker Hunter combat planes. ... The hail of sniper fire intensified, and in response the warrior pilots of the Air Force of Chile did not miss even one solitary shot. These soldiers made a great demonstration of their professionalism, in an act to which the entire citizenry bore witness.<sup>ccxcix</sup>

From the moments of September 11 chosen for portrayal, to narrator Hernández' vocal delivery, the *Radio Agricultura Especial* is a deliberately choreographed performance for the radio medium. As such, Hernández' narration, one of the few features of the documentary which did not

actually occur that day, is performative to an added degree. Hernández speaks of the bombing of *La Moneda*, and President Salvador Allende's activities on the day, much as a drama critic would describe a well-scripted and perfectly acted tragedy. The villain (Allende) refused to read the signposts of Chile's national tragedy when they were right in front of his face, even announced to him—and to the entire Chilean people—through military edicts over the radio. The bombing of *La Moneda*, in the view of the *Radio Agricultura* documentary, is the necessary culmination to a tragedy, performed with the entire country of Chile as the stage. Hernández, in his position as narrator and critic, takes pains to praise the bomber pilots particular performance as flawless, necessary, and both awesome in its power and worthy of popular admiration.

Explicit judgments of aesthetic value, which placed nationalist and “traditional” Chilean music ahead of the political messages of the Popular Unity, give a glimpse on the value nationalists placed on their performances. As Hernández describes from his historical position in 1974: “The fatherland listens to different music now. The songs of hate no longer fly through the air, the ones interpreted with upraised fists. Right now, Chile begins to recover its lost values. Chile returns to the path that it should never have mistaken.”<sup>ccc</sup> Hernández depicts the coup as an affirmation of Chilean values, but these values were actually only those of the leaders of the military and its politically conservative bases of support. In this affirmation of supposedly “traditional” values, there is no room for class struggle, as implied by Hernández barely veiled references to the *nueva canción* as the “songs of hate.” This explicit politicization of music by supporters of the Chilean military, supporters who had just criticized the leftist *nueva canción* as hateful, reveals a deeply nationalist and conservative politics behind pro-authoritarian performance. Moreover, disparaging references to the songs ... interpreted with upraised fists” elucidate the class background of *Radio Agricultura*'s owners, the National Society for Agriculture—Chile's largest agricultural lobbying group. Clearly, the sorts of music favored by politically conservative, economically elite Chileans were not so vulgar as to be “interpreted with upraised fists,” a further testament to the aesthetic changes the military and its supporters wished to see expressed by Chileans through the music they performed and consumed.

The state and its collaborators used patriotic song to provide cultural cohesion around nationalist interpretations of freedom in the rapidly changing nation. On the September 11 special alone, the Chilean National Anthem was performed three times in its entirety, leaving no doubt as to the work's nationalist sentiments. The concluding section, after the narration of events of

September 11, 1973, consisted of the anthems of each of Chile's armed services—the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Carabineros. All this was followed by the national anthem interpreted by a classical orchestra as well as female choir, as if to indicate that women, too, had a place in the nationalist discourse. Finally, the work ends with the song “*Libre como el mar*” (Free as the Sea), a favorite of pro-authoritarians even today.<sup>ccci</sup> Clearly, traditional and particularly martial music was employed to unite a community of listeners and performers in support of the new authoritarian political arrangements. Martial music, therefore, served a crucial role in constructing hegemony in the Gramscian sense. Patriotic performances of music allowed the authoritarian state to establish a consensus among its supporters as to the proper values which art was meant to convey, and the boundaries of reasonable discourse through performance in the new Chile. This hegemony was all-the-more persuasive in light of the violence and state terrorism which the authoritarian government also employed against those who transgressed the boundaries of the authoritarian cultural hegemony.<sup>ccci</sup>

Repeated performance of patriotic song had a layered symbolic meaning, intimately bound up with the concept of “Chileanness” and the nation’s emotional and political renewal. This is clear when Francisco Hernández praises the two great symbols of the Chilean nation; the flag, and the National Anthem.

The tricolor flag, so often humiliated and so seldom seen at noisy official meetings, babied underneath strange red and black emblems, began to fly from that very instant. It flew happily, trustingly in many! Very many buildings and houses in Chile at full mast. The National Anthem, that other sacred symbol of the fatherland, also emerged vigorously from the *Red Nacional*. And Chileans, true Chileans, true patriots, felt their chests and their very souls swell up! And while the martial chords of our song cross through space, beginning shyly and later with a welling up of patriotic uncton, they united the sound of the instruments with their excited voices. Without perfectionism! Only with the vigor of someone who feels their chains break.<sup>ccci</sup> A literal reading of this quotation is instructive, since the flag and the anthem come to life, quite literally. According to Hernández narration, it was not people flying the flag, or singing the anthem. The flag itself became a living actor, since it flew “happily” and “trustingly,” as if thanking the military for liberating it from the Popular Unity times, which disrespected and babied it. Narrator Hernández also anthropomorphized the Chilean national anthem, since it is the anthem itself which “emerged vigorously from the *Red Nacional*.” Only later, after the two symbols of Chilean nationality came

to life—as it were—did Chileans themselves take apart in the story, by singing the anthem exultingly and joyfully. Hernández gave these symbols a sort of citizenship in the new Chile, depicting the military coup as the entry of the flag and the anthem into adulthood and civic life. Indeed, these symbols took their place as Chileans before the Chilean people, themselves, realized they were free, and expressed their own thanks only after the flag and the anthem had come to life. In this way, after coming of age, the flag and the anthem lead Chileans into the new, authoritarian era.

Donations to the *Fondo de Reconstrucción Nacional* (National Reconstruction Fund, hereafter the *Fondo Nacional*) became another example of artists performing authoritarian nationalism. A great number of artists and performers donated to the *Fondo Nacional*, suggesting collaboration between performers and the new state. Both government officials and artists encouraged Chileans to donate money, jewels, artworks, or anything else of value to the state, as it paid down an enormous foreign debt.<sup>ccciv</sup> Many people obliged, willingly or otherwise. However, donors expressed their support in different ways, with varying degrees of explicit agreement with authoritarianism.

Some artists, including pro-authoritarians, used euphemisms for their art donations instead of admitting the essentially political nature of their work. Nearly a dozen folkloric musical groups, including *Los Huasos Quincheros* and *Los de Ramón*, and the outspokenly rightist composer, poet and concert promoter Germán Becker, collaborated on television spots and tours to raise funds for the *Fondo Nacional*. Despite a highly public donation to the authoritarian government, Becker referred to the music as “most traditionally Chilean,” using tradition as a euphemism to imply the absence of political speech.<sup>cccv</sup> Interestingly, Becker’s use of the concept of tradition is quite different from the way the Popular Unity in general, and *nueva canción* artists, in particular, thought of the concept. As we saw in chapter one, musicians who supported Popular Unity politicized the concept of tradition, taking an increasingly explicit stance that “true” traditions came from disenfranchised groups in society. Those who referred to their music as “most traditionally Chilean” had a very different concept in mind, a sort of tradition devoid of direct references to politics. The early authoritarian period therefore reveals stark changes in the sorts of traditions which were acceptable, and the ways in which performers could express “traditional” sentiments.

At times, artists offered unspoken support. . The visual artist Albert Lavil Stevenson gave several dozen abstract paintings and sketches to the National Reconstruction Fund, as well as sketches of warships on active duty with the Chilean Navy. Admiral José Torivio Merino, commander-in-chief of the Chilean navy and the primary architect of the September 11 coup, cried as he presided over the ceremony accompanying the donation.<sup>cccvi</sup> Through his tears, we see that Admiral Merino perceived this donation to be an eminently political act, a heart-felt gesture of support for the military and its recent coup from one of Chile’s finest visual artists. Lavil Stevenson made no public remarks. Coming on the heels of the installation of a new government, Lavil Stevenson’s donation quite literally spoke for itself.

Whereas some artists expressed an aloof nationalism—aloof due to its unspoken nature, others, such as the orchestral composer and choir director Vicente Biancci, openly collaborated with the new government. In his capacity as choral director for the church of *Santa María de la Piedad* (St. Mary of Piety), Biancci composed a hymn “*Chile, levántate y anda*” (Chile, Rise up and Walk) to welcome the new political era and express his best wishes for the country. The first stanza of lyrics reads as follows:

Chile rise up and walk!  
The hour has arrived,  
The hoped for hour of the reconstruction.  
Fatherland of free will,  
Thy people did not want,  
To suffer the sentence of undignified oppression.<sup>cccvii</sup>

Through the reference to “the “hoped for hour of the reconstruction,” Biancci explicitly states his support for both the military coup, and the authoritarian state’s efforts to rebuild Chile from the ashes of the old, Popular Unity model. His references to Chile as the “fatherland of free will” indicate that Biancci also saw the authoritarian era, rather than the Popular Unity, as the time of true freedom for Chileans. Finally, Biancci saw the Popular Unity as a period of “undignified oppression.” In his view, the Chilean people, or at least those people who mattered, preferred the freedom of the authoritarian period to the oppression of the Popular Unity era.

Biancci intended this work to support the new government. As he stated to *El Mercurio* when asked about his politics:

Even though I am an artist, I don’t believe anybody could have remained impassive with the political process that Chile lived through, I never agreed with the last government. And I never accepted any of the invitations they made unto me. And

so it was that in the last three years, I did nothing more interesting than stay in front of my choir, shutting up and working.<sup>cccviii</sup> Given that “*Chile, levántate y anda*” was first performed almost exactly a month after the military takeover, Biancci may very well have been working quite busily, but he clearly had no intention of “shutting up” under the new political arrangement. His strongly worded reference to “shutting up” implies that he felt muzzled under the Popular Unity, a situation where the best thing he could do was to simply dedicate himself to work and refrain from speaking his mind. The reference to “shutting up” also sheds light on the thankful, optimistic nature of this new work, thankful and optimistic than in the new, authoritarian times, there was no need to shut up any longer. The work’s performers and the location of the performance, a church choir performing in a church, reveal a devotion normally observed in religious observance in Biancci’s particular brand of pro-authoritarian art. This suggests that Biancci may have viewed the authoritarian ideology, at least in the early period of authoritarian government, similarly to the way in which a devout person views her own religious faith.

The authoritarian government backed up its own nationalism by taking advantage of the nationalist overtones contained in other performance traditions. The *cueca*, a waltz-like folkloric musical style, has moved Chileans to patriotic feeling since the 1920s, because its early performers evoked themes of rural life which were appealing to conservative elites in a rapidly changing country. Beginning in the late 1920s, a young, photogenic, and virtuosic folk singer and guitarist named Carlos Valdéz Vásquez began touring Chile and other South American countries to massive popular acclaim, dressed in the costume of the *huaso*, Chile’s cowboy peasantry. As the newspaper *El Diario Ilustrado*--the leading organ of the right-wing press of the time--reported in 1930, Vásquez’s performance made people:

remember that we are Chileans. ... If there were many people in Chile like Carlos Valdéz Vásquez that are concerned with what is ours, we could aspire to create a truly solid race rooted in tradition, truly Chilean, truly *criollo*. ... Now is the time to begin a difficult task: to dignify this music, make everyone understand it, realize its miracles that make us proud, and for the country to adopt it and reject the intrusive *tango* and the petulant fox-trot.<sup>cccix</sup>

References to foreign musical styles as “intrusive” and “petulant” in the country’s leading conservative paper of the day demonstrate musical xenophobia and the rejection of cultural imports on the part of Chilean elites. Clearly, for political conservatives and cultural nationalists of the 1920s, performances by people such as Valdéz arrived at a most opportune time, when Chilean elites were attempting to differentiate their own performance traditions from those of other



countries. After the military coup and in a period which as nationalist for somewhat different reasons, Chilean authoritarians used the *cueca* to revive “traditional” nationalist values and sentiments, by emphasizing the continuities between historical nationalisms and authoritarian-era performances.

During authoritarianism, some artists coordinated their activity with government agencies, to revive the *cueca* and to make it an official expression of Chilean identity. *Los Huasos Quincheros*, active since the 1930s and the longest-running continuously active band in Chilean history, hit the peak of their popularity under authoritarianism, while they were collaborating deeply with the state. In 1975, the *Secretaría General del Gobierno* (the General Secretariat of Government) sponsored a contest called *Nuevas canciones para los Quincheros* (New Songs for the *Quincheros*), and awarded cash prizes for chosen songs. On international tours, the *Huasos Quincheros* portrayed Chilean culture as rural, bucolic, and devoid of political content to suggest so-called tradition flourishing in the present.<sup>cccx</sup> As described by *El Mercurio* in an article regarding the song contest, the *Quincheros*’ music “sings to the simple things, to the land, to romanticism and that drinks of the rhythms of *tonadas* and *cuecas*.<sup>cccxi</sup>” This invocation of romanticism suggests that in listening to *cuecas*, Chileans could renew their ties to their homeland, fall in love with it—as it were--and, in doing so, simplify themselves and bring values of simplicity and love of country into the present. By performing the music which inculcated such desirable values, *Los Huasos Quincheros* were performing a valuable service to the authoritarian project. *Cueca* promotion reached its apogee in 1979, when the government declared the *cueca* the official dance of Chile. On September 18, Chilean Independence Day, Decree Law 23 of 1979 declared the *cueca* “the most genuine expression of the national soul,” and ordered that students learned its traditional form throughout the national education system.<sup>cccxi</sup> Scholars have documented a long history of politically motivated *cuecas* associated with the Chilean left, and have demonstrated that far from the leftist, populist *cueca* of Popular Unity, the *cueca* promoted under authoritarianism was common to the Chilean Central Valley and specifically favored by wealthy agriculturalists.<sup>cccxiii</sup> In keeping with the class background of many of the most prominent performers during the authoritarian period, the state and collaborators used the conservative, Central Valley *cueca*, while claiming that it had no political content. Yet, the state and collaborating musicians conveniently claimed that this Central Valley version had no political content, and assured Chileans that it could represent the entire country.

## **Performing Popular Legitimacy: Music as Political Speech under Authoritarianism**

Since the state outlawed political party activity to install authoritarianism, democratic legitimacy did not exist. Nonetheless, musicians and artists who supported the authoritarian project spoke in its favor, making their voices and performances a source of popular legitimacy when democratic elections did not exist. Performances of popular legitimacy reveal a highly contradictory political situation, in which nationalist artists and performers claimed spaces of political representation and contestation within the undemocratic politics of authoritarian Chile.

Some artist statements in 1978 suggest affinity with authoritarian policies. In response to resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly which denounced Chile as a violator of international human rights treaties, many famous Chilean artists issued statements in support of the government. The pop star and actress Gloria Simonetti dismissed political opposition to authoritarianism this way:

The people pushing in reverse are going to stay that way, pushing in reverse. ... Now, the important thing is to clarify to those who still live in a fantasy world, and who don't know what this vote is all about, that the United Nations vote against Chile is the expression of the failure of Marxism. It's a demonstration that they can't tolerate that the Chilean people have defeated them, even though they say their doctrine is fantastic and irreversible.<sup>cccxiv</sup>

Simonetti's remarks reflected a common practice during authoritarianism, in which supporters portrayed authoritarian policies as normal and in line with common sense, and presumed bad faith among critics. Simonetti's portrayal of the political left as "pushing in reverse," and then later as "living in a fantasy world" shows that she viewed leftists and their supporters as deliberately obstructionist, or at least completely delusional about political realities. Moreover, nothing could be done to persuade Simonetti's opponents to stop their attacks on the authoritarian state, so the people who were "pushing in reverse" were, unfortunately, an irritant which would never go away. Finally, Simonetti portrays the United Nations, which voted nearly unanimously against authoritarian Chile's human rights record, as completely dominated by international Marxism. Only the Chilean people could defend themselves and their country against international Marxism, by voting with the authoritarian government in the coming referendum.

Some performers rendered devotion to General Augusto Pinochet, himself. This phenomenon demonstrates personalist tendencies in the ways in which performers viewed Chilean politics during the authoritarian period.<sup>cccv</sup> The folkloric musician Willy Bascuñán had established an internationally renowned career of more than forty years before 1978, during which he had

avoided speaking on politics. Considering past performance, Bascuñán's comments reveal that he believed the situation was urgent, and suggest that he believed true power in Chile lay with General Pinochet, himself. "Everyone's backing to the President of the Republic is a way to motivate him to keep moving forward and to defend the sovereignty of our nation against arbitrary, unacceptable and unjust attacks."<sup>cccxvi</sup> Bascuñán's references to Chilean sovereignty and Pinochet's ability to defend it indicate that he believed sovereign power was exercised by—and in the figure of—Pinochet personally. This statement from Bascuñán was the beginning of a long-lasting change in his political activity; as late as 1988, Bascuñán was making statements of loyalty to Pinochet, himself.<sup>cccxvii</sup> The length of his personal devotion to Pinochet, and the relative political freedom in Chile toward the later end of authoritarianism indicates that these expressions of loyalty were genuinely felt. General Pinochet was often named the honorary president of a wide range of cultural organizations, from the writer's union to the popular *Colo-Colo* soccer team.<sup>cccxviii</sup> It is difficult to know whether expressions from people other than Bascuñán reflect genuine loyalty, or fear of reprisal. Still, performers, artists, and the organizations to which they belonged were keen to render loyalty in personal terms during this period.

During the 1980 constitutional referendum, a fraudulent national vote which approved the country's present constitution, the government and performers coordinated their activities directly. As *El Mercurio* documented, over forty artists, musicians and writers, met with Minister of the Interior Sergio Fernández Fernández and Secretary General of the Government Sergio Badilla on September 2, 1980, to give a joint signed statement to the government and national media. The statement read in part: "We call upon all Chilean artists and intellectuals to create a tidal wave for the "yes" vote on September 11, and in doing so, testifying to our desire to contribute to the fertile and creative labor which the country presently undertakes."<sup>cccxix</sup> The statement additionally assured that "the new fundamental charter submitted for plebiscite is a solid guarantee for the development and the welfare of the nation."<sup>cccxx</sup> Instead of performing through their art, the artists were performing through the force of their personalities and reputations, both as individuals and as a group. This performance was explicitly and admittedly political, in favor of the authoritarian state and the constitution it proposed. Interestingly, their desire to contribute to Chilean politics overrode any prior scruples about taking politics out of artistic performance.

Cultural politics under Chilean authoritarianism were often transactional; artists received benefits for taking specific actions. The authoritarian state often bestowed its gratitude publicly,

through awarding cultural prizes. The *Premio Nacional de Literatura* (National Literature Award), created in 1974 and awarded every two years, shows how the state recognized supportive individuals. Two of the most egregious examples of politically motivated *Premios* are Sandy Zanartu (1974), and Enrique Campos Menéndez (1986). An avid nationalist but a relatively undistinguished writer, Zanartu's award near the beginnings of authoritarianism cited his contributions to "rescuing *Chilenidad*" (Chileanness); in turn, Campos Menéndez received his award while he held two high-ranking government positions, during a particularly crippling and unpopular wave of economic austerity.<sup>cccxxi</sup> Cultural prizes show how networks of mutual support and collaboration functioned between Chile's authoritarian state and many artists and performers.

Just as performers and artists collaborated with the authoritarian state, so did privately owned production. The authoritarian government focused on re-establishing private control over performances, to undermine the appeal of the *Unidad Popular*'s socialist initiatives and privatize state institutions. The political scientist Carlos Huneeus defines privatization as the withdrawal of state presence from daily life, and the replacement of state functions by private enterprises.<sup>cccxxii</sup> While the cultural privatizations during the early authoritarian period demonstrate state withdrawal from cultural sectors of the economy, the state still controlled the content which could be produced and consumed. Early musical performances and the political economic context of those performances suggest that the government used music to implement nationalist art forms, political control, and private ownership as the new normal.

The early re-privatization of the Odeon and RCA record labels reveals corporate capture of state function, and the concurrent interests of multinational private enterprise and the authoritarian state. After coming to power in 1970, the Popular Unity nationalized Odeon and RCA records, and gave their holdings to *Discoteca del Canto Popular (DICAP)*, run by the Communist Youth and the distributors of much of the *nueva canción* corpus; this label and their catalogue were discussed extensively in the previous chapter. After their return to private ownership—not to mention capitalist production—Odeon and RCA records both released recordings of Chilean musicians on the domestic market on September 18, 1973. The date was auspicious, coming only one week after the September 11 coup, and also commemorating Chilean independence day on September 18.<sup>cccxxiii</sup> Moreover, although none of the music contains references to political subjects, the featured performers such as *Los Huasos Quincheros* and *Los de Ramón* supported conservative politics at the time, and throughout authoritarianism.<sup>cccxxiv</sup> The timing of the record privatization

and the September 11 coup suggests media privatization as a crucial state priority. Taking place during state persecution and elimination of leftist musical influences, privatization announced the authoritarian state's reforms to cultural fields of the economy and society. Since privatization occurred at the same time as the physical elimination of leftist performers and their works, this suggests that capitalist modes of production in general, and privatization in particular, were the state's favored solution to the problem of communitarian influence in artistic fields.

Yet, even the government's visible and performative privatizations created contradictions: the fate of the state-run record label reveals that the withdrawal of the institutions of state from the cultural economy was far more complicated than it may appear. Despite the state re-privatization of Odeon and RCA, the Chilean state nonetheless stayed in the recording business, under the name *Industrias de Radio y Televisión (IRT, Radio and Television Industries)*. In fact, IRT had distribution contracts with foreign artists such as the BeeGee's and Donna Sommer, which indicates financial solvency and a commitment to long-term operations.<sup>cccxxv</sup> Readers will remember that artists who supported the authoritarian state were concerned about protecting Chilean sovereignty; yet *IRT* did not appear concerned about these specific musical imports, possibly because they came from countries with which authoritarian Chile had friendly relations. Whatever the reasons for the foreign catalogue, *IRT* closed in August 1980, despite robust demand for its products during a period of economic austerity.<sup>cccxxvi</sup> *IRT*'s survival for seven years in an unfriendly political climate challenged economic privatization, and complicated the insertion of market forces into daily life.

Chile's privatized, nationalist culture also left room for performance products from the United States. In early October, 1973, Robert Cockery, the head of International Motion Picture Export, met with the authoritarian government, to finalize distribution of Hollywood films in Chile.<sup>cccxxvii</sup> Cockery refused to divulge the titles of films to be released, nor the timing of the process, carefully leaving this announcement to Chilean authorities Alejandro Undurraga, head of the cinema division of the Chamber of Commerce, announced that the best North American films from the Popular Unity years, previously unseen in Chile, would be distributed in Chilean theaters.<sup>cccxxviii</sup> The importation of foreign films, music, and other performances suggests that artistic trade groups became political actors in their own right, revealing changes in the country's foreign relations through changing cinema performances. In analyzing this situation, it is worth remembering that the authoritarian government and collaborators were instituting a right-wing,

highly nationalist counter-revolution. Given the tightly controlled politics of Chile in the immediate aftermath of the coup, and the existence of cinema censorship, the importation of US films must have been approved by the state. Presumably, United States films had ideological affinities with the goals of the Chilean state and its supporters.

### **“Subversive” Performance: Political Contestation and Cultural Critique**

Even under Chilean authoritarianism, cultural commentary on the issues of the day continued. The visit to Chile by the Brazilian composer and protest singer Erasmo Carlos defined acceptable musical speech and performance on current affairs, in the run-up to Chile’s 1980 constitutional referendum. As such, it shows how the government and media permitted—and even encouraged—critical comment, so long as it was devoid of socialist ideology.

Carlos’s remarks on politics reveal a disdain for political demonstrations. “In 1970 I came to Chile, but it went badly for me, because right beside the theater I was playing, there was an Allende demonstration. The few who came to see me didn’t even hear me. I hate politics. And so it was, that I returned to my country and never came to Chile again, but I have to say, they never invited me back.<sup>ccccxix</sup>” At a time when many Chileans were celebrating the Popular Unity with noisy even musical street demonstrations, Carlos believed his work was above the political fray, but drown out by something entirely more mundane. Specifically, Carlos was admittedly bothered by the size and the uncontrolled noise of the crowd at the Allende demonstration, and possibly by that large crowd’s socialist ideology. Carlos’s own audience was, presumably, smaller and enjoyed a more comfortable class position than Popular Unity supporters. Coverage of this comment from Carlos by *El Mercurio* indicates that this quieter, more high-brow culture was more acceptable to authoritarian supporters.

Carlos elaborated on his mistrust toward political involvement. When questioned about the Pope’s visit to his native country of Brazil, specifically whether he would have participated if organizers had used his own songs, Carlos elaborated: “No, I wouldn’t have participated. Because the pope’s visit was treated like a political event. And I don’t want to be used by politicians. Here, [Brazil] the protests for the Pope weren’t spontaneous, they were all planned. Spontaneously people got together to see it, but all the songs and dances were planned.<sup>ccccxx</sup>” This indicates skepticism regarding popular movements, and the viability of state-based political activism, especially when that state-based activism was made to look spontaneous or bottom-up. When

contextualized in Chile's highly undemocratic politics of 1980, the remarks seem aimed at demonstrating the vagaries of populist politics, and, possibly, even a mild critique of the authoritarian state's reliance on dubious referenda and supposedly spontaneous gestures of support for the state from performers.

For Erasmo Carlos, political engagement played no role at all in his worldview or performance. In reference to the messages contained in his songs, he told *El Mercurio*: "Some people say they are about unity, others that they are soft protest. I think what I think. I compose whatever comes out of my heart and what I think and feel is that love between people is the salvation of the world. Only brotherly love."<sup>ccccxxxi</sup> For a man who disliked "being used by politicians," his politically disengaged remarks were ironically convenient for Chile's authoritarian government at election time. Any critique of political activity in general must necessarily have benefited the state and its drive to keep performers out of politics. Yet, Carlos' deliberate depoliticization of his own art seems genuinely felt, reflecting a sincere belief that love between people could solve more problems than any political program.

Despite the state's co-optation of many cultural performances members of targeted groups still managed to perform visible critiques of authoritarianism. Even political prisoners found ways to resist through performance. In a celebration of the 1973 Christmas season, and a simultaneous denunciation of inhumane prison conditions, Ángel Parra and *Los de Chacabuco* (The ones from Chacabuco) performed "La misa criolla" (The Creole mass), an eight-part choral work in which prisoners compare their sufferings to those of Jesus Christ.<sup>ccccxxii</sup> Eight-track tape recordings of the work were later smuggled out of Chile, and the recordings became quite popular in Europe and with exiled Chileans. The popularity of the recordings shows the limits of state power, even in state controlled spaces. Furthermore, it reveals layered, at times permeable systems of political contestation and control. Even when the government demonstrated its willingness to torture and kill opponents who performed their ideologies through music or art, it could not destroy that particular form of political contestation.

Even amid public acts of censorship and blacklisting, artists expressed their dissent and demonstrated that different worldviews were possible despite state repression. Between 1973 and 1980, the government officially blacklisted many artists, often because of leftist political sympathy. Many artists were gradually allowed to perform again during the 1980s, as the state loosened restrictions on political speech.<sup>ccccxxiii</sup> Despite the non-negotiable nature and simple

practicality of blacklists, artists found ways to mock the practice while still obeying the law. In 1988, the television presenter Patricio Bañados, host of the “no” campaign’s TV spots for Chile’s 1988 plebiscite, appeared off-camera—with sound but no video—to symbolize his exclusion from his chosen profession.<sup>cccxixiv</sup> Similar practices were common in leftist news media. Opposition sources of news frequently left blank spaces in place of censored passages or photographs to convey that censorship did not permit objective journalistic coverage. In this way, artists, and newsmakers critical of authoritarianism both obeyed the law and critiqued censorship by conveying information through its absence. The strategy of conveying information through absence reveals that even under rigid and coercive controls, dissident voices still contested the authoritarian state’s monopoly on information.

Evidence from Chileans who violated curfew, sometimes just being out at night, shows how people challenged the government’s control over public space and cultural production. Since most cultural productions occurred at nights or on weekends, curfews and particularly the pervasive presence of police and military surveillance limited the times performances could take place, and generally discouraged people from going out at night. Yet the disincentives which confined Chileans to their homes also sparked meetings of small groups of lovers of subversive culture. Punk and new wave communities found their reason for belonging precisely in the act of breaking curfew, both a highly transgressive and an extremely dangerous practice.<sup>cccxixv</sup> Indeed, the formation of punk and new wave communities often sabotaged official organizations; the more time one spent as a punk, the less time one dedicated to the *Secretariado Nacional de la Juventud* (the National Youth Secretariat), or other official organizations. Punk and new wave communities resisted authoritarianism both by occupying public spaces during curfew, and by depriving official youth groups of valuable sources of membership.<sup>cccxixvi</sup> This process elucidates how refusing to take part in official groups could have political implications under the tightly controlled authoritarian environment.

In Chilean theater, a genre well-known for critiquing the authoritarian system, self-censorship and political resistance merged in sometimes surprising ways. Theater productions often inserted political critique into “classic” performances, obscuring the critique behind the undoubted value of well-known works. Even under censorship and self-censorship, however, playwrights and directors were still challenged the boundaries of acceptable practice as they could. In a 1990 interview, director Héctor Noguera described the process as follows:



In the first years of Pinochet's rule, it was much more difficult. We did not dare to do Chilean or Latin American plays. We only did the classics. Shakespeare, Lope de Vega, Molière, Calderón—because with the classics you could say a lot of things indirectly. For instance, when we did Hamlet, the main thing that we underlined was the relationship between Hamlet and Claudius, the king who killed to make himself king. That was the sort of thing that the audience could read.<sup>ccccxxvii</sup>

Noguera's comments around the creative choices which governed cultural production in authoritarian Chile reveal a complex mixture of government policy and the perceptions of creators and performers regarding their audience members, and what both audience and government would tolerate in terms of content. Directors and performers were taking a gamble, which relied on two predictions coming good for the gamble to work. First, they assumed—for the most part correctly—that works created in the distant past were relatively safe, even though their critiques were legible for audiences. Second, they gambled that their critiques would actually be understood by audiences and applied to the Chilean political situation. For instance, Claudius "kill[ing] to make himself king" was a reminder that General Augusto Pinochet had done something remarkably similar in the 1973 coup, in which the rightful President Salvador Allende died. If audiences were able to read this critique in the Chilean political context, the similarity between Hamlet and September, 1973 would be self-evident, but sufficiently indirect to avoid retribution.

### **Street-level Cultural Performance: New Practices in the "Nation of Enemies."<sup>ccccxxviii</sup>**

Despite state repression, *peñas* (listening clubs) continued to operate and attract audiences. The dangers of attending *peñas* were significant, particularly before the promulgation of the 1980 constitution. *Peñas*, the birthplace of the *nueva canción* discussed in chapter 1, were suspect from 1973 coup onward. *Peñas* operated at night, and often violated curfews, an easy way for the state to punish musicians and audiences for critical behavior.<sup>ccccxxix</sup> Indeed, as Paloma Ossa demonstrates through her interviews with *peña*-goers throughout Chile, police and vigilantes harassed patrons and routinely destroyed *peñas* physically.<sup>ccccxli</sup> As Daniel Palominos, a community organizer from northern Chile recalled: "We would take over community kitchens, we would stand up on the tables, we would play guitar and with the guitar I brought some friends from the company in the neighborhood. ... On Fridays and Saturdays, we would have the *peña* and the cultural movement began to come on very strong in the university. And, well, starting in the year '82 the repression came, very strong in our company."<sup>ccccxlii</sup> Even though Palominos made no mention of political activity, both *peña*-goers and the government which repressed them viewed attendance at

*peñas* as a transgressive political act. Otherwise, there would have been no need for the 1982 repression of his *peña*, at a time when Chile was, at least theoretically, beginning a gradual political opening up after the 1980 constitution. Youth, and particularly youth who attended transgressive spaces, were a matter of concern to police and the state.

*Peñas* found ways to resist control, however. *Radio Colo-Colo*, the radio station of Chile's largest soccer team, would provide passwords on its morning show for those who wished to attend *peñas* that night. On a cloudless day, for instance, the password might be "It's raining in Puerto Montt," a particularly rainy city in southern Chile.<sup>cccxlii</sup> The tension between control and resistance shows how *peñas* became central places to resist state control and form communities of like-minded people.

*Peñas* continued to attract a counter-cultural public, and surprisingly diverse sources of financial sponsorship. As they had during the *nueva canción* era, university students, young professionals and folklorists were the major attendees and performers.<sup>cccxlili</sup> As scholars have pointed out, *peñas* provided the only place where Chileans could hear music which dealt with political subjects, or folklore as practiced by rural people and the poor, itself a politicized subject.<sup>cccxliv</sup>

The diversity reflected in *peña* sponsorship from a broad section of Chilean society demonstrates affinity for repressed forms of memory and specifically folkloric music across a very wide human spectrum. Sources of *peña* sponsorship included churches, quasi-governmental student groups and sports teams providing funding and physical sites.<sup>cccxlv</sup> The *peña* of the *Agrupación Cultural Universitaria* (University Cultural Association) and the *Colo-Colo* soccer team were the most famous and also the most politically daring, but recent evidence strongly suggests that *peñas* proliferated throughout Chile between 1973 and 1990.<sup>cccxlvi</sup> This wide base of support indicates the existence of a growing and diverse audience for *peñas*. Attendance surged during the authoritarian period, surpassing the *Unidad Popular* period, when *peñas* tended to be sponsored by political organizations or by musicians themselves, and when the attending public tended to be politically aware. Paradoxically, the lesser degree of traditionally "political" involvement reveals the place of *peñas* as key sites where people formed counter-cultural communities and collective memories for a new generation of resistance.

*Peñas* became incubators for political communities, based on their shared affinity for folkloric musical styles and the collective memories of solidarity and communitarian ideology they

evoked. These communities, in turn, eventually formed the political groups which worked to end authoritarianism. The repressive policies of the state make it difficult to put a precise chronological beginning to this process, because the political persecution of *nueva canción* performers and publics during the early years fragmented the public into small groups. The combination of political repression and a profoundly hostile economy limited the economic prospects for any counter-cultural venture. Yet, sociologist Sandra Molina argues that *peñas* became key sites in the formation of collective memory, based on anti-authoritarian values, collective performance practices, and the revival of political struggles.<sup>cccxlvi</sup> When analyzed in their chronological context, therefore, *peñas* and the collective memories they fostered provided the foundation for the growing political resistance during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The popularity of new bands and *peñas* under authoritarianism allowed musical acts which began in *peñas* to gain audiences and influence. One such example was *Sol y Lluvia* (Sun and Rain). *Sol y Lluvia* became popular during the later years of the authoritarian period, in no small measure because the group's innovative combination of indigenous dress and thought-provoking lyrics; their songs revealed their leftist political sympathies, while also inviting Chileans to examine their pre-conceived notions about life under authoritarianism. This urge to reflect on the changes brought about in daily life is evident from a textual reading of the song “*El largo tour*” (The Long Tour), which follows:

At this hour, precisely, at this hour,  
at which you must awaken  
And distance lies from your life  
I would like to take you on a long tour,  
Through Pudahuel, and through La Legua  
Through Pudahuel, and La Bandera.  
And you would see life just as it is  
And you would see life just as it is.<sup>cccxlviii</sup>

Through “*El largo tour*,” *Sol y Lluvia* used a subtle critique, but a critique *peña*-goers would recognize, to show that all was not well under authoritarianism. *Pudahuel* and *La Legua* are communities just to the South of Santiago, known for sub-standard housing, drugs, gang violence, and poverty—not to mention left-wing political activism. Anyone who walked through these communities would notice a distinctly poorer, seedier lifestyle than anything collaborating press or television channels would provide. The fact that authoritarianism was failing certain groups of people would therefore be evident, simply by being physically present in neglected places. The

very mention of the place names would be enough to tell discerning listeners that the lives of most Chileans were different from the life authoritarians tried to portray.

While the military succeeded in controlling the flows of artistic production, it failed to eliminate critical performance, and critique through performance became increasingly direct and confrontational over time. Despite this growing critique, musical resistance had to negotiate the structures of censorship, either by testing the boundaries imposed by the state, or by accepting the consequences of refusing to act within legal means. In music, the styles of *canto nuevo* (new song) and *canto poblacional* (slum song) emerged during the early years of the authoritarian period, attracting devoted fans.<sup>cccxlix</sup> By the economic crises and protests of the middle 1980s, different artistic countercultures were testing authoritarian structures with increasingly direct messages, and engaging in increasingly public forms of “bad” behavior through their lyrics and their participation in public political acts.

Some performers took advantage of legal gray areas to perform elegant wordless critiques. Beginning in 1975, the band *Barroco Andino* (Andean Baroque) played<sup>sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth\_</sup> century music on Andean instruments, recording four albums of instrumental western art music between 1975 and 1979.<sup>cccl</sup> Due to their associations with the *nueva canción* genre and Popular Unity, Andean musical instruments had become semi-clandestine, and prohibitions of their use could be brutally enforced at times—or not enforced at all.<sup>cccli</sup> Given the political context and the risks of playing instruments associated with the *nueva canción*, *Barroco Andino*’s wordless mixture of instrumentation and repertoire offered a powerful critique of authoritarian censorship policies, and the isolationist tendencies of the authoritarian state. Moreover, *Barroco Andino*’s critical politics became more public and more widely recognized with time. By 1988, as authoritarianism was ending, the dissident implications of *Barroco Andino*’s work were widely recognized, demonstrated at the communist poet Pablo Neruda’s birthday celebrations for that year, as well as their participation in *Chile Crea* (Chile Creates), a conference and performance workshop in which Chilean anti-authoritarians hosted protest singers from over thirty countries.<sup>ccclii</sup> *Barroco Andino*’s anti-authoritarian politics were, therefore, gradual, measured, and nonetheless striking, revealing an increasingly direct significance and widespread understanding of their wordless critique.

Early dissidents also used protected spaces, particularly churches, to perform critical music which would have been difficult and dangerous anywhere else. To begin the 1978 Advent

celebrations, for instance, the Archbishopric of Santiago sponsored *Grupo Hortiga*'s performance of the “*Cantata de los derechos humanos*” (Cantata of Human Rights). This daring gesture, both the musicians and their church sponsors, invoked the memory of Victor Jara and his assassination.<sup>cccliii</sup> The work is dedicated to the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, and does not address Chile in its lyrics. Nonetheless, the implications of brother murdering brother are obvious in a highly polarized political context. Generally speaking, music performed in churches provided some safety because of tensions with the Vatican and consequences for the military's international image if they cracked down too hard.<sup>cccliv</sup> The state also acted leniently toward *Radio Umbral* (*Radio Threshold*), which often broadcast *nueva canción*, due to the station's affiliations with the United Methodist Church and with North American missionaries.<sup>ccclv</sup> The existence of churches as protected areas therefore demonstrates layered, contextual circumstances in the critical use of public space, and reveals that the state's ability to repress in its own territory was limited. Musical performance in churches also elucidates the powerful potential for the non-specific, and even the wordless critique. By not using words, or by not critiquing anything specific but by performing the critique in a protected context, the nature of these performances as political, oppositional works was self-evident.

The existence of critical music in churches raises interesting questions about the political nature of these spaces, and whether or not they were perceived as political spaces by different actors, particularly by state officials. The political scientists Paul Sigmund and Marcelo Casals have shown that Raúl Silva Henríquez, the Archbishop of Santiago during Popular Unity and a Cardinal during much of the authoritarian era, was critical of President Salvador Allende before the military coup, and both suggest that the military expected Silva to be a close ally of theirs.<sup>ccclvi</sup> In this chapter, I have previously described the avidly pro-authoritarian Vicente Biancci and his “*Chile, levántate y anda*,” an intensely nationalist work which also had elements of the religious devotional, in part because it was performed in a place of worship.<sup>ccclvii</sup> All of the above evidence seems to suggest that the military saw churches as sacred, rather than political spaces, at best friendly to authoritarian rule and at least unthreatening. Nevertheless, this lenient attitude is curious because of the fact that liberation theology, a dissident Catholic doctrine which sought to benefit the poor and ensure their social equality, were very much alive in Chile both during Popular Unity and the authoritarian era.<sup>ccclviii</sup> Recognizing the oppositional potential of churches, dissidents

demonstrated their willingness to look for these apolitical spaces—apolitical in the eyes of the state—and politicize them through musical performances which were unsafe to perform elsewhere.

Just as *Barroco Andino* and *Grupo Hortiga* veiled a critique of authoritarianism within the protected spaces of the church and instrumental music, dissident Chilean artists increasingly used metaphor to speak to Those in the know during the latter 1970s and into the 1980s. During this period, a new style of music called *canto nuevo* (new song) achieved popularity among performers and publics who critiqued the authoritarian state. Readers will remember the *nueva canción* (which also means new song in English) was massively popular among Popular Unity supporters, and violently repressed after the military took power. Mark Mattern succinctly points out that like the *nueva canción*, which at times could be quite direct and confrontational in its lyrics and presentation, *canto nuevo* definitively broke with this tradition of confrontational or direct lyrics, and relied on metaphor, symbolism and oblique references to the past to express political critique to audiences.<sup>ccclix</sup> In other words, *canto nuevo* exchanged the directness and clarity of its lyrics for a more ambiguous presentational style which permitted its performers and publics to do their work in relative safety from state persecution. In spite of this drastic change, *canto nuevo* contained very clear references to past traditions, not least of these being the very meaning of the term, new song. The disc jockey, concert promoter and songwriter Ricardo García, who had named the *nueva canción* genre of the Popular Unity years, also coined the term *canto nuevo* and founded the genre's first and most important record label, *Alerce*, dedicated to producing *canto nuevo* records and, later, to re-releasing *nueva canción* compilations.<sup>ccclx</sup> Yet for all the efforts Garcia and other *canto nuevo* performers made to avoid retribution, the military repeatedly raided *Alerce*'s offices, and totally destroyed the premises in 1976.<sup>ccclxi</sup> While I have mentioned this raid on *Alerce* before in this chapter, the reference in this context shows that the deeper meaning of the genre, the commemoration of the *nueva canción* legacy, did not escape either audiences of the Chilean state. As such, it is a testament to the power of reinventing traditions, and the ability for artists to change the packing of traditions in difficult historical moments while still preserving as much as possible of their essential nature. Additionally, *Alerce*'s story and others like it demonstrates the ever-present danger to musicians as they contested control from above with critique from below, no matter how they packaged their message or accommodated themselves to new times.

*Canto nuevo* messages became clear despite, or perhaps because of, the government's draconian efforts to censor cultural production. Difficulties in controlling critical culture became

obvious in 1975, when the band *Aquellarre* released a cover version of Patricio Manns “*El cautivo de Tiltit*,” the captive of Tiltit, a song which refers to political imprisonment which any listener of the *nueva canción* could easily recognize.<sup>ccclxii</sup> *Aquellarre*’s cover soon became the top-selling song in Chilean history, demonstrating both emotional and economic demand for critical political music.<sup>ccclxiii</sup> Musical works recorded before the authoritarian period were not particularly censored, either; since Violeta Parra died in 1967, her music was generally a safe bet for *canto nuevo* artists to record and perform in spite of Parra’s avowed belief in socialism and human rights. Through recording Parra’s work, *canto nuevo* performers could record works which critiqued the state obliquely, through the metaphor and evocations of memories which made *canto nuevo* famous, while still keeping safe from censorship. *Canto nuevo* performances, layered with indirectness and metaphor, reveal that musicians perceived definite boundaries to the Chilean state’s censorial structures and indicate that those boundaries changed through time.

Paradoxically, those who did not work within the boundaries of acceptable discourse found artistic freedom by working underground. During the 1980s, as Chile’s economic situation deteriorated and the working lives of slum-dwelling Chileans became more precarious, a new style called *canto poblacional* (slum song), emerged, and directly challenged the prerogatives of state power.<sup>ccclxiv</sup> The authoritarian government claimed that housing policy was a centerpiece of its social programs; it bragged that no Chileans lacked housing as part of its national plebiscite campaign of 1988.<sup>ccclxv</sup> Through its very name, *canto poblacional* eloquently refuted the state’s claims regarding housing and poverty simply by existing.

*Canto poblacional* relied on cassettes for both recording and distribution. Cassettes are particularly favorable for clandestine or anonymous recording due to their physical portability, the sheer ubiquity of cassette players in Chile by the 1980s, and the potential for anonymity against repression.<sup>ccclxvi</sup> Specifically, a blank cassette tape is visually indistinguishable from a tape with recorded material, and since it is not divided into tracks, one must listen to the cassette in its entirety.<sup>ccclxvii</sup> Indeed, the emphasis on secrecy proved so strong that many musicians who recorded clandestine cassettes claim not to remember the names of songs or even entire projects in which they were involved.<sup>ccclxviii</sup> Recording practices on cassette tapes reveal the importance of secrecy to *canto poblacional*, and why the state struggled to repress this material.

The lyrics of *canto poblacional* focused on confrontational, directly critical message above all else, in deliberate breach of the rules on censorship. One such example is the cassette “Vamos

Chile” (Letos Go Chile), recorded under the leadership of the folklorist and blacklisted university professor Gabriela Pizarro and distributed by the Communist Party and the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, FPMR) to raise money and morale for an illegal national strike. Pizarro’s song “*A puro pan, a puro té*” (Just Bread and Just Tea) contains simple music and chords, and a repeating melody and chorus, making it easy to learn on the march. The chorus states: “Just bred and just tea, that’s how Pinochet has us now.<sup>ccclxix</sup>” One of the verses also confronts *Carabineros* (national police). “*Carabinero*, you are at a crossroads. Or join with your people or become a murderer.<sup>ccclxx</sup>” This sort of direct, openly confrontational lyrics would be unthinkable within the environment of legal—and censored—musical production. Illegal recording and distribution techniques, therefore, reveal unexpected spaces of freedom.

Still other artists dared to call for acts of violence against the state, with the organized masses of leftist political parties and even government employees as their audience. The *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez*, the armed wing of Chile’s Communist Party, used violence and sabotage against the authoritarian government during the 1980s. *FPMR* musicians advocated violence in musical projects the *Frente* distributed, such as, “*¡En medio del combate, cantamos!*” (In the Middle of Combat, We Sing), a cassette secretly recorded and distributed for the protests in the autumn of 1986.<sup>ccclxxi</sup> The songs on the cassette present diverse messages, with some songs dedicated to raising the morale of *FPMR* members, and the last two songs dedicated to reaching the *FPMR*’s presumed enemies.<sup>ccclxxii</sup> The song “*Pásate p’a este la’o, pela’o*” (Come to This Side, Baldhead) by Jano Jara, nephew of the assassinated Víctor Jara directly challenges police officers and soldiers. The song makes jokes at the expense of soldiers, ridiculing their buzz cuts and clean uniforms, while urging them to take up arms against their superior officers. The chorus says: “Come to this side, baldhead, come to shoot. Against those who command you, baldhead, brothers, kill!<sup>ccclxxiii</sup>” Nor are the lyrics the only distinguishing aspects of the song; the rhythm is the up-beat and danceable *guaguancó*, a Cuban dance rhythm often used by Communist singers to make political statements after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. When its lyrics and rhythm are analyzed in their political context, “*Pásate p’a este la’o, pela’o*” is a gesture of direct defiance against the government in its musical construction, unimaginable in the early years of the authoritarian period. As such, it elucidates the increasing openness with which leftist musicians contested political control during late authoritarianism and demonstrates confidence in the final victory of the leftist, counter-cultural opposition.



At the same time as *En medio del combate* spoke to FPMR party militants and members of the armed forces, other projects addressed community members as individuals and collectives. *El camotazo volumen 1*, (The Cobblestone Volume 1--there was never a Volume Two), recorded and distributed clandestinely by the Communist Youth of Chile, teaches community members how defend their neighborhoods against police raids, and offers songs to raise morale on the front lines of protests.<sup>ccclxxiv</sup> The most direct song in this regard, as well as the first song on the tape is “*La barricada*” (The Barricade), recorded by the band *Transporte Urbano* (Urban Transportation). “*La barricada*” is a three-minute primer on how to construct a barricade, and the importance of proper community organization and defense to a successful riot:

To make a barricade one needs, one needs  
Organized masses and another thing, and another thing  
It is important to clarify the objective of the thing  
Planning the riot with sufficient anticipation  
Planning the riot with sufficient anticipation  
In the first place, you must observe  
Very carefully the corner where the party will happen  
And determine the need  
For materials so that none go missing  
The materials so that none go missing  
The tire, the bent nails  
The gasoline and the dry matches, which will serve well  
And you must not forget, nor ignore  
the young one with the timely warning in case the heat starts shooting.<sup>ccclxxv</sup>

In clear, direct language, “*La barricada*” contested state territorial sovereignty in political communities of the left, and the monopoly of legitimate force. The armed opposition believed itself more legitimate than the authoritarian state and stated this belief explicitly through music. Moreover, “*La barricada*” demonstrates that music, with its easily remembered conventions of rhythm and rhyme, could provide effective tactical instruction to participants in the armed struggle.

### **Conclusion: The Politics of Apolitical Culture.**

After the military coup on September 11, 1973, artistic expression challenged the authoritarian system. The tension between violent control and censorship from above on the one hand, and resistance strategies based on community participation on the other hand, played out in the arts generally, and particularly musical performance. The contestation between government and opposition, performed by rightist, nationalist pro-state actors and largely underground leftist communities respectively, is the tension which lies at the heart of this chapter. Intense forms of

repression and censorship could not silence the opposition, though the repressive apparatus did force changes in the style, presentation, and distribution of critical political messages. As a result of this historical context, artistic performances became new forms of contestation, commemoration and imagination in an authoritarian order that closed “traditional” democratic political paths.

Musical performances became the fundamental tools of political expressions employed by both convinced nationalists who supported the authoritarian state— and those who opposed military rule. As the regime sought to silence the remnants and new manifestation of the leftists’ *nueva canción*, it created its own expressions as key sources of legitimacy for the new order. Nationalist performance and private ownership of the means of artistic production strengthened its popularity amid massive social and political upheaval. Leftist actors, for their part, continued to perform politicized culture, much as they did in the times of Popular Unity. However, under authoritarianism, leftist actors performed in the midst of new cultural productions from the right, which further politicized their own cultural products.

After nearly fifteen years of increasingly vivid forms of contestation of popular legitimacy at a time when democratic legitimacy was unavailable, the authoritarian government allowed a democratic referendum on the continuity of the state. In 1988, Chileans were asked to vote “Yes” or “No” on whether the authoritarian government should continue, with Augusto Pinochet at its head, for an additional eight years.<sup>ccclxxvi</sup> When cultural confrontations between left and right moved from underground or clandestine performances to the stage of open confrontations in the 1988 plebiscite, we see alternative pronunciations of the new cultural-political competitions that I have presented in this chapter. These new processes and political activities will be the focus of the next chapter, in which I will elucidate the fundamental role of performance, and particularly music, in Chile’s return to electoral democracy.

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<sup>ccclii</sup> Joan Jara describes the importance of the choir of the State Technical University in Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 105-6. To determine which individual were present at the State Technical University on the day of the coup, I rely on Jara, Joan, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 5-10.

<sup>cccliii</sup> Music accompanied the Allende presidency from beginning to end, quite literally. At his inauguration, Allende had a banner over his head reading “*no hay revolución sin canciones*,” (there is no revolution without songs). See Fairley, Jan, “Annotated bibliography of Latin American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to nueva canción,” *Popular music* 5 (1985), 305-56. 307. In Allende’s last speech to Chileans, he made mention of the happiness and enthusiasm of musical student marches. See Allende Gossens, Salvador, “These are my Final Words.”

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Salvador Allende Gossens,” trans. Trevor Martenson, in , *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*, ed. Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn (Duke University Press, 2013), 428-432.

<sup>ccxliiv</sup> Munizaga , Giselle, and Anny Rivera. *La investigación en comunicación social en Chile*. Lima: Centro De Estudios Y Promoción Del Desarrollo, 1983. Kronovich, Paula Thorington, “Out of the Blackout and into the Light: How the Arts survived Pinochet’s Dictatorship,” *Iberoamericana* (2013): 119-137. Donoso Fritz, Karen, “Discursos y Políticas culturales de la Dictadura Cívico Militar chilena, 1973-1988,” *Historia Política.com* 2012: 143-158. Other scholars question the applicability of the notion of “blackout” to Chile’s case. See Boyle, Catherine M., *Chilean Theater, 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood* (Rutherford: London; Cranbury, NJ.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Associated University Presses, 1992).

<sup>ccxlv</sup> For background information on the concept of “singing difference,” consult Alvarado, Rodrigo Torres, “Cantar la diferencia: Violeta Parra y la canción chilena (Includes Lyrics to Her Song “Yo canto la diferencia”),” *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 58, no. 201 (2004): 53-75. The nationalist and neoliberal performances during authoritarianism have a good deal to do with the “invention of tradition” as scholars typically imagine the concept. See Eric Hobsbawm. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” In Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-14; and Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions in Europe (1870-1914),” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 263-307.

<sup>ccxlvii</sup> Preda, Caterina, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. (Springer, 2017), 89.

<sup>ccxlviii</sup> Catarina Preda, “Art Should Be Apolitical: Official Art in Chile.” In Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*, 82-139.

<sup>ccxlix</sup> Several works by Karen Donoso-Fritz are particularly valuable. See Donoso Fritz, Karen, “Discursos y Políticas culturales de la Dictadura Cívico Militar chilena, 1973-1988,” *Historia Política.com* (2012): 143-158. Donoso Fritz, Karen, *Cultura Y Dictadura: Censuras, Proyectos E Institucionalidad Cultural En Chile, 1973-1989*. Primera Edición. (Santiago, Chile, 2019); and Donoso Fritz, Karen, “Por El Arte-vida Del Pueblo: Debates En Torno Al Folclore En Chile. 1973-1990,” *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009); *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009).

<sup>cccl</sup> Two documentaries speak to this point. See Radio Agricultura, “Especial 11 de Septiembre de 1973,” Youtube, 19 February 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZetMufHk>. And “Operación Silencio: El Golpe Através de las Radios.” YouTube, April 14, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHe2Q7WS5IA>.

<sup>cccli</sup> See Radio Agricultura, “especial 11 de septiembre de 1973,” Youtube, 19 February 2018. One iteration of the anthem begins at 05:18, and another at 20:17.

<sup>ccclii</sup> Preda.

<sup>cccliii</sup> Radio Agricultura, “especial 11 de septiembre de 1973.” Begins at 21:30.

<sup>cccliv</sup> Radio Agricultura, “especial 11 de septiembre de 1973,” 08:30 to 08:49.

4: *La prensa, radiodifusoras, y canales de televisión adictos a la Unidad Popular deben suspender sus actividades informativas a partir de este instante. De lo contrario, recibirán castigo aéreo y terrestre.*

<sup>ccclv</sup> Peter Win, “Diary of a Coup,” in *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*, ed. Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, eds. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013) 443-450. The reference to General Lee describing “the Marxist cancer” is on 449.

<sup>ccclvi</sup> Radio Agricultura, “especial 11 de septiembre de 1973.” From 14:40 to 17:30.

(a): *Todas las estaciones de radiodifusión de la provincia de Santiago deben de inmediato silenciar hasta nuevo aviso la totalidad de sus transmisiones en onda larga, en onda corta, y en frecuencia modulada....*

©; *Se comunica categóricamente a las emisoras y canales de televisión que no han sido asignadas a integrar esta red, que el no acatamiento de silenciar sus transmisiones significará que la Junta Militar de Gobierno dispondrá su neutralización mediante el empleo de fuerzas militares, haciendo responsables a sus propietarios, gerentes, y personal administrativo de los daños materiales y víctimas que pueden producirse. La Junta Militar de Gobierno declara que no desea tener que recurrir a esta medida extrema;*

(D); *los propietarios y directores responsables de las emisoras y canales de televisión que deban silenciar sus transmisiones procederán de inmediato a sacar de sus equipos todos aquellos elementos vitales para su funcionamiento, tales como cristales, válvulas, ETC, asegurando que técnicamente la emisora no se pueda poner en funcionamiento por personas ajenas a ellas, hasta que el mando militar autorice el reinicio de sus transmisiones. Se deberá levantar un acta de los elementos retirados, con el fin de entregarlos a las comisiones de las Fuerzas Armadas que procederán a retirarlas.*

<sup>ccclvii</sup> An English-language transcript of Allende’s last speech to Chileans appears in Allende Gossens. The entirety of the speech can be heard in Spanish, as broadcast on *Radio Magallanes* in “Operación Silencio: El Golpe Através de

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las Radios.” YouTube, April 14, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHe2Q7WS5IA>. Beginning at Approx. 35:00 and ending at Approx. 46:00.

<sup>ccclvii</sup> Catarina Preda provides a translation of this decree very similar to my own, although she appears to miss-state the number, referring to *Bando 13*, instead of 15, as is actually the case. See Preda. (94). For the text of the decree itself, consult “Bando #15.” In *El Mercurio de Chile*. September 13, 1973. 6.

The Spanish-language text reads as follows: *De acuerdo con lo dispuesto en los bandos hasta ahora emitidos y por encontrarse el país en estado de sitio, se ha dispuesto ejercer sobre los medios de publicación una estricta censura de prensa. Se ha designado una Oficina de Censura de Prensa, que funcionará en la Academia Politécnica Militar del Ejército (San Ignacio N.o 242), que tendrá bajo su control las publicaciones escritas autorizadas; el sistema a emplear será el de CENSURA a la edición impresa.*

<sup>ccclviii</sup> *El Mercurio*’s reporting on *Bando 15* is in precisely this style. The entire edict is simply printed in the press, with no additions, journalistic reporting, or editorial accompaniment. See “*Bando #15.*” *El Mercurio* (September 13, 1973). 6. On the “*Radio Agricultura Especial 11 de septiembre,*” several military edicts are simply reported without comment. Radio Agricultura ‘especial 11 de septiembre de 1973. Youtube. Accessed 19 Feb 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZetMufHk>

<sup>ccclix</sup> “Potente Radioemisora Montaban los Comunistas,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 4, 1973), 4.

*El Gobierno mostró ayer los equipos de ondas corta y larga y de una alta especialidad técnica que iban a servir para defundir en Chile y en el extranjero programas de una alta penetración ideológica Marxista.*

<sup>ccclx</sup> José Manuel Álvarez, “El Presidente Pinochet habla de libertad de prensa,” *El Mercurio* (September 13, 1988), A1 and A6.

<sup>ccclxi</sup> Donoso Fritz, Karen. “Por El Arte-vida Del Pueblo: Debates En Torno Al Folclore En Chile. 1973-1990,” *Revista Musical Chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009), 34.

*Nos dijeron la firme> que iban a ser muy duros. Que revisarian con lupa nuestras actitudes, nuestras canciones. Que nada de flauta, ni quena, ni charango, porque se identificaba con la lucha social. Que el folklore del norte no era chileno. Que la Cantata de Santa María de la cuál es autor el Lucho Advis, era un crimen de “lesa patria”, en este momento supimos que el lucho estaba en la capilla. Que si Ángel Parra, era inocente como blanca paloma, como blanca paloma volaría.*

<sup>ccclxii</sup> Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison*. 1st American Ed (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 1-5.

<sup>ccclxiii</sup> For a work which analyzes violence as spectacle in comparative perspective, see Barefoot, James Collin, *Sleight of Hand: Violence as Performance and the Spectacle of Absence in the Southern Cone* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona, 2015). For examples on other national cases, see Manzano, Valeria, *The Age of youth in Argentina: culture, politics, and sexuality from Perón to Videla* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2014). And McSherry, J. Patrice, “La dictadura y la música popular en Chile: Los primeros años de plomo,” *Números* (2021).

<sup>ccclxiv</sup> Joan Jara. 245-260.

<sup>ccclxv</sup> Preda, 93.

<sup>ccclxvi</sup> Acta 159A, Tribunal de Justicia Militar de la Serena. “*Orden de Fusilamiento: Jorge Washington Peña Henn. Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos.*”

<sup>ccclxvii</sup> Loveman, Brian, and Elizabeth Lira, *Políticas de Reparación. Chile, 1990-2004* (Santiago: Lom Editores, 2005), 184-5. The rhyme also has an international dimension. Jaramillo, José, “Destierro, encierro o entierro: el dolor de un exilio [Entrevista a Felipe Zuleta Lleras],” *Trans-pasando Fronteras* 1 (2011): 151-157.

<sup>ccclxviii</sup> “Ex Funcionario de la DINA: [El Objetivo de obligar los presos a cantar era reventarlos].”

[www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed July 21, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/5426/2/exfuncionario-de-la-dina-el-objetivo-de-obligar-a-los-presos-a-cantar-era-reventarlos>.

<sup>ccclxix</sup> As the anonymous interviewee described in the title of the interview, “*el objetivo de obligar a los presos a cantar era reventarlos.*” He also referred to “*apremios musicales,*” (musical pressure—or torture) sessions. While not all sessions involved music, it was rather common for leftists, especially musicians or *peña*-goers. See “Ex Funcionario de la DINA: [El Objetivo de obligar los presos a cantar era reventarlos].” [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), July 21, 2021. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/5426/2/exfuncionario-de-la-dina-el-objetivo-de-obligar-a-los-presos-a-cantar-era-reventarlos>.

<sup>ccclxx</sup> Neustadt, Robert, “Music as memory and torture: Sounds of repression and protest in Chile and Argentina,” *Chasqui* vol. 33 No.1 (2004): 128-137.

<sup>ccclxxi</sup> “*Con show y Coplas, Recibieron a Periodistas en el Estadio Nacional,*” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 13, 1973), 1 and 12. On page 12, we have the following Spanish quotation: “*La letra decía, en parte: Somos libres, como el viento y como el mar. Libres, como el ave que escapa de su prisión, y aprende al fin volar.*” Notably, this song, with lyrics slightly altered, would become a favorite of pro-regime propagandists by the first anniversary of

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the September 11, 1973 coup. It is frequently sung, with slightly altered lyrics, at right-wing political rallies even today.

<sup>cclxxii</sup> “Radio Agricultura ‘ special 11 de septiembre de 1973.” Youtube, 19 Feb 2018.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZetMufHk>. The rendition of *Libre como el* begins at 1:17:00 and goes to the end of the film.

<sup>cclxxiii</sup> For the information up to this point in the paragraph of the main body of the chapter, I rely on Mattern, 55-6.

<sup>cclxxiv</sup> General Pinochet is widely believed to have bragged that not a single leaf moved on the branch of a tree without his knowing about it. In fact, the journalist Peter Kornbluh has documented that this quotation was probably never uttered. See Kornbluh, Peter, *The Pinochet file: A declassified dossier on atrocity and accountability* (The New Press, 2014), 1. There is also a widely told genre of torture jokes in Chile, wherein Pinochet himself takes part in the violent interrogations of prisoners. These events, also, probably never took place. Nonetheless, stories like these speak to Pinochet’s hold on the collective memory of Chileans, even when that collective memory is expressed through dark gest.

<sup>cclxxv</sup> Preda, 100.

<sup>cclxxvi</sup> Mardones Leiva, Marjorie, and Tania De Armas Pedraza, "La Destrucción Del Libro En Valparaíso, 1973," *Investigación Bibliotecológica* vol. 34, no. 84 (2020): 169-83. 178. “*Suena interesante, pero sospecho que es peligroso.*”

<sup>cclxxvii</sup> Benjamin, IV.

<sup>cclxxviii</sup> Benjamin, Epilogue.

<sup>cclxxix</sup> Errázuriz, Luis Hernán. "Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural," *Latin American Research Review* vol. 44, no. 2 (2009): 136-157.

<sup>cclxxx</sup> “Suspendidos Estudiantes Pelucones,” *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 30, 1973), 10. In Chilean Spanish, the term “pelucón” literally refers to someone wearing a wig, but it can also be colloquially translated as “longhair,” with a somewhat pejorative connotation, similar to the way in which hippies were called “longhairs” by those who did not share their preferences.

*La determinación causó molestia entre los estudiantes “pelucones”, pero gran alegría entre los padres y apoderados que han apoyado esta medida del director del plantel.*

<sup>cclxxxi</sup> “Limpieza en la Ciudad,” *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 17, 1973), 17. “*La población comenzó ayer en a colaborar en las faenas de limpieza de la ciudad. Este espontáneo gesto de cooperación se ha advertido en todos los planos de la actividad nacional.*”

<sup>cclxxxii</sup> Carlos Huneeus documents the establishment and implementation of the State of Siege, the State of Emergency, and the nighttime curfew, explaining when each mechanism was used and for how long each was in place. Decree Law 3 of September 11, 1973, implemented the State of Siege, and Decree Law 5 gave the government the power to extend the State of Siege for six month periods. Chile lived continuously under the State of Siege until 1978, then under the closely related State of Emergency between 1978 and 1984, and the State of Siege once more between September, 1985 and January, 1986. From 1981 until 1988, the constitution provided for a State of Disturbance to Internal Peace, which combined powers from the state of Siege and the State of Emergency. Chile therefore lived under constitutional exception nearly continuously, from the day of the military coup until the beginning of the campaigns for the 1988 plebiscite in which Chileans voted General Pinochet out of office. See Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*, 55.

<sup>cclxxxiii</sup> For a documentary with several testimonials about curfews and punishments for violating them, see Moreno, Sebastián, and LATINBEAT, *The City of Photographers (La ciudad De Los fotógrafos)* (2018).

<sup>cclxxxiv</sup> Benítez, Luciano, Yanko González, and Daniela Senn, "Punkis and New Waves in a Dictatorship: Rearticulation and Resistance of Youth Cultures in Chile /Punkis Y New Waves En Dictadura: Rearticulacion Y Resistencia De Las Culturas Juveniles En Chile /Punkis E New Waves Na Ditadura: Rearticulacao E Resistencia Das Culturas Juvenis No Chile," *Revista Latinoamericana De Ciencias Sociales, Niñez Y Juventud* 14, no. 1 (2016): 191-203.

<sup>cclxxxv</sup> Preda, 99.

<sup>cclxxxvi</sup> Preda. Preda, in turn, translates the law to English from the original provided in the following text. Daniel M. Olave, and Marco Antonio de la Parra, *Pantalla prohibida: La censura cinematográfica en Chile* (Santiago: Grijalbo Mondadori, 2001). 123.

<sup>cclxxxvii</sup> Preda, 97.

<sup>cclxxxviii</sup> Preda, 112-3.

<sup>cclxxxix</sup> Preda, 112.

<sup>ccxc</sup> Preda, 97, 117, 119.

<sup>ccxc</sup>i Carlos Huneeus provides good context on the economic crisis of the early 1980s, which was badly exacerbated by authoritarian economic policy. This crisis, in turn, brought about the need to enforce VAT taxes and other surcharges affecting the retail sector of the economy. See Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*, 368-9.

<sup>ccxcii</sup> Authoritarian Chile had two great economic recessions, one in 1975 and 76 and a far more serious one in 1982 and 83, to which tax policy was an important contributing factor. See Huneeus, "The 1982-1983 Economic Crisis and the Politics of Apertura," 357-394.

<sup>ccxciii</sup> Clause three of the Proclamation of the Junta of Military government contains this promise to the Chilean people. See "Radio Agricultura " especial 11 de septiembre de 1973." Youtube, 19 February 2018.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZetMufHk>. Between 09:15 and 09:30.

*Los trabajadores de Chile pueden tener la seguridad que las conquistas económicas y sociales que han logrado hasta la fecha no sufrirán modificaciones en lo fundamental."*

<sup>ccxciv</sup> Huneeus describes the reforms to Chile's social security system at some depth in Chapter 9, "Privatization: The Economic Policy of the Military Regime." In Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*. Consult especially 329-335.

<sup>ccxcv</sup> Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*, 329.

<sup>ccxcvi</sup> Epstein, Susana, Ian Watson, and Hector Noguera, "Chilean Theater in the Days and Nights of Pinochet: An Interview with Hector Noguera," *TDR* vol. 34, no. 1 (1990): 84-95. See especially 87-91 for municipalization and its effects on the Chilean theater.

<sup>ccxcvii</sup> Velasco-Puffleau, Luis, "Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921-1952)," *Music & Politics* vol. 6, no. 2 (2012).

<sup>ccxcviii</sup> Velasco-Puffleau.

<sup>ccxcix</sup> "Radio Agricultura " especial 11 de septiembre de 1973." Between 41:50 and 43:17.

*Chile se acercaba al mediodía. Desde la posición de los observadores, se advirtieron los primeros efectos de los rockets, que habían hecho fama en el blanco. Comenzaba a salir humo de la Moneda, porque la testarudez de Allende así lo había querido. Esa actitud daba ahora los frutos que no se querían, aumentados por nuevos vuelos rasantes de los aviones de combate Hawker Hunter." More flight noise. El fuego graneado de los francotiradores se intensificó, en tanto los pilotos de guerra de la fuerza aérea de Chile no erraron ni un solo tiro. Gran demostración de profesionalismo fue lo que hicieron estos soldados, en una acción de la que posteriormente pudo ser testigo toda la ciudadanía.*

<sup>ccc</sup> "Radio Agricultura " especial 11 de septiembre de 1973." The following quotation begins at minute 62:00 to Approx. Minute 62:25.

*"La patria escucha ahora otra música. Ya no cruzan sus aires los canciones del odio, que se interpretaban con los puños en alto. Chile comienza a recuperar ya sus valores perdidos. Chile regresa al camino que nunca debió haber equivocado."*

<sup>ccci</sup> "Radio Agricultura " especial 11 de septiembre de 1973." The anthem is played beginning at 05:18 until 08:25, again from 56:30 until 59:00, and again at 01:15:00 until 01:17:50. At that time, the national anthem fades into *Libre como el mar* (Free as the Sea), which goes until the end of the film.

<sup>cccii</sup> Much of the literature which applies concepts of Gramscian hegemony to Chile refers to the Popular Unity's attempt to construct a hegemonic discourse through the nueva canción chilena, or to the "no" campaign in the 1988 plebiscite, which I will discuss in the next chapter. The period of authoritarian government does not get discussed in these terms. Nonetheless, the concept seems to be useful, because coercion, violence, and terrorism were not the only means the authoritarian state used to exercise control. For a summary of Gramsci's conceptions of hegemony and some more modern takes on those concepts, see Adam David Morton, "A Return to Gramsci: The Moment of Hegemony," In Morton, Adam David, *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy. Reading Gramsci* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), 76-110; and Adam David Morton, "Hegemony and World Order: Neo-Gramscian Perspective and the Global Political Economy," in Morton, Adam David, *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy. Reading Gramsci* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), 111-136. For discussions of hegemony as applied to Chilean cultural history, see Barr-Melej, 17-18; McSherry, , 18-9.

<sup>ccciii</sup> "Radio Agricultura " especial 11 de septiembre de 1973." From minute 55:00 to 56:10.

*"La bandera tricolor tantas veces humillada y rara vez vista en los bullosos mítines oficiales, mimetizada bajo emblemas extrañas negros o rojos, comenzó alzarse a partir de ese instante alegremente, confiadamente en muchos, pero muchos edificios y casas de Chile al tope del asta. El himno nacional, el otro símbolo sagrado de la patria emergió también vigoroso a través de la Red de Emisoras. Y los chilenos, verdaderos patriotas, verdaderos chilenos, sintieron henchida su alma, henchido su pecho. Y mientras los acordes marciales de nuestra canción cruzaban el espacio, al principio tímidamente y luego con fervorosa unción patriótica, unieron al sonido de los instrumentos sus voces emocionadas. ¡Sin perfeccionismos! Solo con el vigor de quien sentía rotas las cadenas."*

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<sup>ccciv</sup> “Renacer del Folklore,” *En El Mercurio de Chile* (September 18, 1973), 25.

<sup>cccv</sup> “Renacer del Folklore,” 25.

<sup>cccvii</sup> “Donación del Artista Albert Lavil Stevenson: Obras de Arte Donadas al Fondo de la Reconstrucción,” *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 14, 1973), 41.

<sup>cccviii</sup> “Otro Himno para la Restauración,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 14, 1973), 59.

The Spanish lyrics, as printed in *El Mercurio*, read as follows:

*Chile, levántate y anda.*

*Llegó ya la hora,*

*La hora esperada de la reconstrucción.*

*Patria de libre albedrío,*

*Tu pueblo no quiso*

*Sufrir la condena de la indigna opresión.” Chile, Levántate y Anda.”*

<sup>cccix</sup> “Otro Himno para la Restauración.” *El Mercurio de Chile*, October 14, 1973, 59. “*Aunque yo soy artista no creo que nadie haya podido quedar impasible frente al proceso político que vivió Chile, yo nunca comulgué con el pasado gobierno. Y nunca acepté ninguna de las invitaciones que desde él se me hicieron. Así fue que durante estos últimos tres años no hice nada mayormente interesante, simplemente quedé frente a mi coro, cayado y trabajando.*”

<sup>cccix</sup> Barr-Melej, Patrick. *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 104. The translation is Barr-Melej’s and he provides no Spanish original..

<sup>cccix</sup> Errázuriz, Luis Hernán, “Dictadura militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural,” *Latin American Research Review* vol. 44, no. 2 (2009): 136-157. 149.

<sup>cccxi</sup> “Nuevas Canciones para los Quincheros,” *El Mercurio de Chile*, (November 17), 39. “*música que le canta a las cosas simples, al paisaje, al romanticismo y que toma el ritmo de tonadas y cuecas.*”

<sup>cccxi</sup> Rimbot, Emmanuelle, “Luchas interpretativas en torno a la definición de lo nacional: La canción urbana de raíz folklórica en Chile,” *Voz y Escritura. Revista de Estudios Literarios* 16 (2008): 59-89. 78. The cueca is described as “*la expresión más genuina del alma nacional.*”

<sup>cccxi</sup> Jordan González, Laura, “The Chilean New Song’s Cueca Larga,” in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Villa, Pablo (New York: Lexington Books, 2014), 71-96.

<sup>cccxi</sup> “Artistas Opinan sobre Alcances de la Consulta,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (December 30, 1977), 30-1. The quoted passage to which I refer is on 31. “*La gente que atornilla al revés va a seguir atornillando al revés... Ahora, lo importante es clarificarle a los que viven en un mundo de fantasía y no saben de qué se trata esta consulta, que el voto de Naciones Unidas contra Chile es la expresión del fracaso del marxismo. Es la demostración que no pueden tolerar que el pueblo chileno los haya vencido, más aún cuando dicen que su doctrina es fantástica e irreversible.*”

<sup>cccxi</sup> In political science, the term personalism refers to the paramount importance of a single leader in the politics of any given institution or nation-state. In a country which is highly personalist, for example, leaders have few (if any) institutional constraints on their power, and can make sweeping changes in the country’s politics by changing their own minds on particular matters. For the defining text on personalism in the latin American context, see Nunn, Frederick M., *Time of the Generals: Latin American Professional Militarism in World Perspective* (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, Nebraska, 1992). Nunn argues that Chile briefly exhibited personalist tendencies, but was not a truly personalist regime. see pages 238-252. Other scholars argue that Chile never came near to personalism. See Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*. In the cultural arena, specifically, Catarina Preda shows that personalism—to the degree it existed at all—was very slight. See Preda, 84-8.

<sup>cccxi</sup> “Artistas Opinan Sobre Alcances de la Consulta,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (December 30, 1978), 30-1.

Bascuñán’s comments, found on page 31, read as follows: *El respaldo de todos al presidente de la república es una manera de alentarlo a seguir adelante y defender la soberanía de nuestra nación ante ataques que son arbitrarios, inaceptables e injustos.*

<sup>cccxi</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre.” YouTube, 17 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/5VIDO8Kjv8s>. 11:00 to 12:20.

<sup>cccxi</sup> “17 Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 17 21 de septiembre.” YouTube, 19 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/aPG\\_Z60rH\\_E](https://youtu.be/aPG_Z60rH_E). From 05:45 to 06:45.

<sup>cccxi</sup> “Extensa Nómina Suscribe Declaración: Grupo de Artistas y de Intelectuales con el “SÍ,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 3, 1980), C4. The cited text reads as follows: *@un llamado a todos los artistas e intelectuales chilenos a marear el “sí” el próximo 11 de septiembre, testimoniando con ello nuestro deseo de contribuir a la fecunda y creadora labor que desarrolla la nación.*”

<sup>cccxx</sup> “Extensa Nómina Suscribe Declaración: Grupo de Artistas y de Intelectuales con el “Sí,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 3, 1980), C4. The cited text reads: “*la nueva carta fundamental sometida a plebiscito representa una sólida garantía para el desarrollo y el bienestar de la nación.*”

<sup>cccxxi</sup> Preda; and Huneus, *The Pinochet Regime*. For specifics on the 1983 privatizations, consult Tables 8.1 and 8.2, in Huneus, 272-3.

<sup>cccxxii</sup> Carlos Huneus, “Privatization: The Economic Policy of the Authoritarian Regime.” In Huneus, *The Pinochet Regime*, 307-356.

<sup>cccxxiii</sup> For details on the recordings, see “*El Renacer del Folklore*,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 18, 1973), 25. Although *El Mercurio* provides enthusiastic commentaries about the content of the recordings and their importance in the rebirth of the true—that is to say apolitical-Chilean folklore, the political context of the recordings, and precisely how the record labels were transferred to their multinational owners so quickly after the military coup is not mentioned.

<sup>cccxxiv</sup> “*El Renacer del Folklore*,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 18, 1973), 25.

<sup>cccxxv</sup> “IRT Lanzó su Novedad del Año,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (December 3, 1977), 53.

<sup>cccxxvi</sup> *El Mercurio* provides an interesting report regarding IRT’s liquidation. At the time of going out of business, it seems to have held a mixed stock between Chilean music and foreign imports. See “Discos: *La Despedida de IRT, con Patricio Renán*,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (August 8, 1980), D2.

<sup>cccxxvii</sup> We get a very brief glimpse of these negotiations between Hollywood studios and the authoritarian state in “Próximo Envío de Material Fílmico a Chile,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 5, 1973), 30.

<sup>cccxxviii</sup> Both Cockery’s and Undurraga’s comments are summarized—no part of the remarks is directly quoted—in *El Mercurio*. Consult “Próximo Envío de Material Fílmico a Chile,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 5, 1973), 30.

<sup>cccxxix</sup> “Exclusivo: Erasmo Carlos: “Protesto con Surrealismo y Humor,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (August 8, 1980), D3. “*En 1970 estuve en Chile, pero me fue muy mal. Estaba actuando en un teatro mientras al lado había una concentración de Allende. Los pocos que fueron a verme no me escucharon. Me carga la política. Así es que volví a mi patria y no regresé nunca más a Chile sin embargo, hay que decir que tampoco me volvieron a convidar.*”

<sup>cccxxx</sup> “Exclusivo: Erasmo Carlos: “Protesto con Surrealismo y Humor,” D3. “*No, no hubiera participado. Porque la visita del Papa fue tratada como un hecho político. Y yo no quiero ser usado por los políticos. Aquí las manifestaciones musicales para el Papa no fueron espontáneas, fueron programadas. Espontáneamente la gente se juntó a verlo pero todos los bailes y los cantos fueron programados.*”

<sup>cccxxxi</sup> “Exclusivo: Erasmo Carlos: “Protesto con surrealismo y humor,” D4. “*Algunos dicen que son de unión otros de protesta blanca. Yo pienso lo que pienso. Compongo lo que le sale del corazón y lo que yo siento y pienso es que el amor de la gente es la salvación del mundo. Solamente el amor al prójimo. Tiene que haber, por lo tanto, menos egoísmo, menos burocracia, mejor distribución de rentas, más preocupación por la alimentación de los niños.*”

<sup>cccxxxii</sup> Herceg, José Guillermo Santos, “Lugares de encuentro en los espacios del horror. Acercamiento testimonial a los Centros de Detención y/o Tortura chilenos.” *Kamchatka. Revista de análisis cultural*. 6 (2015): 651-664. The journal is not accessible to the blind, so I am unable to provide accurate pagination for the cited reference.

<sup>cccxxxiii</sup> Catarina Preda discusses blacklists and how artists resisted those measures in some detail. See Preda, 98-100.

<sup>cccxxxiv</sup> *El Mercurio*, a newspaper with unabashedly pro-regime sympathies, described this move by Bañados in the following two articles. “*Esta noche en Todos Los Canales: Con Bucci y Aylwin Parte la Propaganda Política en Televisión*,” *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 5, 1988), A1 and A11ñ and “*Explican Contenido de la Publicidad del No*,” in *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 3, 1988), C2.

<sup>cccxxxv</sup> For an article which describes this dilemma well, see Benítez, Luciano, Yanko González, and Daniela Senn, “Punkis and New Waves in a Dictatorship: Rearticulation and Resistance of Youth Cultures in Chile /Punkis Y New Waves En Dictadura: Rearticulación Y Resistencia De Las Culturas Juveniles En Chile /Punkis E New Waves Na Ditadura: Rearticulacao E Resistencia Das Culturas Juvenis No Chile,” *Revista Latinoamericana De Ciencias Sociales, Niñez Y Juventud* vol.14, no. 1 (2016): 191-203.

<sup>cccxxxvi</sup> Benítez, González, and Senn, 191-203. See especially Section 2, “Repliegue y Despliegue de los Colectivos Jóvenes en Dictadura” on 293-4. For an article which touches upon the role of youth secretariats, see Varas Alarcón, Paulina, “Coordinadoras Culturales: Formaciones Transversales En Chile Durante La Dictadura,” *Cuadernos De Música, Artes Visuales Y Artes Escénicas* vol. 14, no. 2 (2019): 55-74.

<sup>cccxxxvii</sup> Epstein, Susana, Ian Watson, and Hector Noguera, “Chilean Theater in the Days and Nights of Pinochet: An Interview with Hector Noguera,” *TDR* vol. 34, no. 1 (1990): 84-95. 86.

<sup>cccxxxviii</sup> For the phrase “nation of enemies,” I draw upon the title of a work by Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet* (New York: Norton, 1993).

<sup>cccxxxix</sup> Molina, Sandra, “Las peñas folklóricas en Chile (1973-1986): El refugio cultural y político para la disidencia,” *Aletheia* 1 (2011); Ossa Aravena, Paloma, *Resistencia Cultural en la Dictadura Militar Chilena (1970-*



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1990) *Un Aporte a la Conservación de la Memoria*. Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos Área de Colecciones E investigaciones. (December, 2019); Santis Cáceres, José, "Lugares de la Vida Nocturna en Santiago Entre 1973-1990, Bosquejo para Un Proyecto," *Revista Electrónica Diseño Urbano y Paisaje* 16 (2009): 1-11.

<sup>cccxi</sup> Ossa Aravena. Especially pages 3-13.

<sup>cccxli</sup> Ossa Aravena. The translated text reads as follows: "nos subíamos a cantar guitarra, con guitarra yo traía amigos de la compañía poblacional (...) los días viernes, sábado hacíamos peña y el movimiento cultural se fue desarrollando fuertemente dentro de la universidad, y bueno, ya a partir del año '82 la represión fuerte llegó en la compañía."

<sup>cccxlii</sup> A description of this procedure with passwords as entrance codes can be found in Santis Cáceres, 1-11. 5.

<sup>cccxlili</sup> Mamani, Ariel Hernán. "Peñas, canción de protesta y transformación política en Chile (1965-1973)," *Música Popular em Revista* 2 (2013): 121-147; Morris, Nancy. "Canto porque es necesario cantar: the New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 117-31.

<sup>cccxliv</sup> Two articles speak to this theme clearly. The *cueca*, Chile's national dance, developed a leftist, resisting character in *peñas* during authoritarianism. See Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, "Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989," *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76. *Peñas* also functioned outside of Chile, as Chilean exiles in western Europe used *peñas* both to group together themselves, and to draw Europeans as visitors and sympathizers. See Fairley, Jan. "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," *Popular Music* 8, no. 1 (1989): 1-30.

<sup>cccxlv</sup> Ossa Aravena. Ossa Aravena provides an extensive breakdown of *peñas* by region and source of sponsorship between pages 14 and 35.

<sup>cccxlvi</sup> Ossa Aravena, 13-35.

<sup>cccxlvii</sup> Molina theorizes that *peñas* made it possible for politically motivated youths and others to gather together, and in many cases, *peñas* initiated youth-based political activity, instead of a hypothetical in which youths who were already political began gathering at *peñas*. In a word, *peñas* made it possible for youth groups to become active, not the other way about. See Molina, Sandra, "Las peñas folklóricas en Chile (1973-1986): El refugio cultural y político para la disidencia," *Aletheia* 1 (2011).

<sup>cccxlvi</sup> Sol y Lluvia. "El largo tour," *Adiós Carnaval, Adiós General. ¡En Vivo!!* (1990). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com) Accessed 11 January, 2022. <https://www.cancioneros.com/lyrics/song/1794114/el-largo-tour-sol-y-lluvia>.

*A esta hora*

*Justamente a esta hora*

*en que necesitas despertar*

*alejando de tu vida la mentira*

*quisiera sacarte a caminar en un largo tour*

*por Pudahuel, y La Bandera*

*por Pudahuel, y por La Legua.*

*Y verías la vida tal como es.*

*Y verías la vida tal como es.*

<sup>cccclix</sup> For the admittedly rather artificial distinction between these two styles, see Mattern, 58-9.

<sup>ccccl</sup> *Barroco Andino*. "Barroco Andino." (1975). YouTube. Accessed January 1, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/GTLnHpbdvvg>; *Barroco Andino*. "Bach." (1975). YouTube, January 1, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/s8ni73w\\_aCY](https://youtu.be/s8ni73w_aCY); *Barroco Andino*. "Barroco Andino en Cámara." (1976). Youtube.

<https://youtu.be/7LyYiKTnvgg>; *Barroco Andino*. "Cordillera." YouTube. As "Cordillera/ Barroco Andino/YouTube." [https://youtu.be/aHm\\_PAT9dYY](https://youtu.be/aHm_PAT9dYY).

<sup>ccccli</sup> Karen Donoso provides evidence of the enforcement of censorship against Andean instruments in Donoso Fritz, Karen, "Por el arte-vida del pueblo: Debates en torno al folclore en Chile. 1973-1990," *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 29-50. 34. In fact, the censorship of Andean instruments was by no means so monolithic as is often portrayed. See González, Juan Pablo, "Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada," *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* vol. 24 (2012): 175-186; and McSherry, J. Patrice. "La dictadura y la música popular en Chile: Los primeros años de plomo," *Números* (2021).

<sup>cccclii</sup> For indications of *Barroco Andino*'s political involvement during the 1980s, two *El Mercurio de Chile* articles are enlightening. See "Artistas Recordaron el Natalicio de P. Neruda," in *El Mercurio de Chile*. July 11, 1988. C10. In this article, *El Mercurio* describes a concert on July 10, 1988, to celebrate the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Pablo Neruda's birth. Readers will remember that Neruda, a Nobel Prize-winning poet, was also a senator for Chile's Communist Party and the Popular Unity's ambassador to France. *El Mercurio* also documents *Barroco Andino*'s involvement in the *Chile Crea* conference, and the anti-authoritarian nature of the event, in "Anoche en Teatro Baquedano: Inaugurado el Encuentro Chile Crea.," in *El Mercurio de Chile* (July 12, 1988), C4.

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<sup>cccliii</sup> Mattern, 59-60.

<sup>cccliv</sup> Fernández, Javier Osorio, "La bicicleta, el Canto Nuevo y las tramas musicales de la disidencia. Música popular, juventud y política en Chile durante la dictadura, 1976-1984," *Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America* vol. 8 no. 3 (2011): 255-286. 166 for the involvement of the Catholic Church, 176 for the involvement of the Methodists and other Protestant denominations.

<sup>ccclv</sup> *Radio Umbral* frequently broadcast direct critiques of the state, in brazen violation of the censorship edicts discussed earlier in this chapter. For an example of that sort of content, see Acevedo, Raúl, "Encuentro de Canto Popular en el Estadio Santa Laura – Radio Umbral – 15 enero 1988." YouTube, 29/11/2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dR67RVisLE>. For an article which touches extensively on *Umbral's* role as a dissident voice, see Bresnahan, Rosalind. "Radio and the democratic movement in Chile 1973–1990: Independent and grass roots voices during the Pinochet dictatorship," *Journal of radio studies* 9, no. 1 (2002): 161-181.

<sup>ccclvi</sup> Sigmund, Paul E. "Revolution, counterrevolution, and the catholic church in Chile," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 483, no. 1 (1986): 25-35; and Casals, Marcelo. "The insurrection of the middle class: Social mobilization and counterrevolution during the Popular Unity government, Chile, 1970–1973," *Journal of Social History* vol. 54, no. 3 (2021): 944-969.

<sup>ccclvii</sup> "Otro Himno para la Restauración," in *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 14, 1973). 59.

<sup>ccclviii</sup> Liberation theology hit its peak in Latin America during the 1960s and 70s, but was still very much alive during the respective authoritarian periods which impacted many Latin American countries. For background information on these debates, with special emphasis on Chile during both the Popular Unity and authoritarian eras, several articles are of interest. See Dodson, Michael. "Liberation theology and Christian radicalism in contemporary Latin America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol 11, no. 1 (1979): 203-222; Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation theology at the crossroads: Democracy or revolution?* (Oxford University Press on Demand, 1992); Ibáñez Langlois, José Miguel, *Teología De La Liberación Y Lucha De Clases. 1a ed.* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica De Chile, 1985); Ibáñez Langlois, José Miguel, *Teología De La Liberación Y Libertad Cristiana. Fe Y Doctrina* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica De Chile, 1989); Bachelet, Fernando, and Centro De Estudios Sociales. *Iglesia, Teología, Política. 1a ed. Ediciones Chile Y América.* Santiago De Chile: Centro De Estudios Sociales, 1984; Swope, John Wolfgang, "The production, recontextualization and popular transmission of religious discourse: the case of liberation theology and basic Christian communities in Santiago, Chile," PhD diss., Institute of Education, University of London (1992); and Ossa, Manuel, Torres, Sergio, and Centro Ecueménico Diego De Medellín, *Tejiendo Redes De Esperanza Desde Nuestras Experiencias Liberadoras* (Santiago, Chile: Centro Ecueménico Diego De Medellín, 2002).

<sup>ccclix</sup> Mark Mattern describes the differences between *canto nuevo* and the *nueva canción* which came before it in Mattern, *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 58-9.

<sup>ccclx</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 59-60.

<sup>ccclxi</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 60-1.

<sup>ccclxii</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 59.

<sup>ccclxiii</sup> Mattern, , *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 59.

<sup>ccclxiv</sup> Mark Mattern distinguishes between *canto nuevo* (new song) and *canto poblacional* (slum song) at some length. The distinction is artificial in the cases of certain individual musicians who worked in both styles, but is generally useful. See Mattern, *Acting in Concert: Music, Community, and Political Action*, 58-68.

<sup>ccclxv</sup> "Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 2 – 6 de septiembre." YouTube. Accessed 4 May, 2022. <https://youtu.be/DqFIWTgVMI4>. From 05:20 to 06:30.

<sup>ccclxvi</sup> Laura Jordan González has two interesting articles on cassettes. For her work on the anonymity of tapes against repression, see González, Laura Jordan, "Clandestine recordings: The use of the cassette in the music of the political resistance during the dictatorship (Chile, 1973-1989)," in *Situating Popular Musics, International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM)* (16th International Conference Proceedings, 2011), 307-315. For a micro-history of the cassette "Vamos Chile," which will be discussed in some depth later, see Jordan, Laura, Music and "clandestinidad" During the Time of the Chilean Dictatorship: Repression and the Circulation of Music of Resistance and Clandestine Cassettes," *Revista de Música chilena* vol.63, no. 212 (2009), 77-102.

<sup>ccclxvii</sup> González, "Clandestine recordings: The use of the cassette in the music of the political resistance during the dictatorship (Chile, 1973-1989)," 307-315. See especially 309-314.

<sup>ccclxviii</sup> This theme of anonymity runs throughout Jordan's work on cassette tapes. See González, , 307-315. 310-313.

<sup>ccclxix</sup> Pizarro, Gabriela. "A Puro Pan, a Puro Té." *Vamos Chile*. (1986). YouTube, 11 January, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/NSqKHYPQsY>.

*A puro pan, a puro té*

*Así nos tiene Pinochet.*

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<sup>ccclxx</sup> Pizarro, Gabriela. “A Puro Pan, a Puro Té.” Vamos Chile. (1986). YouTube, 11 January, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/NSqKHyTPQsY>.

*Carabinero, te quedan dos caminos:*

*O unirte con tu pueblo, o ser un asesino.*

<sup>ccclxxi</sup> Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez. En Medio del Combate, ¡Cantamos!. (1986): Youtube, January 11, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/4YLzumxeTTc>.

<sup>ccclxxii</sup> Venegas, Jorge. “Soldado Juan Alberto.” On *En Medio del Combate, ¡Cantamos!*. (1986) Youtube, January 11, 2022. <https://youtu.be/4YLzumxeTTc>. From 21:27 to 23:35ñ and Jara, Jano. “pásate a este La’o, Pela’o.” On En Medio del Combate, ¡Cantamos!. (1986): Youtube, accessed January 11, 2022. <https://youtu.be/4YLzumxeTTc>. From 23:36 to 27:00.

<sup>ccclxxiii</sup> Jara, Jano. “pásate a este La’o, Pela’o.” On En Medio del Combate, ¡Cantamos!. (1986) Youtube, January 11, 2022. <https://youtu.be/4YLzumxeTTc>. From 23:36 to 27:00.

*Pásate a este la’o, pela’o.*

*Ven a disparar*

*En contra de los que te mandan, pela’o,*

*Hermanos, ¡matar!*

<sup>ccclxxiv</sup> Various authors. 1986. El camotazo. Chile. Phonogram. YouTube, accessed January 11, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/6-2eI4JVa88>.

<sup>ccclxxv</sup> Transporte Urbano, “*La Barricada*.” On Various authors. 1986. El camotazo. Chile. Phonogram. YouTube, January 11, 2022. <https://youtu.be/6-2eI4JVa88>. From 0:00 to 03:35.

*Para hacer una barricada se necesita, se necesita  
una masa organizada y otra cosita, y otra cosita  
es importante dejar en claro el objetivo de la cuestión  
planificando el mote con suficiente anticipación  
planificando el mote con suficiente anticipación  
En primer lugar, hay que observar  
muy bien la esquina donde el cahuín se va a realizar  
y determinar la necesidad  
de los materiales sin que ninguno vaya a faltar  
de los materiales sin que ninguno vaya a faltar*

*El neumático, el miguelín*

*el combustible, fósforo seco que irá a servir*

*y no hay que olvidar, ni descuidar,*

*el loro que dice a tiempo por si la repre llega a balear*

<sup>ccclxxvi</sup> Carlos Huneeus outlines this process in Chapter 11, “Pinochet’s Defeat and the Question of Succession.” In Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*. See specifically page 396 for the length of Pinochet’s mandate, should he win.

### Chapter Three

#### “La VOZ de los 80:” Public Performances, Politicized Art, and the Sounds of the Anti-authoritarian Struggle, (1980-1988)

When *Los Prisioneros* (The Prisoners) released “*La VOZ de los 80*” (The Voice of the 80s) in 1984, their name, their enthusiastic use of technology, and their performance style differed from any prior Chilean musical group.<sup>ccclxxvii</sup> They actively eschewed older tastes and conventions, esthetic, musical or lyrical. References to Popular Unity, traditionally Latin American instruments, and the revolutionary hopes of the long 1960s were conspicuous by their absence, so the songs passed the censors. The sound was highly produced and synthesized, a far cry from the acoustic sounds of the *nueva canción*, or even the relatively soft, non-percussive Chilean rock music of that time. Their quick tempos seemed to be a nod to the increasingly mechanized, fast-paced world of the 1980s, and the quickly played punk rock which was spreading globally at that time.

Censors tolerated the modern sounds yet ignored the group’s iconoclastic nature. *Los Prisioneros* both described and contested Chile’s political present through ironic, cynical lyrics, and scenes of urban decay which featured prominently in the grungy appearance of their music videos, the first time any Latin American band had utilized this technology.<sup>ccclxxviii</sup> In these and other ways, the band was signaling a new road ahead for other Chilean performers who were critical of the political environment. Indeed, the 1980s and the end of the authoritarian period in Chile witnessed increasing demands for political and social change, fervently expressed through tense forms of musical and performative critique. During protests inspired by economic scarcity and demands for political transformation, critical music captured the emotional essence of collective performance, and connected music to unrecognized and under-represented communities, while making new sounds for unprecedented times.

In this chapter, I examine how the changing sounds of public performances which resisted state repression and top-down control, brought the possibility of lasting political change through the creation of new, truly diverse communities – up against the nationalist order that appeared to be still firmly in place. I use music to elucidate these competing visions, nationalism and anti-authoritarian resistance, respectively. The first part of this chapter explores the struggles of nationalist public performance that defended the military order to remain relevant during the 1980s, a decade in which public protests increased. Nationalists attempted to adapt their messages

to new times and incorporate different communities (often by simply appropriating their customs and traditions) into the pro-authoritarian project.<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> This process, visible in the so-called “Andean boom,” shows how the state attempted to gain popular legitimacy by presenting itself as the vanguard of new performative forms of expression, when traditional means of political expression remained absent by design. The fact that the authoritarian government and its collaborators used performance at all contributes to scholarly debates around censorship and control.<sup>ccclxxx</sup>

Next, I explore new types of interactions between musical performances of resistance and the dominant, authoritarian nationalist paradigm. I connect the evidence of changes to the new nationalist performances with strategies used by the anti-authoritarian opposition, both in exile and within Chile. Whether in exile or domestic, authoritarian nationalist, vaguely critical or directly confrontational, musical performances impelled fundamental political changes by pointing the way toward new community formations which also involved opposition beyond the boundaries of the Chilean nation. Music and other forms of artistic performance contested the atomized social arrangements under authoritarianism, demonstrating that large, cohesive group action operated over wide geographies, and was visibly, audibly active despite state oppression.

Finally, I analyze performance during the 1988 plebiscite, thereby contributing to debates around efforts to establish hegemony in Chile. The 1988 plebiscite effectively articulates the tensions that are central to this chapter. The sounds of the plebiscite, pitting the pro-Pinochet factions against the opposition through YES and NO votes and related campaigns exemplified competing visions for the future of the nation. The role of communal performances became particularly evident in this period, as large groups of Chileans demonstrated that although their politicized performances may have been repressed, the communitarian impulses of Popular Unity were neither forgotten nor abandoned – and involved solidarity in Chile and exile. This evidence elucidates the importance of hegemony as a source of political contestation and cultural policy during late authoritarianism. Whereas many scholars have referred to cultural hegemony in a global South or Latin American context, and the thinking of Steven Krofts-Wiley on anti-authoritarian hegemony in Chile inspires my own work, I elucidate both campaigns’ efforts –not merely “no” campaign efforts--to establish hegemony through performance to an extent I have not seen in the literature.<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> The “yes” and “no” campaign performative strategies illustrate how

political currents in competition with each other employed performances as discursive tools, in order to establish their respective hegemonies over the Chilean democracy.

## Historiography

This chapter contributes to several scholarly discussions around cultural policy and performance during the latter stages of Chilean authoritarianism. Juan Pablo González has written extensively on the authoritarian government's efforts to legitimize itself through the so-called 'Andean boom' of the late 1970s, arguing that the state considerably relaxed its censorship of Andean instruments and sounds, so long as the new Andean sounds did not invoke class struggle or leftist politics.<sup>ccclxxxii</sup> While González distinction is useful to an understanding of the performative politics of Chilean authoritarianism, I argue that soft, perhaps unwritten forms of censorship functioned against the groups *Los Jaivas* and *Congreso*, groups which used Andean sounds but did not call for forms of class struggle in their performances. Importantly, these same groups were also subject to police harassment under Popular Unity, revealing that the structure and function of censorship could, at times, take similar forms from one government to the other. In this way, the boundaries between Popular Unity and the authoritarian era are considerably more permeable than conventional wisdom generally holds.

My work also contributes to discussions of performance as international solidarity and political resistance, issues which are generally considered separately. Cultural historians and political scientists generally consider the act of taking interest in politicized musical performance as a precursor to more structured forms of activism, such as involvement in parties or mass movements.<sup>ccclxxxiii</sup> Yet, ethnomusicologists such as Ashley Black and Jan Fairley complicate this picture; specifically, they both argue that in the case of solidarity movements with Latin America, performances of political music constituted the start of organized political activity, not merely a precursor to that activity.<sup>ccclxxxiv</sup> In her case study of the band *¡Karaxú!*, Jan Fairley claims that since this band openly used funds from their performances to fund the armed struggle against the authoritarian state, the boundary between solidarity and resistance breaks down in the case of Chile during the 1970s and 80s.<sup>ccclxxxv</sup> In this chapter, I use cases from both exile communities and resisting performances within Chile to argue how participating in a performance or even attending it could be a politically militant act, and not a precursor to other forms of political activity. I expand

Fairley's logic beyond participation in the armed struggle and claim that performances of solidarity could lead directly to anti-authoritarian resistance, whether this resistance was armed or not.

Finally, my research has implications for interpretations of Chile's 1988 plebiscite campaign. Scholars like Steven Krofts-Wiley and Pablo Larraín claim that the "no" campaign managed to establish cultural hegemony in Chile's transition to democracy, by showing voters that democracy was not such a radical concept as the authoritarian state had lead Chileans to believe.<sup>ccclxxxvi</sup> While this argument is useful to understanding the "no" campaign, it analyzes "no" almost in a vacuum. By comparing performances from the "yes" and "no" campaigns, including moments in which the two sides responded quite directly to each other, I argue that the two sides proposed fundamentally different versions of the Chilean community in a contest only one version could win. Further, I claim that the "no" campaign relied heavily on happiness, humor and even fun as emotions to make their case to the Chilean people.

### **Authoritarian Consolidation: Nationalism, Performance and New Forms of Censorship.**

At times during authoritarianism and most especially in the 1980s, a new spirit of artistic freedom appeared in the media and in government discourse, strikingly different from the intense emphasis on control evident in the period immediately following the 1973 coup. As Chile's authoritarian government consolidated its political control over the country, pro-government media cultivated an image of cultural diversity and full artistic freedom. This process took two forms. First, pro-authoritarian artists compared authoritarianism favorably with Popular Unity. Second, the state and collaborating media transformed the formerly politicized sounds of Andean folkloric music into a sanitized, depoliticized package. Yet, in addition to new styles of authoritarian nationalist performance, state and extra-judicial censorship continued, often taking new and particularly chilling forms. For instance, instead of targeting particular artists or consumers of prohibited works of art, the state increasingly tended toward mass arrests or harassment of entire groups as the authoritarian period neared its end. This section explores these two processes of nationalist exultation through new performance styles and new ways to censor performance, envisioning both as parts of the overall authoritarian environment.

Some performers claimed to find a degree of artistic freedom unimaginable to them under the Popular Unity. The actress and playwright Silvia Piñero, who had boycotted the Popular Unity government by refusing to perform for the last two years, was ebullient in the immediate aftermath of the military coup. "Finally I find myself in my fatherland again. I don't have enough mouth for

all my laughter,<sup>ccclxxxvii</sup>” she told an interviewer from *El Mercurio*. “In the (theater) Carlos Cariola they’ve behaved very well with all the inconveniences of the last few days. They give me the personnel so I can prepare my work in total tranquility, so we’re rehearsing until one hour before the curfew. We are all happy and putting our best moods out there.<sup>ccclxxxviii</sup>” This suggests that Piñeiro found the curfew a minor irritant at worst, and that her artistic work was not seriously affected by the curfew because of the collaboration of willing, like-minded actors and theater personnel. The anonymous *El Mercurio* interviewer later editorialized: “In short, Silvia Piñeiro is surrounded by her work. The projects are many. All she wants is calm, so she can think about them and start acting. Now she won’t come up against the inconvenience that “her works didn’t have a message,” as they would say, and she couldn’t find actors or directors.<sup>ccclxxxix</sup>” Statements like this indicate that some performers were glad to work as they had done in the years before Popular Unity, and felt that Popular Unity, not authoritarianism, was the repressive period of Chilean history. Because Piñeiro attempted to do light-hearted theater, she presumably found the Popular Unity’s insistence on communitarian ideology, moral messages and solidarity through art stultifying at best, difficult to work in at worst. In this light, she would have logically felt freer to perform works without political messages under authoritarian rule. Cases such as Piñeiro’s, moreover, reveal that Chilean authoritarianism could provide opportunities for those with political affinities.

Others performed themes of romantic love, and subjects affecting individual lives, without any impediments under authoritarianism. In doing so, they broke sharply with the communal, socially conscious sounds of music under Popular Unity. The Spanish pop star Mari Trini, much admired for her physical beauty and the deep vibrato of her singing voice, was outspoken on this point. When questioned about the sadness of her songs, Trini responded: “Love is sad in its forms, but not deep down. How could it be sad that love exists on the face of the earth?<sup>ccccx</sup>” In times of intense political polarization, not to mention violence and killings, Trini may have sensed an opportunity to capitalize on the public need to express sadness through songs which did not touch on political matters. Media coverage of artists like Trini as sentimental, romantic symbols suggest a need to provide a sense of newness, change, and freedom to authoritarian times. If political freedom did not exist, the freedom to speak one’s own intimate feelings certainly should, in Trini’s view.



Actions inside the *Oficina de Censura de Prensa* (Office of Press Censorship) show the changing face of Chilean cultural censorship, and the involvement of the state in determining the content Chilean media produced. While Decree Law 15, passed two days after the September 11 coup, subjected all communications media to censorship, and prior censorship in the case of print journalism and other written publications, the regulations had changing outcomes.<sup>cccxcxi</sup> Since the decree encompassed all forms of print media, any form of print journalism during the authoritarian period was, *de facto*, government approved. Moreover, since the decree did not provide any instructions on the specifics of censorship, the latitude to enact changes in the form and content of decisions made by the OCP was ample. This flexibility on the part of censors indicates the freedom to make decisions available to government bureaucrats in terms of press censorship and specifically, the admissibility of changing strategies to censor the press with changing times.

The “Andean boom” helps demonstrate the erosion of authoritarian control, both artistically and politically, as journalists who supported the state attempted to establish an image of pluralism through press coverage of performance. In doing so, the state and pro-authoritarian media reached out to new communities by appropriating their musical traditions, often in distinctly problematic ways. In the so-called “Andean boom,” Andean musical expression, very much frowned upon in the aftermath of the September 11 coup, briefly enjoyed a privileged position.

Recognition from critics often signaled that a community or performance style could find new opportunities to thrive. The band *Illapu* (Aymara for lightning bolt) had existed since 1971 but had remained obscure under the Popular Unity due to their lack of politically motivated lyrics, and their distant personal relations with *nueva canción* performers. When *Illapu* was nominated in the folklore category of the *Asociación de Periodistas de Espectáculo* (Performance Journalist Association) awards for 1977,<sup>cccxcii</sup> the pro-authoritarian media effectively announced that Andean sounds, long discouraged under authoritarianism, could now find a welcome. *Illapu*, for instance, were known for their use of traditional Andean instruments, the characteristic dress of Aymara speakers, and a name taken from the Aymara language. Many other groups also used greater or lesser degrees of Andean sounds. *Los Jaivas*, the writers of pop anthems such as “*Amor Americano*” (American Love) and “*Todos juntos*” (*All together*) hit the peak of their fame during early authoritarianism.<sup>cccxciii</sup> Interestingly, *Los Jaivas* had a distinctly counter-cultural following under Popular Unity, with many of their fans subject to police harassment for drug use and other crimes of morality.<sup>cccxciv</sup> *Congreso* (Congress), who mixed Andean sounds with jazz, were—and

remain today—beloved by international audiences, though they are relatively unknown in Chile. Their distaste for official music labels such as *DICAP* during the Popular Unity years allowed them to remain in Chile throughout authoritarianism, although they never received much acceptance from the authoritarian government or the mainstream press, and had to gain a following through word of mouth.<sup>cccxcv</sup> Only in the early 1990s, did they gain widespread international popularity, in spite of producing and recording a diverse repertoire within Chile for over twenty years.<sup>cccxcvi</sup> Stories like this illustrate that the cultural boundaries between the Popular Unity period and authoritarianism were rather more permeable than scholars generally believe,<sup>cccxcvii</sup> especially in the specific case of Andean sounding music.

The Andean-influenced sounds of early authoritarianism differed from any prior period, precisely because the new sounds relied on cultural appropriation. Although so-called Andean music has always presented a high degree of sonic and instrumental hybridization, the sounds of the middle 1970s wandered further from their roots than previously experienced. As Fernando Emilio Ríos and Juan Pablo González have argued, the combination of indigenous instrumentation with European pentatonic scales and recording techniques all reveal the high degree of western influence on “Andean” sounds throughout the twentieth century.<sup>cccxcviii</sup> Yet, the Andean boom brought the influence of 1960s and 1970s sounds to the forefront in unprecedented ways. The song “*Amor americano*” released by *Los Jaivas* in 1981, exemplifies this tendency; the song hit the pop charts in many Latin American countries and can still be heard on Latin American radio, despite the fact that *Los Jaivas* were non-indigenous Chileans.<sup>cccxcix</sup> The fact that the song was legally recorded, sold and marketed in Chile in an atmosphere of censorship shows that the state did not object to its message. Moreover, the psychedelic rock produced in English-speaking countries in the 1960s strongly influenced the sound of *Los Jaivas*.<sup>cd</sup> *Illapu* had a sound closer to indigenous Andean practices, but even they added electric guitar and saxophone.<sup>cdi</sup> In this way, a genre already far from its “roots” through instrumental and recording influences further displaced and abstracted how indigenous peoples performed it in the past. The prominent placement of real—or imagined—Andean musical influences in the Chilean media of the late 1970s therefore reflected state control over artistic production, while supporting “new” sounds.

The paradoxical nature of the Andean boom emerges when we compare the authoritarian state’s policies toward politicized instruments in the immediate aftermath of the coup with the facts on the ground only a few years later. Unlike during the *nueva canción* period, the

authoritarian state and collaborators diluted Popular Unity's historic connection between Andean music and class struggle. The fact that the "Andean boom" existed at all is surprising, given the arbitrary prohibitions on Andean instruments discussed in chapter two.<sup>cdii</sup>

Scholars including Juan Pablo González and Mark Mattern argue that these prohibitions did not target Andean sounds *per se*, but instead prohibited Andean sounds associated with class struggle.<sup>cdiii</sup> Only by removing class as a category of analysis could the state make musical performance serve nationalist purposes.<sup>cdiv</sup> Given the need for prior approval of all communications media, and the intense persecution of dissident musicians, the participation of musicians in the lack of class references probably reflected self-censorship as much as, if not more than, conscious collaboration with state aims. While these analyses contribute to the understanding of musical instrumentation as a political signifier, such an explanation remains incomplete. Highly political music to one audience may be perfectly innocuous for another. The banning of Andean instruments in the early years of authoritarianism, and the appropriation of many of those same signifiers in later years reveals the changing nature of these political signifiers and suggests that one sound can have multiple political meanings.

The slow pace of change notwithstanding, Chilean media of the late 1970s called for qualitative improvement in the Chilean folklore. In their review of the television program "*Cantares de Chile*" (Songs of Chile), *El Mercurio* admonished the program for a lack of authenticity: "Be that as it may, we were missing the people's artists, who conserve their old traditions, never before seen on the television screen. For a folkloric spectacle like "*Cantares de Chile*," there needs to be a more aggressive kind of novelty: a real search throughout the land for true artists who can bring off old things, traditions converted into newness.<sup>cdv</sup>" When examined in the light of a search for "authenticity," Andean boom sought to introduce pluralism and newness-of a particular kind into the Chilean cultural landscape. Specifically, *El Mercurio* adopted consistently rightist attitudes toward Popular Unity, and consequently took a dim view of performers who collaborated with the socialist government. Their thoughts on "*Cantares de Chile*" therefore seem paradoxical. Despite supporting what it called traditional folk music on repeated occasions, *El Mercurio* admitted that packaged presentations of the same folklorists as always was not what readers or critics desired. Instead, something truly new was necessary for Chileans to feel that the music they listened to represented them. This is an interesting admission that tradition was

not set in stone, but instead, invented by changing schema of tastes and popular preferences, and attempts by the state and elites to shape preferences.

Novelty was truly the order of the day, even when that meant performing old musical works. On October 3, 1973, the choir of the *Universidad Técnica del Estado* (the State Technical University), the same choir with which Ángel Parra, Víctor Jara and others had been scheduled to sing on the day of the military coup, performed a selection of French, German and Italian composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>cdvi</sup> Two aspects of this performance of classical music stand out. First, director Mario Baeza, and most choir members were holdovers from the Popular Unity days, a relative rarity especially considering the murder of State Technical University employee Víctor Jara. Second, they performed a technically difficult repertoire, meaning choir members would have had particularly little time to grieve the disappearances and executions of many colleagues. During these complex realities, the use of classical music to foment authoritarian nationalism represented a new use of high culture, and particularly imported high culture, in Chile of the 1970s, indicating changes to the authoritarian nationalist cultural paradigm. Specifically, the efforts at cultural nationalism discussed in this chapter and the previous one notwithstanding, even performances originally written centuries ago in other countries were preferable to inappropriate performances.

The state's openness to even diluted forms of newness was inconsistent and arbitrary, indicating tensions over continuity and change in Chile's authoritarian process. For example, by 1981 all of *Illapu's* members were in exile due to an error by Chilean customs officials, when lead singer Jorge González was denied re-entry after a European tour, and the entire band was exiled as a result.<sup>cdvii</sup> *Illapu's* experience demonstrates that even groups which benefited from acclaim in the press and tacit state approval could be subject to the chilling effects of cultural policy. Moreover, rather than allow *Illapu* to return to Chile, the state reinforced the arbitrary actions of its customs agents; *Illapu's* exile continued well into 1988.

For all the state's efforts to convey an image of pluralism through sympathetic media coverage of new phenomena, this pluralism did not necessarily mean a lessening of censorship or restrictions on certain performances. Despite some artists' claims of access to enhanced artistic freedom under authoritarianism and the state's commitment to pluralism, the middle of the authoritarian period also brought new forms of censorship into practice. These new forms of censorship included both arbitrary enforcement of previously existing rules, and non-state actors

or unidentified people or groups who threatened dissident performers. In this way, “new normal” conditions made it difficult to tell what production would be censored, and difficult to identify who would conduct the censorship.

The chillingly arbitrary, unaccountable nature of censorship emerged in the Chilean theater. The play *Al principio existía la vida* (In the Beginning there was Life, 1974) addressed the political realities of the day through coded metaphor and symbolism. The play was written by Oscar Castro, and Ángel Parra, released only days earlier from the *Chacabuco* prison, wrote the music under the pseudonym of Luis Cereceda.<sup>cdviii</sup> Although the play debuted to a sellout crowd, and was allowed to perform for over a month, opposition formed immediately.<sup>cdix</sup> Actors and theater employees were threatened with late-night phone calls, and the theater was fire-bombed during a rehearsal. Yet, it was not until 1976, two years after the debut and well after the theater canceled the performance over concern for performers’ safety, that many actors were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled: Oscar Castro’s mother and father, who had no involvement in the theater production, were disappeared in police custody, presumably in a deliberate act of retribution.<sup>cdx</sup> State intervention against Marco Antonio de la Parra’s *Lo crudo, lo cocido y lo podrido* (The Raw, the Cooked and the Rotten, 1977) was different; approval to perform was simply withdrawn on the day before the play was scheduled to open.<sup>cdxi</sup>

Changes in Chilean politics during the 1980s were reflected in how theater productions were censored, and in terms of who, specifically, was attacked. As protests against the authoritarian government and the undemocratic constitution of 1980 increased in size, censorship of theater continued, with attacks on viewing publics instead of bans on production. As Catarina Preda demonstrates, theater productions sponsored by the *Agrupación Cultural Universitaria* (University Cultural Group) had been tolerated, even during the darkest period of the 1970s. Yet, in the 1980s, police began to tear gas entire audiences as they left the shows, although they allowed the shows to open and or perform their scheduled runs.<sup>cdxii</sup> This change in tactics by police reveals the performative nature of censorship and repression, and the use of censorship performance as a political tool. Moreover, the continued repression of theater demonstrates that the control of public space through physical violence continued despite the putative political opening of the early 1980s; repression was re-directed against consuming publics, rather than falling exclusively on the artists.

**Building Community, Performing Solidarity: Resistance, Performance and Exile.**

From September 11, 1973, through early 1988, many thousands of Chileans were forced to flee the country to escape the threat of torture or death. Exiled musicians publicized Chile's dire human rights situation, while also providing an emotional outlet for the publics of their host countries to engage in solidarity with Chile, and for Chileans to benefit from international solidarity. This solidarity drew on the performance-based communities in which Chilean musicians were involved, constructed both before and during the exile experience. In addition to providing emotional awareness for foreign publics and a catharsis for Chileans, solidarity movements used pre-existing, structured networks of performers based around political affinities to challenge the dominance of commercial genres and hegemonic economic structures. Through this contestation, they expanded the reach of their solidarity in unexpected directions, and at times, resisted authoritarian political arrangements. The study of musicians in exile therefore provides new dimensions to solidarity networks and the relationship between solidarity and political resistance.

### **The Politics of International Solidarity.**

The work of Chilean musical communities in exile has implications for scholarly analysis of transnational musical solidarity in general, and solidarity with Chile in particular. I define solidarity as acts or decisions one takes to support others, and equally importantly, the interpersonal bonds which exist between members of different groups before solidary decisions can be taken in the first place. Using this broad definition, I argue that solidarity with Chile began well before the authoritarian period, and it arose because musicians from different countries had the opportunity to meet and work together before authoritarianism began.

The expansive definition of solidarity becomes important through an examination of the scholarly literature regarding transnational solidarity with Chile. Scholars such as David Rob and Jan Fairley have argued that during the 1960s and 70s, political song functioned across national borders in the so-called third world, in European socialist states, and even in the United States.<sup>cdxiii</sup> However, functioning across national borders in search of a common set of demands is a rather shallow form of solidary performance. True solidarity goes deeper. As Ashley Black argues, true solidarity includes establishing human-to-human bonds through music, in addition to using music to raise awareness of political struggles.<sup>cdxiv</sup> The personal bonds formed through sharing music, far more than the lyrics or implicit or explicit messages in the music or its presentation, form true solidarity.<sup>cdxv</sup> I analyze solidarity movements with Chile during the authoritarian period,

examining how Chilean musicians and their publics created human-to-human bonds which contested political controls. Additionally, the process of political contestation began as early as the middle-1960s, often taking innovative directions. This is well earlier than the general scholarly study of this subject incorporates, since much of the study of solidarity only begins with the period of authoritarian rule.

Some processes of political contestation had roots in solidarity performances built in the 1960s. Beginning with the *Encuentro Internacional de la Canción Protesta* (International Gathering of Protest Song) held in 1967 in Havana, musicians involved in politically critical music began to forge solidarity through interpersonal bonds and established new strategies to market their music to receptive audiences. To be sure, music festivals organized in socialist countries featured artists from different countries performing their works for diverse publics. The 1967 *Encuentro* was fundamentally new, because the *Paredón* record label was founded there. The foundation of *Paredón* was a key development, since it allowed artists from different countries and linguistic traditions to market their music through the same channels, instead of using festivals as one-off performance opportunities.<sup>cdxvi</sup> This story reveals new possibilities for international encounters to build on one-another organically, rather than serving as one-off meetings.

In addition to building interpersonal bonds, participants in the 1967 *Encuentro* began to define their new, politically active forms of music-making. The meeting generated a formal communique on the duties of protest musicians, which specifically defined their music as a tool of popular struggle. Notably, Chileans such as Rolando Alarcón, and Violeta Parra's children Ángel and Isabel assisted in the drafting. The communique stated in part: "Protest song workers must be aware that song, by its particular nature, is an enormous force for communication with the masses. ... Song must be a weapon at the service of the peoples, not a consumer product used by capitalism to alienate us. Protest song workers have the duty to deepen their skills, since the search for artistic quality is in itself a revolutionary stance."<sup>cdxvii</sup> This communique reveals the key place of the First International Gathering of Protest Song in building truly interpersonal and transnational networks, in search of artistic quality, anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism. The drafters realized that protest song workers needed to be conscious of the power of their works in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Cold War, and specifically their own ability to communicate their anti-imperialism to the masses in a way difficult for anyone else to do. The fact that they saw their works as "a weapon" in the service of the world's peoples in general, and anti-imperialist struggles in particular, makes

it evident that they viewed themselves as fighters in the Cold War. As such, they had a unique duty to themselves and to their work, the duty to be aware of the power of song, and to communicate powerfully.

Despite Cuba's support for international protest movements, some Chilean performers rejected the overbearing role Cubans assumed -evident in a set of initiatives to expand Cuba's artistic capital abroad. The Cuban state saw solidarity as a crucial tool in revolutionary foreign policy. As Robin Moore demonstrates, one of Cuba's first internationalist acts was to found the *Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos* (The Cuban Institute for Friendship among Peoples) in 1960, to project the country's musical and cultural capital politically.<sup>cdxviii</sup> The *ICAP*, subsumed into the state publisher *Casa de las Américas*, organized the 1967 Encounter of Protest Song.<sup>cdxix</sup> Despite its support for musical protest as a tool of international solidarity, however, Cuba's relationship with internal forms of protest song was strained in the early years; Communist Party officials openly referred to protest singers as "*los conflictivos*" (the troublemakers) well into the 1970s.<sup>cdxx</sup> The First Encounter of Protest Song, was only made possible by the work of former guerilla leader Heidi Santamaria, a great believer in the power of culture to shape people into revolutionary socialist subjects.<sup>cdxxi</sup> The 1967 conference, and its communique in which unity against capitalism revealed the potential of critical music as a double-edged sword: promising when used as a tool of Cuba's international influence, more troubling when applied to the revolutionary project itself.

At the same time as the label "protest song" was gaining currency in socialist as well as capitalist countries, some Chilean musicians challenged the validity of the label "protest song" for the music they made. In doing so, they questioned hegemonic understandings of "protest" and political solidarity, whether those concepts were spread by the music industries of capitalist countries, or the ideological apparatuses present in the socialist world. The Chilean revolutionary songwriter Víctor Jara, for instance, believed that the "protest song" label compromised the revolutionary message of his music. Jara did not attend the 1967 protest song conference in Cuba, presumably for that reason. His comments on the viability of "protest" are enlightening:

With professional expertise, they have taken certain measures: first, the commercialization of so-called 'protest music'; second, the creation of idols of protest music who obey the same rules and suffer from the same constraints as the other idols of the consumer music industry – they last a little while and then disappear. Meanwhile they are useful in neutralizing the innate spirit of rebellion



of young people. The term ‘protest song’ is no longer valid because it is ambiguous and has been misused. I prefer the term ‘revolutionary song’.<sup>cdxxii</sup>

In this quote, also cited in Chapter One, Jara refers to fissures between the government in power after the Cuban Revolution, and his own brand of song. Whereas both Cuba and Víctor Jara were Communists and held anti-imperialist ideologies, Jara did not feel the Cuban *Encuentro* went far enough in the musical struggle against imperialism. Whatever the advances of the Cuban gathering in creating international solidarity, Jara believed that protesting undesirable situations through one’s music was not enough. For music to be truly politically significant, more profound changes and a more critical outlook toward politics and society were needed. By raising consciousness through music, ‘protest song’ would no longer be necessary in the first place. Jara’s calling himself a ‘revolutionary’ singer, therefore, elucidates the depth of the change Jara believed was necessary—and possible—through politicized performance.

Chileans additionally remained connected to revolutionary developments in Argentina that provided an open-ended invitation for performers to unite on an ideologically broad basis. As the 1969 *Manifiesto del nuevo cancionero argentino* (Manifesto of the Argentine New Song), also signed by Chilean new song performers such as Patricio Manns and Ángel Parra, stated: “the *nuevo cancionero* welcomes all artists who identify with its desire to value, deepen, create, and develop the popular arts, and in that sense it will seek communication, dialogue, and exchange with all artists in similar movements throughout America. ... The *nuevo cancionero* states that art, like life, must be in constant transformation and hence seeks to integrate the popular repository of songs to the creative development of the people, to accompany them in their destiny, expressing their dreams, their joys, their struggles, and their hopes.”<sup>cdxxiii</sup> Far from focusing on contesting labels and definitions of their craft, the Argentine *nuevo cancionero* advocated for a truly open-ended, broad association among musicians, based on what musical works actually said and represented. Importantly, this association would be based on a combination of preserving popular performance practices and creating new works of art inspired by popular custom. In this way, everyone—performers and publics alike—could unite in the *nuevo cancionero*, and the reach of popular culture would expand and transform, just like life itself. This is an interesting recognition that traditions, like all other social practices, are invented and change with time. Equally important, it paved the way to solidarity through performance, by inviting everyone to join in, without labeling particular ideologies.

## Opportunity and Agency: Musicians and their Paths to Political Exile.

As Latin American countries, including Chile, transitioned to authoritarianism during the late 1970s, the repression of politically critical music by state actors tested the solidarity of the 1960s encounters. Musicians' paths to exile varied, reflecting differences in individual circumstances and life projects, the objectives of the Chilean state regarding exile at different times, and different degrees of international solidarity. An examination of the exile experiences of Chilean performers elucidates their personal agency and political and musical development during their own exile experiences and describes the solidarity movements in which Chilean performers engaged.

In many cases, international solidarity with Chilean musicians began in the process of escaping Chile. Some Chileans, including performers, sought asylum at foreign embassies to escape imprisonment or death.<sup>cdxxiv</sup> Isabel Parra, daughter of *nueva canción* luminary Violeta Parra, sister of *Ángel Parra*, and co-founder of the first *peña*, was one of the thousands of Chileans who sought asylum in foreign countries, therefore benefiting from international solidarity not only in exile, but also in her escape from harm in authoritarian Chile.<sup>cdxxv</sup> Cases such as hers reveal the importance of solidarity in an environment where most Chileans had no legal recourse at home.

Certain musicians were direct targets of state policy regarding exile when the state began to use exile as a mechanism to remove “undesirable” leftists from society. Decree Law 604 of October, 1973 allowed the military junta to sentence political criminals to exile for double the length of their originally determined prison sentences.<sup>cdxxvi</sup> Patricio Manns, *nueva canción* songwriter and *MIR* (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) activist, was exiled in this way after a brutal detention at Chacabuco prison.<sup>cdxxvii</sup> The difference between imprisonment and a relative state neglect toward the same individuals in exile suggests that the state cared little about where performers went or what they did, so long as they were outside Chilean borders and unable to meddle in the country's politics.<sup>cdxxviii</sup> Nonetheless, exiled musicians continued to influence the politics of their home country.

Other performers, including *Inti-Illimani* and *Quilapayún* were surprised by the military coup while they were on a foreign tour, starting their lives in exile under different conditions - and with different possibilities. *Inti-Illimani*, known for putting Popular Unity's political platform to song in their 1970 album *Canto al programa*, were exiled for nearly the entire authoritarian period, unable to return from a tour in Italy.<sup>cdxxix</sup> *Quilapayún*, writers of the *Cantata popular Santa María*

*de Iquique* and the most popular *nueva canción* act were also on foreign tour at the time, in France. Touring in foreign countries likely saved their lives, but also meant that musicians abroad spread knowledge about Chile in their new temporary homes. They raised awareness about the political situation in Chile through musical performance, a key part of their contributions to solidarity movements in Europe and the Americas. Musicians on foreign tour also formed close interpersonal bonds with their host publics and built networks for later exiles.

From the day of the 1973 coup, exiled musicians refused to be silent about their new reality, making visible and audible claims to the world's solidarity through musical performances for crowds of thousands. On the night of September 11, 1973, *Quilapayún*, frequent performers of the anthem "*Venceremos*," were performing in Paris at the Olympic Theater to a near sell-out crowd. Some group members, including lead singer Eduardo Carrasco, recalled weeping, rather than singing, the lyrics to the song.<sup>cdxxx</sup> Through public performance, they taught audiences about Chilean political realities, with an unforgettable degree of emotion. Such visceral emotional displays laid the groundwork for the formation of solidary networks. These performances also embodied the revolutionary potential of the 1967 and 1969 communiqués, possibly in deeper ways than participants could have imagined.

A benefit concert at Madison Square Garden in May, 1974 reveals how interpersonal relationships built networks of international solidarity. The U.S. singer and Communist Party activist Phil Ochs had traveled to Chile in 1971, where he met Víctor Jara and other *nueva canción* musicians at a benefit for mine workers in support of Popular Unity. Jara's singing of "*Las casitas del barrio alto*," an instantly recognizable Spanish-language adaptation of Malvina Reynold's "Little Boxes," moved Ochs deeply, introducing him to the reality of the Chilean political struggle and the power of transnational musical exchange.<sup>cdxxx</sup> After hearing of the September 11 coup and Jara's assassination, Ochs organized the Madison Square Garden concert, which raised over \$30,000 USD for Chilean refugees.<sup>cdxxxii</sup> The performers included Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, and Arlo Guthrie, son of the famous U.S. anti-fascist folk singer Woody Guthrie. This sequence of events underscores the lasting value of interpersonal relationships in political struggle. It also demonstrates that small acts of human friendships constructed during the hopeful years of Popular Unity produced expansive forms of solidarity during a far more tragic time.

For performers such as singer and *MIR* activist Patricio Manns, musical solidarity with Chile often fused emotional involvement and political participation and involved new audiences

to the relationship-building necessary for creating international solidarity and resistance. As Manns said many times, “Songs are the arm and the weapon of poetry, not because they shoot, but because they bleed more.”<sup>cdxxxiii</sup> Songs brought new blood into the Chilean political struggle by confronting foreigners with the moral force of the anti-authoritarian cause, emotionally expressed through music. His quotation, moreover, suggests that Chileans understood the growing power of their new solidary publics.

In addition to making publics aware of Chilean politics on an emotional level, Manns took emotional bonds, crucial to constructing solidarity movements, one step further; he turned audiences into active participants in the anti-authoritarian resistance. Mann’s work in the band *¡Karaxú!* (Fuck off)! blurred the line between solidarity and active resistance, and as such, differs from how scholarship generally portrays solidarity movements. *¡Karaxú!*’s fluency in multiple European languages, their links with left-wing revolutionaries, and the emotional intensity of their live shows gave them an enduring mass appeal, for both politicized audiences as well as newcomers.<sup>cdxxxiv</sup> Their career spanned decades despite its frenetic pace. They toured Europe beginning on the first anniversary of the military coup and performed into the 1980s, playing well over 150 shows each year. These activities, while impressive, reflect those of many dozens of other groups of exiled Chilean musicians. *¡Karaxú!* nonetheless differed in their willingness to fund the armed struggle with proceeds from their concerts and recordings. The band members were all activists with the *Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Left Revolutionary Movement MIR), a Guevarist party known for its armed opposition to the authoritarian government and members’ willingness to die rather than face exile.<sup>cdxxxv</sup> As Fairley documents, *MIR* and *Karaxú* made an exception to the exile rule for musicians, to gain funding for the armed struggle.<sup>cdxxxvi</sup> This fact suggests that both the members of *¡Karaxú!* And the *MIR* itself thought that musical performance was just as militant, and in its own way just as valuable, as direct forms of violent struggle. Fairley convincingly argues that by raising funds for armed activities, *¡Karaxú!* bridged the gap between solidarity and resistance, and engaged personal networks traditionally associated only with solidarity. Their use of cultural performance to fund the armed struggle demonstrates that performance—or attending a performance—could be militant acts, inverting the boundary between solidarity and active political resistance on the part of both publics and performers. *Mir*’s involvement shows how political parties in struggles engaged in both musical and political resistance to authoritarianism.

The activities of Chilean musicians in exile extended beyond politics, although political factors could certainly be decisive. In addition to participating in the political side of solidarity movements, exile musicians also innovated in more conventional ways. *Inti-Illimani* collaborated with the classical guitarist and Hollywood score composer John Williams, and the Greek protest singer Mikis Theodorakis, both of whom they credit with influencing their musical style and orchestration in the 1980s.<sup>cdxxxvii</sup> In their live concerts, *Inti-Illimani* frequently shared a stage with the South African anti-Apartheid activist Zenzile Miriam Makeba, turning these concerts into both displays of political solidarity and musical fusion.<sup>cdxxxviii</sup> These artistic collaborations extended beyond *Inti-Illimani*, however. Both audiences and the musicians who participated consider the collaborations between Isabel Parra (daughter of Violeta) and the Argentine singer Mercedes Sosa some of the most beautiful works of the exile diaspora.<sup>cdxxxix</sup> These collaborations reveal that while state repression often truncated personal networks within Chile, music and cultural performance helped exiled Chileans network with musicians of their host countries. Through this collaboration, exiles grew the size of their publics, while furthering musical innovation.

In summary, musicians helped build solidarity networks abroad and among exiles and Chileans back home. Solidarity networks furnished Chilean performers with an invaluable means of self-expression during a tightly controlled authoritarian moment; the people with whom they worked in exile provided Chilean exiles far greater international visibility than they could have otherwise achieved on their own. Some scholars see political music as a precursor to involvement in movements with concrete and defined goals, such as political parties.<sup>cdxli</sup> Yet, the Chilean solidarity movements indicate that performing and attending performances were political acts independent from party membership or involvement in established patterns of political participation.<sup>cdxli</sup>

### ***Tomando las Calles (Taking Over the Streets): Anti-authoritarian resistance, Cultural Performance, and Public Space.***

Musicians who resisted within Chile used many performance strategies, ranging from direct confrontation to symbolic critique. After Chile's gradual political opening of the 1980s, resisting culture drew even more people. Just as important, performers were more willing and able to directly confront the state with time, with increased demands for democracy transmitted through the growing number of media outlets willing to project anti-authoritarian messages. As a result, performers occupied more visible and audible platforms to perform resistance, despite the

neoliberal economics and government regulations which attempted to make dissidents conform to heightened individualism.

Beginning on the morning of September 11, 1973, *nueva canción* radio broadcasts sparked public resistance to authoritarianism, underscoring the power of musical performance against authoritarian rule. The day of the coup featured Salvador Allende's last speech to Chileans via *Radio Magallanes*, the last station loyal to Popular Unity. *Magallanes* also broadcast "*No nos moverán*" (We Shall Not be Moved) by the *nueva canción* group *Tiempo Nuevo* immediately after Allende's speech.<sup>cdxlii</sup> The broadcast was interrupted, indicating that the military may have seized the station's offices at that moment; indeed, this was the last legal broadcast of *nueva canción* until 1978, by the Catholic Church-owned *Radio Chilena*. This story reveals both the emotional power of *nueva canción* for supporters of Popular Unity, and the willingness of the military to eradicate this genre of public musical expression.

"*No nos moverán*" has an intensely transnational history of struggle, revealing the power of musical exchange and cross-border networking as non-violent resistance to authoritarian repression. As David Spener demonstrates, the song is actually a Spanish-language cover version of the spiritual "We Shall Not be Moved," originally translated into Spanish by anti-Franco laborers in Spain, and common in Black churches in the United States during the civil rights movement.<sup>cdxliii</sup> Just as important, the song is openly confrontational in its message. Its definitive, categorical title shows that those who sang it—in whatever language—believed they could be an immovable obstacle to their opponents, whether these opponents were the military in Chile, the forces of Spanish fascism, or the white segregationists in the American South. Guillermo Raveste, the director of *Radio Magallanes*, explained the song's importance this way: "Logically, once the military coup was under way, the song "*No nos moverán*" was broadcast on that September 11, multiple times. In this way, directly and indirectly, we defiantly responded to the coup and the military communique that ordered all the pro-Allende stations to cease broadcasting."<sup>cdxliv</sup> The story of "*No nos moverán*" therefore demonstrates an early date for solidarity between Chileans and foreigners in Chilean political resistance, and transnational connections in public opposition to Chilean authoritarianism. Though the coup marked a temporary defeat, the song, and the transnational and solidary nature of its performance, would have been easily understood by all who heard it on that day.

In the immediate aftermath of the coup, testimonial art allowed visual artists to document political violence, many times as experienced by the artists themselves.<sup>cdxlv</sup> The earliest post-coup example in this tradition comes from the prisoners at the *Isla Dawson* (Dawson Island) camp, which housed political leaders from the Popular Unity in brutal conditions. The architect Miguel Lawner, the Minister of Planning and Urban Development under the Popular Unity, produced an album of drawings which depicted the inhumane conditions in which the Dawson Island prisoners were held, as well as work details and certain military officials.<sup>cdxlvi</sup> The fact that some of the drawings were done in prison, whereas others were done while Lawner was in exile provided an authenticity that was difficult to dispute, and the simple nature of the drawings—many of which were pencil sketches retraced in ink, made the works poignant from an emotional point of view. These powerful images of prison life revealed the abuses of the authoritarian state from the perspective of those who suffered abuse, in addition to being one of the first verifiable visual testimonies from inside authoritarian Chile.

In addition to its documentary value, testimonial art allowed artists to escape from emotional trauma through the act of depicting that trauma. Indeed, much of the art in this genre featured a blank circle with an R standing for the verb “*recuperar*” (to recover) drawn inside it.<sup>cdxlvii</sup> Artist testimony indicates that artists felt that testimonial art had a cathartic quality. As the artist Raúl Zúrita recalled: “Scream, that was the only thing we were doing, scream. In all of this, however, there is something that must be added; at that time, they were killing people, and we were screaming, and screaming. It wasn’t Artaud, even though we thought it was. It was Chile.<sup>cdxlviii</sup>” In politically and personally desperate times, Zúrita’s quotation was a classic example of the use of art as emotional catharsis. His references to artists in the first-person plural show that for him and for other artists, art functioned as a form of solidary experience; artists were experiencing similar privations, and were able to understand each other’s works as responses to extreme trauma. As Zúrita indicates, the artistic work functioned as a visible--rather than an audible--scream of pain, and a non-verbal communication between many people who were undergoing similar situations.<sup>cdxlix</sup>

Very different from testimonial art, folkloric musical styles opened up new paths as well. They allowed politically persecuted Chileans to form communities based on musical affiliation and provided those communities with opportunities for public performance and self-expression. The *Alerce* record label, known for its publication of *canto nuevo* and *nueva canción* acts,

organized *La Gran Noche del Folklore* (The Big Night of Folklore) to promote its 1977 catalogue. The folkloric music of *canto nuevo* featured prominently, and the famous *Teatro Caopolicán*, which seated 7000 people, was completely sold out in the largest public concert since the military coup. As an anonymous musician interviewed by musicologist Nancy Morris stated: “I saw people who I had not seen since 1973, people who I thought were in prison, or dead.<sup>cdl</sup>” From the quotation, we see that this particular musician was witnessing something beyond his expectations, if not utterly fantastic. The appearance of colleagues and friends whom he had not seen in years would inevitably remind him of Popular Unity, while also giving him the opportunity to network with people who shared similar interests. It is telling that *La Gran Noche del Folklore* was the largest public concert of any kind since the military coup. In spite of all the state’s efforts to make it clear what would happen to those who performed or even listened to the *nueva canción*, the desire for folkloric performance had not gone. Quite the contrary: there was a pent-up demand for the style and the memories it evoked.

Just as important as physically uniting people, *La Gran Noche del Folklore* debuted music which had only been heard underground. The band *Barroco Andino*, a semi-clandestine group up to that point, won the *Premio Alerce* (Alerce Award), for the best album of the year.<sup>cdli</sup> *La Gran Noche del Folklore* resurrected communities based around musical performance through both its participants and its award-winners, revealing how musical community challenged authoritarianism, and the importance of both semi-clandestine and public communities in the struggle to keep memory and community alive.

Changing media coverage of *peñas* (listening clubs) reveals additional hints of a political opening by the late 1970s. Interestingly, *El Mercurio* had derided *peñas*, like other public places under the Popular Unity government, for their uncleanness during the earliest periods of authoritarian governance:

Let us remember that Chilean railroads, even putting aside their permanent under-financing, were a reason for pride throughout Chile and South America for their cleanliness. Now, passenger cars are no different that the cage cars for the transport of animals, in terms of their mess and untidiness. The same lack of care and aging are apparent in the concert halls under intervention, in the parks and other public spaces.<sup>cdlii</sup>

By comparing *peñas* to the railroad cars in which animals were kept, *El Mercurio* was dehumanizing those who attended *peñas* while claiming that they merely wanted to see Chile cleaned up. The very humanity of undesirable groups was questionable, especially if they chose to



live like “animals,” but what could not be questioned was the need to clean up the “animal” influence. This dehumanization of *peñas*, and by extension of those people who attended them, reveals the extent to which the media collaborated in repressing culture in general and leftist counter-cultures in particular during the early years of the authoritarian period.

In spite of the repression of *peñas* and folkloric music generally after the September 11 coup, even *El Mercurio* eventually recognized the Chilean people’s demand for community and folkloric music, which *peñas* provided. An *El Mercurio* events calendar for Friday, December 2, 1977 shows the schedule of concerts at seven *peñas* for the center of Santiago alone, a high number given the associations of *peñas* with the *nueva canción*.<sup>cdliii</sup> Moreover, most establishments either did not charge cover, or asked a very modest entrance fee; the highest charge is thirty *escudos* (about four dollars in 2023 money) for a show comprised of four musical acts.<sup>cdliv</sup> Finally, all seven *peñas* featured folkloric music from groups with Andean-inspired band names; the group *Incahuasi*, famous during the Andean boom, appears at three *peñas* on three successive nights.<sup>cdlv</sup> This scheduled performance at various sites, and coverage of those performances in the press, suggests sweeping changes in the status of *peñas* and the musicians who performed within them between the military coup and the later part of the 1970s.

Cultural organizations such as the *Agrupación Cultural Universitaria*’s (University Cultural Group) protests of the 1980 constitution show the blurry boundary between artistic and political activity in Chilean public space. As *El Mercurio* summarized:

Yesterday, other youth groups released a public declaration rejecting the plebiscite to be held this coming 11<sup>th</sup> of September, and called on all organizations and young people to participate in the Vigil for Democracy. The objective of this event, which will be held tomorrow at 20:00 in the headquarters of the *Sindicato Panal* (Yungai 2715) “will be to show our repudiation of this mere fraud and to renew one more time our commitment to build a new and democratic Chile, in which truth, justice and freedom reign.” At the same time, they say that “it seems course that, being a generalized state of repression of constitutional freedoms, they organize an act without ensuring the democratic safeguards that would permit the participation of all sectors of the national community.”

The signatories are ... the National Group of Youth Cultural Centers (*ANCECUJ*), the University Cultural Group (*ACU*), and the Cultural coordinator of Santa Marta.<sup>cdlvi</sup>

Given that *El Mercurio* were unabashed supporters of the authoritarian government, it may seem paradoxical that they would publish a declaration calling the referendum on the 1980 proposed constitution a “mere fraud.” Yet, at a time when the authoritarian state was proposing an election,

it was necessary to keep up the appearance of a somewhat democratic system of government, not to mention a free press. It is also interesting to contextualize this declaration as part of a tradition of political advocacy by artists and performers going back to the communiques around the *nueva canción* during 1960s. Even in a particularly undemocratic moment in Chilean political history, performers, and particularly critical performers, did not remain silent in spite of censorship and the fear of violent reprisal. At a time when the state was pursuing democratic legitimacy, it had to accept critiques of both the form and content of the new “democracy,” even by people it was attempting to repress. This situation strongly suggests profound levels of political thought and action even during the most undemocratic moments of Chilean political history.

### **Learning by Hearing, Learning by Seeing, Learning by Doing; Performance and Political Self-expression.**

Chile’s authoritarian period featured, paradoxically, intense musical performances and vibrant artistic expressions. Performers observed the lived realities of every-day Chileans, performed their critique and, most important, invented technologies which taught other Chileans, and especially those who did not make their living from performance, to perform their own demands for political change through music and art. Through this unstructured, probably unintended combination of Chilean musicians performing the realities they experienced, and every-day Chileans learning to perform through seeing and imitating others, more people began to use music and art to express their demands for human rights. These performances supported anti-authoritarian communities claiming political spaces to contest authoritarian arrangements, culminating in a successful campaign to return the country to electoral democracy.

Communal graffiti initiated a new tradition of critique through observing and doing. The *Colectivo Acciones de Arte* (Art Actions Collective) was composed of academic artists, poets and sociologists, and perhaps the first group of dissident artists to invite community members to participate in critical art projects during authoritarian rule. As Catarina Preda argues, CADA. shifted the terms of political and social debate through art projects which critiqued the government, with its permission to carry out these critical activities.<sup>cdlvii</sup> Their last and most famous activity was called “No +” (No More, pronounced *no más*) in late 1983 and early 1984. In this action, CADA. members painted the phrase “no +” on walls and street corners in Santiago, leaving individual Chileans to complete the phrase how they would. For the rest of military rule, and indeed, well

into the 21<sup>st</sup>-century, the “No +” watch word was completed with “Pinochet,” “torture,” “disappearances” “AFP” (privatized pension funds), and the like.<sup>cdlviii</sup> Artistic performances such as the “*No más*” action involved the public in a visual form of vanguardist political critique, and additionally, elucidates critical choices of subject, even in such a tightly circumscribed context as authoritarian Chile.

The Chilean band *Los Prisioneros* were the first band in Latin American history to release music videos, a technology which allowed audiences to see the intended meanings of *Los Prisioneros* songs, instead of having to interpret song lyrics for themselves. As Javier Fernández and Nayive Ananías Gómez explain, *Los Prisioneros* provided visual meanings to the sung text, a revolutionary advance in the ability of performers to control the meaning of their own work in a time of heavy censorship.<sup>cdlix</sup> Two of their most famous music videos are “*La VOZ de los 80*” (The Voice of the 80s) from 1984, and “*Muevan las industrias*” (Move the Industries) from 1986.<sup>cdlx</sup> In “*La VOZ de los 80*,” *Los Prisioneros* employ ambivalent visual signifiers to compliment the major chords and optimistic lyrics. When the lyrics enunciate the line “*Ya viene la fuerza, la VOZ de los 80*,” (Here comes the strength, the voice of the ‘80s), the video depicts a crowd of people standing outside a factory holding metal pipes and chains.<sup>cdlxi</sup> In this visual depiction, “the force” and “the voice of the ‘80s” is a physical force, the physical force of an angry mob preparing to attack the factory with the detritus of an industrial civilization. When the lyrics state: “*de las entrañas de nuestras ciudades surge la piel que vestirá al mundo*,” (from the guts of the city come the skin that will clothe the world), the images show human beings dressed up in garbage bags, an eloquent commentary on urban decay.<sup>cdlxii</sup> The dress of the video’s participants in garbage bags speaks to the dehumanization of urban life in Chile, where human beings have the same value as trash. Yet it is this ‘human trash’ which will one day take over the world, in *Los Prisioneros*’ lyrics. There is also a somewhat less optimistic interpretation, that the world is in such a terrible state that one day everyone, not just the urban poor, will be lucky to clothe themselves in trash. Through this combination of visual and sonic references, “*La VOZ de los 80*” juxtaposed the optimistic tones of a new decade with the challenging reality Chileans faced under authoritarianism.

Whereas “*La VOZ de los 80*” combined optimism and pessimism, *Los Prisioneros* veered into punk with “*Muevan las industrias*” (Move the Industries) in 1986. As Jorge González told the magazine *Súper Rock* in 1987, “It’s more or less literal, that tries to do a good job of showing what the song means. We did the recordings in an abandoned factory in *Barrio Franklin* and in a

working textile mill.<sup>cdlxiii</sup>” The *Barrio Franklin* neighborhood has traditionally had a reputation for drugs and crime. Nonetheless, the image *Los Prisioneros* give the area is one of government neglect, not individual criminality. As the song begins with lyrics that say “they are at a stop waiting for the hands that decide to make it move! The fog surrounds them and it rusts them and they are thinking of petrification.<sup>cdlxiv</sup>” Through openly showing industrial decay and the realities of poverty, “*Muevan las industrias*” attacked a key pillar of the authoritarian state’s legitimacy, the supposed reduction of poverty through economic growth. If the industries are “at a stop,” the economy cannot be growing. Moreover, “waiting for the hands that decide to make it move” may be a thinly veiled reference to unemployment, which was chronically high in Chile of the middle 1980s. These attacks on state policy were all-the-more ingenuitive because they did not mention the state; indeed, no mention of the state was necessary, since Chile’s authoritarian state prided itself on removing itself from the national economy. Music videos such as these show the difference between the realities the authoritarian state wished to portray, and the realities which many Chileans lived on a daily basis.

Fan zines encouraged musical participation among every-day Chileans, most of whom did not perform music for a living. *La bicicleta* (The Bicycle) provided readers with the sheet music of *canto nuevo*, punk, rock, and new wave groups in almost all of its issues during the 1980s.<sup>cdlxv</sup> As the guitarist and musicologist Álvaro Godoy stated: “I’ve had the experience of taking trips to the south [of Chile] and seeing young people playing songs: they don’t even know the author of the songs, let alone *La bicicleta*; I do some digging, and I find that they learned them from a friend of a friend, who got it from the chord charts in the magazine.<sup>cdlxvi</sup>” Godoy’s quotation reveals the existence of a hand-to-hand circuit of musical production and performance that existed outside the media, even outside the relatively dissident media of *La bicicleta*. Individual Chileans were doing the work of sheet music distributors and magazines themselves, cutting out the middleman and in doing so, making it extremely difficult for the state to censor their activities, or even to find out that those activities existed. This hand-to-hand circuit of printing and distribution therefore allowed young Chileans to learn music by reading and memorizing, even if they didn’t know where the music came from. *La bicicleta*, therefore, shows how personal networks of committed music enthusiasts learned how to resist by doing in authoritarian Chile. Learning music by doing it also had implications for other acts, such as attending protests in a tightly controlled society. If one

could learn music by seeing or hearing others, one could learn other subversive acts by observing others as well.

Whereas music videos and fan zines united people through “subversive” political music, other forms of media proved that repression was a real fact of life in authoritarian Chile and, therefore, demonstrated the untruth of the state’s assurances that Chileans lived in a free society. At the same time, dissident media gave viewers the chance to learn from the examples of how other people were protesting their realities. The documentary series *Teleanálisis* broadcast video evidence that people engaged in political protest, a key step in dismantling authoritarian propaganda regarding daily life. In particular, the state made great efforts to attract young people to participate in authoritarian youth groups, such as the *Frente Juvenil para la Unidad Nacional* (The Youth Front for National Unity).<sup>cdlxvii</sup> A pamphlet for the Youth Front claimed: “The youth front does not exclude anyone. Those youths who persist in preferring the Marxist concept of class struggle, instead of the integrating notion of national unity, or for whatever reason remove themselves from the defense of Chile against foreign plots, exclude themselves.”<sup>cdlxviii</sup> At the same time as the *Frente Nacional* claimed to be open to all, it established a loyalty test based on political ideology, and claimed that it was those who failed to be sufficiently loyal—and not those who were establishing loyalty as a requirement—who were being exclusionary. The creators of *Teleanálisis*, for their part, showed that many young people did not buy in to pro-authoritarian ideology. The first episode of the series from September 1984, for instance, documented the *Jornada por la Vida* (The Day for Life) on August 9, 1984, in which the Catholic Church and other human rights groups sang protest music to protest the authoritarian state’s assassination of political dissidents. *Teleanálisis* shows a large crowd of people singing Violeta Parra’s “*Gracias a la vida*” (Thanks be to Life) in front of the cathedral of Santiago, the first time a group performance of Parra’s music was filmed under authoritarian rule; many in the crowd were young, signaling that many youths did not view authoritarianism as the solution to their problems.<sup>cdlxix</sup> A few minutes later, fans from the *Universidad de Chile* soccer team, one of Chile’s largest, began chanting “¡*Por la Vida y por la paz, democracia y libertad!*” (For life and for peace, democracy and liberty!).<sup>cdlxx</sup> Like the supporters of many other soccer teams all over the world, the *Universidad de Chile* supporters were almost all young Chileans. Clearly, these were just the sorts of youths who “excluded themselves” from pro-Pinochet youth groups in favor of counter-cultural associations. In its second episode, a month later, *Teleanálisis* showed the funeral of Juan Antonio Aguirre

Ballesteros, accompanied by an extensive piece of funerary music.<sup>cdlxxi</sup> Through recorded performances such as these, *Teleanálisis* not only showed Chileans that people engaged in protest, but also provided documentary evidence of growing numbers of people protesting, and incontrovertible visual evidence of how music and artistic performance built communities ready to struggle for democracy.<sup>cdlxxii</sup>

Not just television, but radio stations as well used musical broadcasts to oppose authoritarianism. *Radio Umbral*, founded by missionaries from the United States, and worked under the protection of the Methodist Church, became famous for its broadcasts of *nueva canción* during the mid and late 1980s. The first *nueva canción* song broadcast over *Umbral* was Mercedes Sosa's version of "Todo cambia" (Everything Changes), which caused several listeners to call the station in tears of gratitude.<sup>cdlxxiii</sup> *Umbral* also broadcast the *Primer Encuentro de Canto Popular* (The First Encounter of Popular Song), from the *Estadio Santa Laura* (Santa Laura Stadium). Despite being canceled the day before its scheduled performance, not to mention the fact that *Umbral* lacked permission for a live broadcast, the station broadcast a nearly 2-hour concert which featured some of the biggest *canto nuevo* and *nueva canción* acts in Chile, the first time an event such as this had been broadcast live since 1973.<sup>cdlxxiv</sup> Perhaps most daringly of all, *Umbral* journalists smuggled cassette tapes out of Santiago's women's' prison, in which female prisoners recorded music, testimonials of prison conditions, and greetings to family members.<sup>cdlxxv</sup> *Umbral's* broadcasts of performed resistance show how the station functioned as a source of collective memory and consciousness for listeners, as well as suggests the state's relative relaxation of censorship as the authoritarian period neared its end.

Learning by seeing and transferring that knowledge into action also included expressions of solidarity from foreigners. Foreign pop stars, for instance, observed the Chilean reality and using their bully pulpit as pop stars to critique what they observed. While on tour in Chile with The Police, the English songwriter Sting saw a group of women dancing while holding photographs of men. When he investigated, he learned that they were female relatives of detained and disappeared Chilean men. They were dancing the *cueca*, Chile's national dance usually performed as a couple. Sting described what he observed thus:

This was something that I saw when I went to Chile with The Police. The mothers and wives of "the disappeared" do this amazing thing; they pin photographs of their loved ones to their clothes and go out in groups and do this folk dance with invisible partners in front of the police station. It's this incredible gesture of grief and protest.

But it's a feminine way of combatting oppression. The masculine way is to burn cars and to throw rocks. Yet this feminine way is so much more powerful because what can the police do? These women are simply dancing. . . . That's what will bring Pinochet down – the mothers' sense of injustice.<sup>cdlxxvi</sup>

To begin with, Sting made a gendered distinction between different protest forms, asserting that womens' protest was non-violent, and by implication that male forms of protest relied on violence and physical strength. Sting claimed that due to its non-violent nature, this feminized protest form was morally more forceful than protest involving physical violence, which tended to be carried out by men. Part of the reason for the special power of womens' protests was precisely because of its non-violence; police were powerless to stop groups of women simply dancing, not doing anything violent. His rhetorical question of "what can the police do?" was very probably on the minds of many authoritarian officials at the same time. Sting's thinking that *cueca* dancing would "bring down Pinochet" was doubtless exaggerated. It took a democratic election to cause the authoritarian state to fall, and attributing causal factors to election results is a notoriously tricky undertaking. Yet his recognition of the unique moral force of the *cueca sola* was astute, and very much ahead of its time. As a result of what he had seen, he composed "They Dance Alone," which reached number one on the pop charts of several countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>cdlxxvii</sup> Featuring Eric Clapton and Mark Knopfler on guitars, and the Panamanian salsa star and protest singer Ruben Blades with a spoken-word verse in Spanish to accompany Sting's English-language lyrics, "They Dance Alone" exemplifies both international musical solidarity with the Chilean opposition, and the reciprocal nature of observed performance discussed in this section. "They Dance Alone" also elucidates the extreme power of gender-bending performance. The performance of Chile's highly masculine national dance, the *cueca*, by women was a powerful statement, since it pointed out the lack of protections for women and families in authoritarian Chile, and claimed a place for women in the country's politics. International musical solidarity increased the power of musical resistance within and outside of Chile, due to the high publicity of international musical acts.

### **"A Winner of a Country!" or "Happiness is On The Way!:"<sup>cdlxxviii</sup> Music, Performance and Competition During the 1988 plebiscite Campaign.**

On October 5, 1988, the state allowed Chileans to vote in the first (relatively) democratic plebiscite of the authoritarian period. In this vote, Chileans would choose whether General

Augusto Pinochet would remain in power for an additional eight years with a decidedly limited electoral democracy, or whether the country would enter democracy without Pinochet as President. According to the rules for the campaign, both government and opposition would receive 15-minute television spots in which to present their views, each night for 28 days; this was the first month of adversarial political campaigning during the authoritarian period, meaning that anti-authoritarians had this one opportunity to present their views in relative freedom. Although these time allotments were theoretically equal, the state had a near monopoly on the communications media, making the 15 minute segments illusory symbols of equality at best.

Despite the unequal nature of the campaigns, the “yes” and “no” camps used music and performance art to express their views, revealing their ideological differences and strategies. Whereas the “yes” campaign relied on individualism, authoritarian nationalism and fears of a return to Marxist governance, the “no” campaign used communal performance strategies, emphasizing solidarity between Chileans and the brighter future without authoritarianism. Both campaigns’ respective strategies used public performances to present politicized and gendered images of the nation’s past and future. Specifically, the “yes” and “no” public performances differed in the willingness of the respective campaigns to adapt to change. The “yes” campaign employed the same performative strategies from the early years of the authoritarian period, heavy doses of authoritarian nationalism, sometimes complimented by confident displays of individualism, and fear-mongering over the lack of individual rights should the “no” campaign actually win the election. For its part, the “no” campaign rhetoric fundamentally evolved from the rhetoric of the Popular Unity supporters before authoritarian governance. It was deliberately inclusive, designed to appeal to as many Chileans as possible and almost completely lacking in divisive or confrontational rhetoric; interestingly, there were very few references to Popular Unity, and “no” campaign performances focused heavily on the future to come. As both scholars and participants in the “no” campaign argue, “no” attempted to reach almost all Chileans through their advertising, and show that the strident rhetoric of the Popular Unity was a thing of the past.<sup>cdlxxix</sup> The “no” campaign’s rhetoric, focusing on the future that included everyone, represents a marked difference with the confrontational, often polarizing speech acts of the *nueva canción* in previous times.



“*Chile, un país ganador*,” the official theme song of the “yes” campaign, shows how the state drew on authoritarian nationalism to enhance its political legitimacy throughout the authoritarian period, in direct competition with other ideologies.

Yes, let’s all say “Yes!”  
Yes, the country deserves a “yes.”  
Yes, for a better future,  
Yes yes yes! A winner of a country!  
Because we have won ourselves a democracy, full, stable, with total participation.  
Because we deserve peace and greatness. Let us march, all together, toward a  
winner of a country.<sup>cdlxxx</sup>

Through “*Chile, un país ganador*,” the authoritarian state conveyed national unity and ideological resolution. These protestations notwithstanding, facts which were visible to all at the time contradict the idea that Chile was either ideologically unified or resolute. The constant references to “a winner of a country” by people who supported the military coup appears to be a form of musical gloating, against the “losers” who tried to bring socialism to the country. In spite, or perhaps because of, years of protest against the authoritarian state, and the obvious lies of full participation, authoritarian nationalist ideology legitimized its political project. Full participation does not appear necessary if those who participate have the sufficient will to “win.” According to this view, Chile was in a competition, with other, as-of-yet unnamed people. If Chile was now “a winner of a country,” it stood to reason that others, the people who supported a “no” vote, wanted to turn Chile into a loser of a country.

Other musical numbers from the “yes” campaign demonstrate that nationalism co-existed with individualism in government discourse. This tendency to accentuate individualism is in keeping with the increasingly neoliberal Chilean economy after the 1980 constitution, and also consistent with the competitive nature of authoritarian nationalist campaigning during the plebiscite. The following untitled jingle is enlightening on this point.

Yes yes, why do we say yes?  
Yes yes, because I believe in myself.  
Yes yes, because I want to live happily.  
(The preceding three lines repeat, thrice).  
I say yes!<sup>cdlxxx</sup>

Instead of the competitive, authoritarian nationalism of the previous clip, this song reflects an individualist outlook. Clearly, the strict reliance on nationalism, present early in the authoritarian period required accompaniment from other ideologies, with individualism seen as the best choice.

The singer's constant references in the first-person singular, "I believe in me" and "I want to live happily," indicate that for this authoritarian voter, Chile was a country of self-reliance. In order to maintain this Chilean spirit of self-reliance, voters had to choose to continue with authoritarian politics. In this way, the "yes" campaign packaged the concern with individual choice as freedom, and portrayed the authoritarian government as the best guarantor of that freedom.

A third song combined nationalist and personalist philosophies, demonstrating the personal importance of President Pinochet to the continuation of the authoritarian political course, as a guarantor of the "proper" degrees of both nationalism and individualism necessary for the country to thrive. A group of artists and celebrities, including the romantic balladeer Patricia Maldonado as female lead and the songwriter and theater director Antonio Zavaleta as male lead, sang "*Septiembre alvarado*" (Dawning September).<sup>cdlxxxii</sup> As many Chileans knew, the song was originally called "*Muchas gracias Pinochet*" (Thank You Very Much, Pinochet), and originally performed solo by Maldonado immediately in the aftermath of the 1973 coup. With slightly altered lyrics and very much expanded performing cast, the song was revived for the 1988 "yes" campaign.

A horizon of hope,  
Is born one unforgotten September.  
It made us heirs to a legacy,  
Which we promise to defend.  
[First four lines repeat, this time sung by a male voice].  
With a voice equal to the wind  
It grows, the yes of [our] consciousnesses.  
There is a country, [a] winner [of a] country.  
In democracy and freedom.  
The people and you, (Pinochet!)  
Will make hope possible. (Yes!)  
Because the fatherland advances, together with you.  
With our faith, (Pinochet!)  
In God, the fatherland and her flag, (Yes!)  
Today, victory has a name, President Pinochet. (Yes!<sup>cdlxxxiii</sup>).

The choreographed combination of male and female voices singing appeals to gender unity and nationalistic tones, implying that everyone had something to support in President Pinochet. The reverential lyrics also indicate that despite years of authoritarianism, some Chileans thought of authoritarianism as a time of relative freedom and openness to their own political views. Through semi-devotional references to the president, the merger of nationalist and religious values, and

references to the military coup as a time of hope and rebirth, authoritarians promoted their political program as one of unity, faith, and even joy.

A semi-religious invocation to Chile's children of the future shows how of devotion and the virtues of filial piety and respect for the flag became crucial to the "yes" campaign, as Chile celebrated its independence day from Spain. The beginning of the September 18 *franja plebiscitaria*, also featured on several other episodes, modified the "our father" said at Catholic mass. Speaking over the high, serene musical tones of a celeste playing around the Dorian mode of the key of D (frequently used to convey religious or martial themes in European music), narrator Francisco (El Gabito) Fernández gives the following invocation:

Our son who arrives, may freedom be with thee. May this ancient country, recently birthed, nourish thee with faith, and may thy welcome to Chile be fraternal and warm. Our son who arrives, may freedom be with thee, and when thy child's hands become hands of a man, may they push forward only with the noble tools of love and work. Because today Chile finishes another year, and because today thou finishes thy first day, we shall make a pact. This country is thine own. Today we, thy parents, are defending it. And thou wilt plant it with the seeds of peace, for all of the Septembers of thy life. Our son who arrives, may Chile be with thee.<sup>cdlxxxiv</sup>

Through this invocation, pro-authoritarian campaigners mixed nationalist and religious metaphors, indicating the semi-sacred attributes they believed the authoritarian political project enjoyed, and the filial piety of "proper" youth behavior toward the continuation of the authoritarian project. During the authoritarian era, when many Chilean Catholics engaged in leftist political activism as a compliment to their religious activities,<sup>cdlxxxv</sup> this oration challenges both the leftist proclivities of many Chileans, and speaks to the use of religious motivations to encourage the pro-authoritarian vote, as well.

Idealized musical tropes of rural life reveal that rural people were primary targets for "yes" campaigners. The folk singer Willy Bascañán, who strongly supported authoritarianism, wrote "*Soy del sur*" (I am from the South), which appeared several times on "yes" campaign's television spots. A narrator tells viewers: "From the South, eternal, generous and prosperous, wherein the greatness of the Chilean race was forged, advances the victory of October 5. Yes. Because we southerners are thankful and loyal to [the man] who has put Chile in the umbra of full development."<sup>cdlxxxvi</sup> The spot then proceeds with the first verse of lyrics: "I come from the solitary beaches populated by the wings of gulls in the South. I am from the South, far to the South. I feel that my elders dream anew, that my voice is as an echo of this love-struck land. I come with the

destiny of all those who do, and who die, with hope. I come from the most infinite corner of the light, I am from the South, far to the South.<sup>cdlxxxvii</sup>” The narrator of the spot then appears again, stating: “So that we may face the third millennium with faith and with joy, Pinochet sweeps through. “Yes” is the word.<sup>cdlxxxviii</sup>” Bascuñán’s verses underscore both nationalist consciousness and rural regional identity as key concepts in authoritarian political legitimacy. Tropes of rural life were key to establishing both the nationalist consciousness and regional identity. According to Bascuñán’s telling, the South of Chile was responsible for the “greatness of the Chilean race,” and the region’s prosperity and the southerners’ generosity of spirit were two of those qualities which supposedly make the South, and by extension Chile, great. Loyalty was another important trope which Bascuñán associated with southerners, both filial loyalty to one’s parents, and a similar loyalty which southerners were uniquely able to render unto President Pinochet. Finally, the virtues of faith, joy, and hope were all present in due measure, to ensure both the authoritarian victory in the plebiscite, and the peoples’ joy at that authoritarian victory, once it came. Southerners were uniquely capable of transmitting these virtues, from loyalty to the country, through to faith and joy at the authoritarian victory.

Other “yes” campaign performances reveal fears of a hypothetical return to what government supporters framed as the “bad old days” of Popular Unity. The “yes” campaign’s very first segment portrayed the Popular Unity era as a time of scarcity, fear and despair. Over a musical backing track of synthesized drones in the key of C minor (used in European traditions to symbolize darkness or sadness), the “yes” campaign spokesman described the last days of Popular Unity in the following terms:

1973, September; Allende notified Chile, ‘there is only flower for the next three or four days.’ It was the official recognition of failure. For their part, thousands of exhausted, burnt out and indignant people took to the streets to stand in long and degrading lines. All night, and a good part of the day, just to get hold of a little bit of bread. In a short time, Marxism had conculcated even the most basic of human rights, the right to bread.<sup>cdlxxxix</sup>

Quotations like this one show how much importance pro-authoritarians placed on order, tranquility and security. To demonstrate the difference between themselves and the Popular Unity which came before, they accused the entire Popular Unity project of “failure,” presuming that because there were food problems, everything else about the popular Unity was useless. This strong language was an attempt to make it clear, if only by comparison, that the authoritarian government did not

fail in its missions, the most important of which was providing food for its people. Just as important as the authoritarian performance of strong language, the music in this spot was calculated to convey a combination of anxiety and solemnity. The extended use of minor tonalities in reference to Popular Unity struck a solemn tone, in keeping with the solemn possibilities of a return to Marxism, and inculcated an heir of seriousness and sobriety into the words of the political analysis.

Particularly emotive and gendered performances of gratitude for a strong government demonstrate appeals to the “proper” Chilean woman, while also pulling the heartstrings of other Chileans to protect “proper” womanhood, and values of security and tranquility. Appeals to women also represented an attempt to establish hegemony, rather than mere domination in government. On day 15 of the *franja plebiscitaria*, for instance, a blind woman testified to her experiences of scarcity under the Popular Unity, and contrasted them with more positive, and more capitalist experiences under authoritarian rule. Narrator Francisco Hernández stated in the introduction to the interview: “When there is faith and future, adversity is defeated.”<sup>cdxc</sup>

The unnamed witness then described her lived experiences as follows:

I am without sight, a housewife as all of you can see, and I feel happy to have a government like the one we have. Not with sacrifices like having to stand in line, like in past times. Because since I do not have sight it was ... it was a very bitter experience that I lived through. I would go to get our daily bread and I would raise my hand I couldn't ... they didn't ... the ladies from the *JAP* (Committees of Supply and Pricing) wouldn't give me my number. On the contrary now, with our president, I buy bread, I buy my things and I come back to my home in serenity without losing whole days. That's why I send a message to the Chilean woman, that we should all be aware and on October 5 we should all say yes to our president.<sup>cdxci</sup>

This spot made a powerful emotional claim to women. It saw women, and particularly women with functional diversities, as weak and in need of protection from the state, and solidarity from other Chileans. As such, authoritarian campaign spots shed light on patriarchal and ableist ideologies, respectively disguised as solidarity with women and with persons with functional diversities, to attract sympathy for the authoritarian cause.<sup>cdxcii</sup> Interestingly, the “solidarity” on display took a rather shallow form, intimately bound up with the ability to purchase goods in a highly neoliberal economy. To provide this blind Chilean housewife with equality, it was only necessary to protect her ability to consume goods. In this way, patriarchy, ableism, and capitalism are all neatly packaged as solidarity toward functionally diverse Chileans, and loyalty to the authoritarian model of state and economics.

Other gendered performances demonstrated the use of grief and mourning as performative strategies in support of the “yes” campaign. Two years to the day after a failed assassination attempt on President Pinochet which killed five bodyguards, the wife of one of the fallen made an emotional statement in support of the “yes” campaign, on day three of its television time.

Today makes two years since lance corporal Cardenio Hernández Cubillo, my husband, was brutally murdered by the extremists in el Cajón del Maipo. And they don't know how much pain they have left behind them. His daughters, his parents, and in general his entire family who all remember him with such pride. Not because he is dead, but because he gave his life for this country, for the fatherland and for our president, which was always his most important goal.<sup>cdxciii</sup>

Surrounded by music in somber, minor tonalities, this performance demonstrates both the ritualistic performance of grief, and the importance of the fear of violence as a performative strategy of the “yes” campaign. Ironically, a state which systematically used violence against its own population was not above performing the fear of violence exercised by others. It is particularly ironic that this performance of grief over an act of violence was carried out in the name of Lance Corporal Cubillo, whose job description as a soldier and bodyguard involved the possibility of his using violence on a daily basis. This suggests that the performance of grief was not over an act of violence *per se*, but over the act of violence against a state official, who would not have thought twice to use violence in the performance of his duty; more than performing grief, the true motive of the performance is indignation over the fact that someone who lived by the sword had to pay the consequences of his choice.

### **Happiness is on the Way: The “No” Campaign and Performances of Joy, Unity and Community.**

In contrast to the “yes” campaign’s intense reliance on nationalism, individualism and fear of the socialist past, performances by the “no” campaign rarely mentioned past events directly. Rather, “no” campaign performances focused on critiquing the authoritarian present through cultural spectacle and particularly music, making symbolic references to the past, and evoking joyous, highly communitarian images of the democratic future to come.<sup>cdxciv</sup> Cultural performances of the “no” campaign featured communities rather than individuals, thereby rejecting the neoliberal cult of the individual. In contrast to this heavy individualism of the “yes” campaign, many performances for the “no” campaign showed happy, even ebullient crowds. Internationalism and solidarity were also important features of the “no” campaign’s messaging.

Rather than relying exclusively on Chilean artists as the “yes” campaign did, international solidarity and artistic collaboration informed the “no” campaign performances. Most famously, the “no” campaign used a theme song which avoided mention of pain and suffering, instead referring optimistically to the possibilities for a democratic future. Through “*Chile, la alegría ya viene*” (*Chile, Happiness is on the Way*), anti-authoritarians contrasted their own style against authoritarianism.

The lyrics to “*Chile, la alegría Ya viene*” refer explicitly to an optimistic future under democracy, and the courage to make that hypothetical future happen. Equally important, singers Claudio Guzmán and Rosita Escobar performed a duet, , creating greater gender parity that contrasted with the exclusively male voices featured on “*Un país ganador*.”<sup>cdxcv</sup>

Chile, happiness is on the way  
 Chile, happiness is on the way  
 Chile, happiness is on the way.

Verse 1: Claudio Guzmán.

Because whatever [he] says, I am free to think,  
 Because I feel it is the hour to win [my]] freedom  
 How much longer for abuses already? It is the time of change!  
 Because enough of the misery, I am going to say no.

Verse 2: Rosita Escobar.

Because the rainbow is born after the storm  
 Because I want my ways of thinking to flourish  
 Because without the dictatorship happiness will arrive!  
 Because I think about the future, I will say no.

Chorus (Choir, Guzmán and Escobar).

Choir: We’re going to say no (Oh!)

Guzmán: With the strength of my voice.

Choir: We’re going to say no (Oh!)

Escobar: I sing it without fear. Choir: We’re going to say no (Oh!)

Guzmán: Everybody together, to triumph!

Choir: We’re going to say no (Oh!)

Escobar: For life and for peace!

Verse 3: Guzmán and Escobar alternate, in the order given.

Let’s finish with death, this is the opportunity  
 To defeat violence with the weapons of peace  
 Because I believe that my country needs dignity  
 For a Chile for everyone, I’m going to say no

Chorus repeats.

Outro: We’re going to say no.

(Intro repeats).<sup>cdxcvi</sup>

At a time when the “yes” campaign utilized fear of the past, the “no” campaign’s theme song proposed an optimistic future. When the “yes” campaign referred to competition and

individualism as guiding philosophies, the “no” campaign advanced collective solutions desirable to most Chileans. Most evocatively, in its invocation to Chileans to “finish with death,” the “no” campaign accused authoritarians and their supporters of being on the side of death and suffering, without even mentioning them by name, as though it were not worth the bother to dwell on the past. In summary, “*Chile, la alegría ya viene*” demonstrates the sharp differences between the “no” and “yes” campaign culture and ideology, which clarified the differences between the political options.

Unlike the gendered performances of the “yes” campaign which raised specters of insecurity, gendered performances in the “no” campaign’s television time featured more empowered women, and displays of solidarity which addressed women as friends and neighbors, rather than mere consumers. *Doña Yolita* (Miss Yolita), was a fictitious character who was too poor to buy tea, a staple of Chilean diets at that time. The dialogue between Yolita and Don Aníbal, the owner of the shop, is as follows. Yolita: “Good morning *Don Aníbal*. Give me two rolls. Aníbal: “Of course, señora Yolita. Will there be anything else?” Yolita: (pausing), “I’ll take some tea as well.” Aníbal: “Yes, of course! Two bags?” Yolita opens her coin purse, realizes she does not have the necessary money. Yolita: (Resignedly), “One, just one.” Narrator: “We all have a reason to vote ‘no.’ No + misery.” The scene ends when Don Aníbal slips Yolita the extra teabag she cannot afford, in a gesture of the solidarity needed to overcome the dire economic situations familiar to many poor Chileans.<sup>cdxcvii</sup> This scene reveals the importance of community and solidarity to the “no” campaign’s efforts to end authoritarianism, and also has implications for the study of the “no +” campaign (originally launched by *CADA*) and its durability over time. Far from addressing *Doña Yolita* as a consumer who was unable to consume, Aníbal treated Yolita as a member of the community and even a friend. The spot also reveals the durability of the “no +” campaign originally instituted by the *Colectivo Acciones de Arte* instituted nearly a decade earlier and discussed earlier in the chapter. One way to complete the demand of “no +” was no more poverty, exemplified by the need to unsuccessfully scrimp and save for single teabags. According to this portrayal, the authoritarian government which had made such a point of providing peace, security and economic freedom was unable to provide poor Chileans with so much as a cup of tea. The state was failing, even according to its own patently insufficient definition of Chileans as economically self-sufficient actors, which begged the question of what else the state might be failing to provide its people.



“No” campaign performances featuring censored artists reveal how the state’s own censorial apparatus functioned as a tool of anti-authoritarian electoral campaigning. “*El baile de los que sobran*” (The Dance of the Leftover People) by *Los Prisioneros* introduced the “no” campaign’s second episode.<sup>cdxcviii</sup> Indeed, their presentation was so popular that a slightly longer *Prisioneros* clip, featuring “*El baile de los que sobran*” and “*¿Por qué no se van del país?*” (Why Don’t They Leave the Country) was played on Day 7, one day before the 15<sup>th</sup>-anniversary of the military coup.<sup>cdxcix</sup> Other Chilean bands covered on “no” campaign spots included the rock group *Santiago del Nuevo Extremo*, the protest singer Tito Fernández (on two occasions), and three generations of women from the Parra family, famous for their involvement in the *nueva canción* genre of Popular Unity times. Importantly, “no” campaign narrator Patricio Bañados noted that these artists were censored each time a censored artist appeared on television, forcing the point home through repetition. Repeated performances by censored artists and reminders about the existence of censorship served two purposes: to show Chileans the sorts of performances they were missing under authoritarianism, and to provide viewers with a much-needed sense of fun in contrast to the serious tones from the “yes” campaign.

Foreign groups were also featured in the “no” campaign’s anti-censorship spots, invoking international solidarity for the “no” campaign’s appeals to Chilean society. The Cuban singer Silvio Rodríguez, known for his critical stance toward both the Cuban Revolution and life in capitalist countries, introduced Day 4 of the “no” campaign’s television programming with his song “*Mi unicornio azul*” (My Blue Unicorn), an allegorical take on the loss of civil liberties.<sup>d</sup> The Spanish pop star Joan Manuel Cerrat, Sting, and Bob Dylan also appeared on the “no” campaign’s programming. The appearance of censored artists, therefore, shows the “no” campaign’s strategy to reveal to Chilean viewers what they were missing under authoritarianism, while also pointing to the brighter possibilities of a future to come under electoral democracy.

### **Music, Performance and Confrontation: “Yes” and “No” in Musical Combat.**

Parodies of “no” campaign songs by the “yes” campaign show that it recognized the musical effectiveness of the “no” campaign’s work, and reveal attempts at humor on the part of an increasingly defensive “yes” campaign. As described in the last section, the “no” campaign was famous for its theme song “*Chile, la alegría ya viene*” (Chile, Happiness is on the Way), with its bright and optimistic tone and choir of celebrity singers. The “yes” campaign, for its part, used minor tonalities to play the same song, parodying the lyrics to invoke fears of Marxism. On Day 6

of the campaign, the “yes” campaign ended its television time with the sung phrase “Comrade, the Marxists are on the way. Destroy, Marxists are on the way.” The music was played in a minor key, and the beginning notes of Frederick Chopin’s Funeral March immediately followed these lines, to symbolize the death of the country should the “yes” campaign be outvoted in the upcoming election.<sup>di</sup> This repurposing of performances elucidates how the “yes” campaign used humor and fear as campaign strategies in an effort to poke fun at the “no” campaign’s happy, optimistic rhetoric.

The “yes” campaign critiqued the “no” campaign to control which issues influenced voters in the upcoming plebiscite. In an article for *El Mercurio*, Joaquín Lavín Infante, a leading member in several pro-Pinochet youth groups, criticized the “no” campaign for a perceived lack of substance and the outright disingenuousness of its performances in vehement language:

The “no” song is catchier than the “yes” song. The women who testified to their support for “yes” vied to look like Cecilia Bolocco. While the “video clip” for “no” must have been filmed by a prestigious studio director, the “yes” clip looks like an amateur job, according to the technicians.

... This is serious. Does anyone truly believe that any Chilean is going to lean toward options so different as Pinochet or Lagos just because Patricia Maldonado sings better or worse than Florcita Motuda, or because the rhythm of Antonio Zavaleta is better or worse than that of *Los Prisioneros*? We can get enthusiastic over one rhythm or the other, but when the moment to vote comes, the considerations that are going to have weight are much more relevant. ...Up to now the conclusion of the television viewers is very clear: “no” dances well, but “yes” governs better.

Chile, happiness is on the way? We have to be happy. But careful. Being contented isn’t enough to make a good government. During the popular Unity there was also happiness and songs in the streets. It was so very entertaining that some people got to the point of saying “this is a government of s\*\*\*, but it’s my government.” I rest my case.<sup>dii</sup>

Lavín Infante’s mixture of pleas to focus on substance and his own very hypothetical fears for the future underscore the two-pronged strategy employed by the “yes” campaign. On the one hand, Lavín Infante attempted to portray the “no” campaign as devoid of substance, contrasting “no’s” references to a hypothetical bright future with “yes’s” definite achievements in the present. His disparaging references to the “no” campaign theme song and to musical performances in general are telling, since they indicate that he viewed the focus on performance as just that, performance rather than substance. On the other hand, “yes” also relied on open fearmongering, with the young politician Lavín Infante asking voters whether they wanted to risk losing stability,

order and civil calm. As a youth leader who had come of age during authoritarianism, Lavín was a deliberately chosen posterchild for the changes authoritarianism had made to Chilean society, and an attempt to portray authoritarian Chile at its best: youthful, prudent, and focused on getting things done.

Repetition of similar songs by both campaigns reveal how they used music to fight for votes and show that both sides caricatured the other's views through musical performance. Works of classical music provided fertile ground for such song battles. For instance, the "yes" campaign played Richard Strauss's "On The Beautiful Blue Danube" on several of its nightly programs, juxtaposing the famous waltz with graphics of urban decay and the sounds of explosions, to symbolize the destruction which would "inevitably" befall Chile if Pinochet left office.<sup>diii</sup> The "no" campaign began to parody the song, singing new words over the usually wordless orchestral arrangement. In a mocking imitation of President Pinochet's clipped consonants and strident tone of voice, the singer Florcita Motuda sang the following lines

It begins to be heard, no, no.  
All over the country, no, no.  
They're singing over there, no, no.  
And also right here, no, no.  
The women are singing, no, no.  
And also the youth, no, no.

The "no" signifies liberty, all together for the "no."<sup>div</sup>

Far from the explosions and ominous images which accompanied "yes" campaign renditions of classical music, Motuda's "Blue Danube" emphasized fun, even when mentioning undoubtedly serious issues. This was a useful contrast to the seriousness of the authoritarian state and its campaign, since "no" demonstrated that it could poke fun at the state even through renditions based on classical music, a performance style the state particularly favored. To add to the sense of fun, references to groups of people like "the women" and "the youth," and people from "over here" and "over there" were a subtle form of peer pressure, something very like a musical statement of "the cool kids are voting no." In this way, the "no" campaign portrayed itself as the option everyone was doing, and the fun political choice.

Parodies by the "yes" campaign indicate that Pinochet supporters, too, could find humorous ways to critique their opponents by using their music against them. Florcita Motuda, mentioned in the previous paragraph, wrote a biting dance number to critique Chile's international isolation under the Pinochet government. The chorus repeats "no one can come to see him, no one wants to

host him,” to the jaunty tones of a Cuban rumba, and lists many countries which enacted political or economic boycotts against Chile on account of its abominable human rights record.<sup>dv</sup> Not to be outdone, the “yes” campaign parodied Motuda’s rumba, saying “Everyone wants to see him, all Chile says “yes” to Pinochet.” Whereas Motuda’s original listed the countries which criticized Chile, the “yes” campaign parody listed Chilean cities, in which the country’s president was perfectly welcome.<sup>dvi</sup> This contrast of down-to-earth Chilean cities with snobbish foreign places shows that many pro-authoritarians saw Chile’s isolation from other countries as a source of pride, which they attempted to transfer to their position’s electoral advantage.

A particularly acrimonious dispute over the words and image of the Chilean classical pianist Claudio Arrau clearly shows the determination of each campaign to obtain musical endorsements, and the power of music to sway voters towards one political option or the other. The Chilean concert pianist Claudio Arrau is generally considered the greatest Latin American pianist in history. He is particularly known for his technical perfection, the emotional depth in his interpretations of the German and Austrian romantics, and over six decades of teaching. As such, he was—and remains after his death—a source of national pride.

Arrau first appeared on day 18 of campaigning, in a lengthy spot by the “no” group. Day 18 of the “no” campaign featured two minutes and forty seconds of Arrau’s piano playing, over which Arrau’s voice and face appeared on camera reading the following prepared statement: “I am Claudio Arrau. I believe in democracy. Without democracy, liberty and respect for human rights, humanity will not be able to survive. Cordial salutations to the people of Chile.<sup>dvii</sup> This spot used classical music, and particularly the figure of Arrau, to connect Chilean national identity and prestige to democratic reform. Though Arrau made no definitive mention of which particular option he would support in the plebiscite, his appearance on the “no” campaign and his references to democracy clearly suggested a no vote. Finally, his suggestion that humanity could not survive without democracy and the respect for human rights lent his personal gravitas to the solemn occasion of Chile’s first elections in over fifteen years.

The “yes” campaign responded to this statement with an indignant spot of its own, revealing how each campaign fought to receive musical endorsements, and particularly the endorsement of celebrities. As if to distinguish themselves from their opponents by striking a sober tone devoid of emotional pandering, the “yes” campaign piece omitted Arrau’s playing. Instead,

the avowedly pro-authoritarian news anchor Carlos Pérez read the following letter from Claudio Arrau's son Augustín, the president of the Claudio Arrau Foundation at that time.

In the name of maestro Claudio Arrau and that of this foundation which I have the honor to lead, I present the strongest possible repudiation of a statement taken from the maestro under false pretenses. Maestro Arrau agreed to read a previously written statement on camera, since it was explained to him that it was a simple salutation to Chile to celebrate the return of representative democracy to the country. They added that other famous classical and popular Chilean artists such as such as Ramón Binay, Lucho Gatica, the soprano Claudio Parada ETC had already sent Chile similar greetings. Maestro Arrau has now expressed that he would have never agreed to such a thing, had he known that his message would be used for partisan political ends. Upon his return to New York from Montreal, he will take other measures, since he is presently on a concert tour of Canada. Maestro Arrau and his foundation therefore reiterate their deepest repudiation of those who abused his trust, and deceived him in bad faith.<sup>dviii</sup>

The controversy over Claudio Arrau's endorsement shows how bitter the plebiscite campaign had become, especially on the authoritarian part. The vitriolic, thinly veiled threat of a lawsuit from the Arrau Foundation, and the use of over a minute and a half of the total fifteen minutes for yes, indicates that the "yes" campaign leadership may have felt particularly enraged over this issue. References to "false pretenses" and "bad faith" indicate heated rhetoric, accusing anti-authoritarians of lying in order to receive an artistic endorsement. Moreover, the fact that Claudio Arrau's own son wrote the letter, which seems to directly contradict his father's political preference, strongly suggests that the plebiscite campaign divided the Arrau family, like many other families. The controversy over classical music and the political views of classical musicians is also noteworthy. Until Arrau's piano playing and brief statement, classical music had been almost exclusively the purview of the "yes" campaign, indicating that the authoritarian state's supporters were more likely to consume classical music than "no" supporters; indeed, "no" parodied classical music in its own spots, suggesting that "no" voters would find classical music stodgy, or bound up with conservative conceptions of tradition. The entire controversy over Arrau's political preferences reveals that the instrumental nature of Arrau's work notwithstanding, even works from decades or centuries past could possess political implications under the strained circumstances of Chile's first free and fair election in 15 years.

### **Conclusion.**

The 1980s were a time of intensely political artistic expressions and performances. These included permitted performances from pro-authoritarians, and subversive performances from

critics, many of which were censored or outright illegal. Indeed, politically motivated works of art were relatively commonplace in Chilean daily life throughout authoritarian rule, culminating in the 1988 plebiscite campaign.

To be sure, much of the legal portion of this politicization of performance had a distinctly pro-authoritarian, sometimes neoliberal worldview. Instead of depoliticizing artistic performance and mass media, state-run or collaborating firms were heavily involved in cultural production and distribution, including intensely nationalist performances. In doing so, they legitimated the authoritarian political project, and acknowledged the need to reach out to communities of poor people and devotees of indigenous musical styles, both groups being associated with Chile's political left under Popular Unity times.<sup>dix</sup>

Nationalist performances and the Andean boom notwithstanding, much of this politicization of music and the arts came from people either critical or downright hostile to the authoritarian state. Indeed, resistance to authoritarianism never ceased, as *nueva canción* radio broadcasts from September 11, 1973 make clear. At times, political critique even occurred with the tacit permission of the government, as demonstrated by the “no +” actions of CADA during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In short, dissent through music and art continued throughout the authoritarian period, often taking surprising forms in a highly controlled and often repressive context.

International solidarity with Chile highlights how politicized performance relating to Chile changed over time. Though Chileans participated in solidarity movements before the beginnings of the authoritarian period, solidarity during authoritarianism, in particular involving Chilean musicians in exile, broke new ground. Specifically, solidarity movements changed how politicized Chilean musicians engaged with their foreign interlocutors, often converting them into anti-authoritarian critics. Solidarity movements also changed how Chilean musicians made political choices in exile and domestically. During the 1960s and in the times of Popular Unity, some Chilean musicians had openly critiqued the “protest song” label as insufficiently revolutionary at a time when much of the political music composed in Chile criticized rightists. Under authoritarianism, Chilean musicians in exile raised awareness of Chilean political realities by any means necessary, which lessened the importance of ideological differences between artists. This shift, in turn, changed how Chilean musicians communicated with their audiences, foreign or domestic. Specifically, the tone of politicized Chilean music became less inflammatory, allowing

the incorporation of ideological diverse audiences often unfamiliar with revolutionary political discourse.

The 1988 plebiscite campaign represents an ideal historical moment to highlight the changes to critical music, and the relative lack of change among authoritarian nationalist performances. Performances in favor of “yes” in the 1988 plebiscite relied extensively on nationalist displays, particularly songs of gratitude to the authoritarian government, and celebrity endorsements of the state’s strength in the face of the perceived Marxist threat. Semi-devotional works, indeed, remained common throughout the authoritarian period, as nationalist supporters frequently infused their music with religious imagery. When these musical displays changed at all, they often parodied “no” campaign performances, and homages to the classical European tradition. In this way, the “yes” campaign venerated the state and its leaders, and emphasized the competitive spirit of “a winner of a country” against an opposition who would supposedly take the country back to more divisive, qualitatively worse times.

“No” campaign performances, for their part, demonstrated dramatic changes in attitude as compared with the Popular Unity years. References to revolution, or class struggle were absent in the run-up to the plebiscite, a far cry from the revolutionary songs of Popular Unity times. Rather than further dividing Chileans over the political present, “no” campaign performances conjured an optimistic future, while they maintained solidarity between members of the community of Chileans who critiqued the state. In this way, anti-authoritarians showed Chilean society glimpses into a new future, one literally made possible through performance.<sup>dx</sup> Equally important, “no” campaign performances showed people how authoritarianism had impoverished the performative landscape, by demonstrating to Chileans that they were, in fact, missing many performers and entire performance styles available to the rest of the world. In doing so, “no” campaign performances connected the lack of political freedom with the equal lack of artistic freedom under authoritarian governance, while avoiding displays of open confrontation or rancor. In this way, while they performed future possibilities, they revealed the musical poverty and monotony of the authoritarian present through performance, rather than relying on bland speeches or mere statements of fact. Through their performances, anti-authoritarians were also making two emotional claims, in addition to the factual claim to the existence of authoritarian repression, or the hypothetical possibilities of a democratic future. First, anti-authoritarians were attempting to reduce the climate of fear and hostility which had dominated Chilean politics ever since Popular Unity came to power.

Through measured rhetoric which nonetheless focused on facts, “no” campaign performances showed that the fearmongering of authoritarians was the most violent, polarizing emotion on display during the plebiscite. Second, the “no” campaign performed fun and joy, instead of the solemnity and sobriety which marked most of Chilean political life since the military coup. Although politics was a serious business, the return to democracy could make Chileans happy again.

While it is impossible to determine how many votes these performances swayed to the “no” cause, such a question misses the larger historical point. Changes in the tone and content of “no” campaign performances suggest a shift away from the confrontational rhetoric of *nueva canción*, toward a future-centered rhetoric welcoming to Chileans who could have feared a radical past. The “no” campaign had to convince Chileans that democracy was not so radical as die-hard authoritarians believed, and other Chileans had been indoctrinated to believe through authoritarian propaganda. Performances openly telling Chileans that “happiness [was] on the way,” or brief glimpses of the trends in art and performance that every-day Chileans were missing due to censorship painted the “no” campaign as happy and up to date, whereas the “yes” campaign appeared bound up with tradition and stodgy by comparison.

The testimony from a woman who self-identified as a grandmother on the “no” campaign’s final day reveals the full extent of this change. “I need all of you to help me to sing. That’s what we have to do with the entire Chilean people, help them to sing.<sup>dxii</sup>” On this, the last spot of the “no” campaign, “no” delivered its final message in hopes of a return to electoral democracy. The names of political parties or individual personalities were not the most important features of a representative democracy. According to this grandmother, democracy was about allowing Chileans to sing, without censorship, without fear, and with joy. To allow that future to come, Chileans had to help each other to sing, and the most effective way of doing that was a “no” vote.

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<sup>ccclxxvii</sup> González, Jorge, "La VOZ de los '80," *Los Prisioneros: la VOZ de los '80*. EMI Odeon Chilena, S.A. (1984).

<sup>ccclxxviii</sup> For an article which speaks extensively on the *Prisioneros* revolutionary uses of music videos and the esthetic and political implications of that technical choice, see Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez, "'Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos': una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros," *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* vol. 5, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>ccclxxix</sup> See González, Juan Pablo, "Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes nouveaux mondes nouveaux-Novo Mundo Mundos Novos-New world New worlds* (2015); and González, Juan Pablo, "Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada," *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 24 (2012): 175-186.

<sup>ccclxxx</sup> Specifically, my evidence supports and expands upon claims by the Chilean musicologist Juan Pablo González and the historian Patrick Barr-Mejej that both the authoritarian and Popular Unity governments used musical



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performance as a propaganda tool at the same time as they eroded performance rights for counter-cultural performers For the Barr-Melej and González sources, as well as others not referred to in the main body of the chapter, see Jurek, Thom, "Congreso Artist Biography." In Congreso Biography, Songs, Albums. AllMusic, March 31, 2022. <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/congreso-mn0001740372/biography>; González, "Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980)," 1-17; González, Juan Pablo, "Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada," *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 24 (2012): 175-186; and Barr-Melej, Patrick, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

I also challenge interpretations of the "cultural blackout." For scholars who use the "cultural blackout thesis more or less uncritically, see Munizaga, Giselle, and Anny Rivera, *La investigación en comunicación social en Chile* (Lima: Centro De Estudios Y Promoción Del Desarrollo, 1983). Any Rivera, a sociologist, journalist and songwriter, coined the term in question. Donoso Fritz, Karen, *Cultura y dictadura: censuras, proyectos e institucionalidad cultural en Chile, 1973-1989* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2019); Kronovich, Paula Thorington, "Out of the Blackout and into the Light: How the Arts survived Pinochet's Dictatorship." *Iberoamericana* (2013): 119-137; Boyle, Catherine M., *Chilean Theater, 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood* (Rutherford: London; Cranbury, NJ.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Associated University Presses, 1992).

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> Various texts and articles are inspiring for my understanding of hegemony, and particularly cultural hegemony. I refer to the concept in its global South dimension, in Latin America, and in Chile. See Morton, Adam David, *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy. Reading Gramsci*, 76-136; Brandist, Craig, "The Cultural and Linguistic Dimensions of Hegemony: Aspects of Gramsci's Debt to Early Soviet Cultural Policy," *Journal of Romance Studies* vol. 12, no. 3 (2012): 24-43; Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts, "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule," *Media, Culture & Society* vol. 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93.

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> González, "Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980)," and González, "Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada,".

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Cultural Social Studies; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Street, John, *Music and Politics. Contemporary Political Communication* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012).

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> Fairley, Jan, "'There Is No Revolution Without Song': 'new Song' in Latin America," in *Music and Protest in 1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 119-36; Hermosilla, Matías, "Singing in Solidarity: The Latin American Protest Song Movement and the Vietnam War," in *Protest in the Vietnam War Era*, ed. Sedlmaier, Alexander (Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, 2022), 391-422; and Black, Ashley, "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974," in *The Art of Solidarity*, ed. Stites Mor, Jessica, and Maria Del Carmen Suescun Pozas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 117-145..

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> Fairley, Jan, "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," *Popular Music* vol. 8, no. 1 (1989): 1-30.

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> See Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts, "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule," *Media, Culture & Society* vol. 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93; and Dreifuss, Daniel, Pablo Larraín, and Juan De Dios Larraín, *No*. Academic Video Online: Premium. New York, NY: Sony Pictures Classics, 2013.

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Silvia Piñero, "Las condiciones están dadas," *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 18, 1973), 25. *Al fin me vuelvo a encontrar en mi patria. Ya me falta boca para reírme.*

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Silvia Piñero, "Las condiciones están dadas" *En el Carlos Cariola se han portado muy bien ante los inconvenientes estos últimos días. Me dejan personal para que yo pueda preparar mi obra con toda tranquilidad, así es que estamos ensayando hasta una hora antes del toque de queda. Todos estamos felices y con el ánimo muy bien dispuesto.*"

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Silvia Piñero, "Las condiciones están dadas." *En fin, Silvia Piñero tiene labor por todos lados. Los Proyectos son muchos. Solo espera contar con calma para pensar en ellos y comenzar a actuar. Ahora no topará con el inconveniente de que "sus obritas no tienen mensaje" como le decían y no encontraba actores ni directores.*"

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Mari Trini, "Poesía con Música," *El Mercurio de Chile* (October 6, 1973), 30. *El amor es triste en sus formas, pero en el fondo no. ¿Cómo va a ser triste que exista el amor sobre la tierra?"*

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Bando #15," *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 13, 1973), 6.

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> "Premios "Apes" a las Mejores Figuras del Año," *El Mercurio de Chile* (December 7, 1977), 43.

<sup>ccclxxxix</sup> Los Jaivas, "Todos juntos," *Todos juntos*. EMI Music Group: (1972); and Los Jaivas, "Amor Americano," *Las Alturas de Machu Picchu*. Soni Music Entertainment Chile, (1981).

- <sup>cccxciv</sup> Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 106, 154-5. *Los Jaivas* name is actually a vulgarization of the English words “high bass,” part of the reason many leftist musicians did not wish to perform with *Jaivas* under Popular Unity, and the government persecuted the band’s fans for lifestyle crimes.
- <sup>cccxcv</sup> Jurek, Thom, “Congreso Artist Biography,” *Congreso Biography, Songs, Albums*. AllMusic, March 31, 2022. <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/congreso-mn0001740372/biography>.
- <sup>cccxcvi</sup> Jurek, “Congreso Artist Biography.”
- <sup>cccxcvii</sup> Scholarship usually portrays the Popular Unity as a joyful, almost spontaneous outbursting of musical performance and other forms of artistic expression, and these discussions usually leave very little room for discussing the very real existence of censorship under Popular Unity. See Bowen Silva, Martín, “El proyecto sociocultural de la izquierda chilena durante la Unidad Popular. Crítica, verdad e inmunología política,” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux-Novo Mundo Mundos ANovos-New world New worlds* (2008); Bossay, Claudia, “El protagonismo de lo visual en el trauma histórico: Dicotomías en las lecturas de lo visual durante la Unidad Popular, la dictadura y la transición a la democracia,” *Comunicación y Medios* vol. 29 (2014): ág-106; El Pueblo Tiene Arte con Allende, Leaflet/Catalogue, El Museo Nacional de Artes Plásticas. Santiago de Chile. Printed by Empresa Horizonte: Santiago de Chile, 1970; Rolle, Claudio, “La “Nueva Canción Chilena”, el proyecto cultural popular y la campaña presidencial y gobierno de Salvador Allende,” *Pensamiento Crítico* 2 (2003); For an all-too-rare example of scholarship which does speak to tensions and censorship within Popular Unity’s cultural discourse, see Hermosilla Herrera, Nicolás Rodrigo, “Hay que comprometerse, compañero” la nueva canción chilena y el gobierno de la Unidad Popular: tensiones frente a la construcción de un discurso en conjunto (1970-1973),” PhD diss., Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (2015).
- <sup>cccxcviii</sup> González, “Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada,” 175-186; Ríos, Fernando Emilio, *Music in Urban La Paz, Bolivian Nationalism, and the Early History of Cosmopolitan Andean Music: 1936–1970*. Ph.D. diss (2005).
- <sup>cccxcix</sup> Los Jaivas, “*Amor Americano*” on *Las Alturas de Machu Picchu*: Sony Music Entertainment Chile, (1981).
- <sup>cd</sup> Barr-Melej, Patrick, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counter-Culture and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship*, 26-7.
- <sup>cdi</sup> Illapu, “Lejos del Amor,” *En Estos Días*. EMI Music Entertainment. (1993).
- <sup>cdii</sup> Donoso Fritz, Karen, “Por el arte-vida del pueblo: Debates en torno al folclore en Chile. 1973-1990,” *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 29-50.
- <sup>cdiii</sup> Mattern, *Acting in Concert Music, Community, and Political Action*, 60; González, Juan Pablo. “Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980).” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux-Novo Mundo Mundos Novos-New world New worlds* (2015); and González, Juan Pablo. “Música chilena andina 1970-1975: Construcción de una identidad doblemente desplazada.” *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 24 (2012): 175-186.
- <sup>cdiv</sup> González, Juan Pablo. “Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980).” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux-Novo Mundo Mundos Novos-New world New worlds* (2015).
- <sup>cdv</sup> “Folclore Alfombrado: Una Innovación con Riesgos.” In *El Mercurio de Chile*. September 3, 1980. D1. “Sin embargo, quedó el vacío de los artistas de pueblo adentro que conservan viejas tradiciones hasta ahora nunca vistas en la pantalla del televisor. Para un espectáculo folklórico como “*Cantares de Chile*” se necesita una novedad más agresiva: una búsqueda por el territorio de verdaderos valores que puedan aportar lo antiguo como tradición convertida en novedad.”
- <sup>cdvi</sup> “Viña Concha y Toro Presenta: Coro de la Universidad Técnica del estado Director: Mario Baeza.” In *El Mercurio de Chile*. October 3, 1973. 28.
- <sup>cdvii</sup> *El Mercurio* provides two useful articles which give background on the administrative law of exile proceedings, generally. According to Decree Law 604 approved by the military junta, persons committed of political crimes could be exiled for double the length of their prison sentences. Once the exiled prisoner returned to Chile, moreover, she was barred from any sort of political activity for life. See “Informa el Gobierno: Han Sido Ubicados 1.200 Presuntos Desaparecidos.” In *El mercurio de Chile*. December 14, 1977. 29 and 32; and “Corte Rechazó Amparo a Favor de Tres Mujeres.” In *El Mercurio de Chile*. December 14, 1977. 35. For information on the *Illapu* case in exile, see González, Juan Pablo. “Censura, industria y nación: Paradojas del boom de la música andina en Chile (1975-1980).” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux-Novo Mundo Mundos Novos-New world New worlds* (2015).
- <sup>cdviii</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. “Compañía de Teatro Aleph”, en: *Teatro chileno (1973-1990)*. Memoria Chilena, March 30, 2022. <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-97897.html>.

- <sup>cdix</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. "Compañía de Teatro Aleph."
- <sup>cdx</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. "Compañía de Teatro Aleph"; and Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (98).
- <sup>cdxi</sup> Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (98).
- <sup>cdxii</sup> Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania* (98-9).
- <sup>cdxiii</sup> The literature on Latin American musicians exiled for their political works, and the solidarity between exile communities and their host countries, is quite large. For a few of many examples, see Robb, David. "Cold War Protest in East and West German Political Song." In *Global Cold War Literature*, 166-180. Routledge, 2011; Ebert, Roman Anderson. "The Hootenannies of East Berlin: The North American Roots of an East German Singing Movement." PhD diss., University of Iowa; Durrant Olsen, Jonah. "'No Hay Revolución Sin Canciones': State, Revolution, and Music in Chile and Cuba." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 20, no. 3 (2021): 103-25; Spener, David. *We Shall Not Be Moved/No Nos Moverán: Biography of a Song of Struggle*. 2016; Bucciferro, Claudia. "Songs of exile: music, activism, and solidarity in the Latin American diaspora." *JOMEC Journal* 11 (2017): 65-82; Fairley, Jan. "'There Is No Revolution Without Song': 'new Song' in Latin America." In *Music and Protest in 1968*, 119-36. Cambridge University Press, 2013; Hermosilla, Matías. "Singing in Solidarity: The Latin American Protest Song Movement and the Vietnam War." In *Sedlmaier, Alexander. Protest in the Vietnam War Era*. 391-422. Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements. 2022; and Black, Ashley. "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." In *Stites Mor, Jessica, and Maria Del Carmen Suescun Pozas. The Art of Solidarity*. 117-145. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018.
- <sup>cdxiv</sup> Black, Ashley. "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." In *Stites Mor, Jessica, and Maria Del Carmen Suescun Pozas. The Art of Solidarity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018). (119).
- <sup>cdxv</sup> Black, "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." (118-20). Matías Hermosilla makes similar points to Black, drawing upon actor/network theory. See Hermosilla, Matías. "Singing in Solidarity: The Latin American Protest Song Movement and the Vietnam War." In *Sedlmaier, Alexander. Protest in the Vietnam War Era*. 391-422. Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements. 2022.
- <sup>cdxvi</sup> Black, "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." (124-8).
- <sup>cdxvii</sup> McSherry, *Chilean new song: the political power of music, 1960s-1973*, 77.
- <sup>cdxviii</sup> Moore, Robin D. *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 7.
- <sup>cdxix</sup> Black, "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." 120. And Fairley, Jan. "'There Is No Revolution Without Song': 'new Song' in Latin America." In *Music and Protest in 1968*, 119-36. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- <sup>cdxx</sup> Moore, Robin. "Transformations in Cuban Nueva Trova, 1965-95." *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 1 (2003): 1-41. 10-11.
- <sup>cdxxi</sup> Moore, Robin. "Transformations in Cuban Nueva Trova, 1965-95," 1-41. 14-15.
- <sup>cdxxii</sup> Jara, Joan. *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 1983. 121.
- <sup>cdxxiii</sup> Bucciferro, Claudia. "Songs of exile: music, activism, and solidarity in the Latin American diaspora." *JOMEC Journal* 11 (2017): 65-82. 69-70.
- El Nuevo Cancionero acoge en sus principios a todos los artistas identificados con sus anhelos de valorar, profundizar, crear y desarrollar el arte popular y en ese sentido buscará la comunicación, el diálogo y el intercambio con todos los artistas y movimientos similares del resto de América. 1...1 [El Nuevo Cancionero] Afirma que el arte, como la vida, debe estar en permanente transformación y por eso, busca integrar el cancionero popular al desarrollo creador del pueblo todo para acompañarlo en su destino, expresando sus sueños, sus alegrías, sus luchas y sus esperanzas.*
- <sup>cdxxiv</sup> Angell, Alan, and Susan Carstairs. "The exile question in Chilean politics." *Third World Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (1987): 148-167; and Angell, Alan. "International support for the Chilean opposition, 1973-1989: political parties and the role of exiles." Taylor and Francis: 1996.
- <sup>cdxxv</sup> Morris, Nancy. "Canto porque es necesario cantar: the New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983." *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 117-31. 117, 120.
- <sup>cdxxvi</sup> Angell, Alan, and Susan Carstairs. "The exile question in Chilean politics," 148-167. 151. Incidentally, there seems to be extensive confusion regarding the proper numbering of junta decrees. This article, and many others which cite it, refer to *Decreto Ley 504* (Decree Law 504), and *Decreto Supremo 604* (*Supreme Decree 604*) interchangeably. Moreover, this confusion is exacerbated, since the text of the decrees are unavailable; much of the military government's archives were destroyed in a suspicious fire in 1993. I have previously cited *El Mercurio* articles which refer to Decree 604, the numbering I believe to be correct.

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<sup>cdxxvii</sup> McSherry, J. Patrice. "The political impact of Chilean New Song in exile." *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 5 (2017): 13-29.

<sup>cdxxviii</sup> In addition to the punishments cited above, many exiles, whether convicted of a crime or not, had their Chilean nationality stripped by means of a *Decreto de Extrañamiento* (Decree of Estrangement) issued by the Ministry of the Interior. These persons were, and in some cases are, not considered Chilean nationals even after returning to Chile and living there until the present day.

<sup>cdxxix</sup> Cifuentes-Seves, Luis. "El Exilio." In *Fragmentos de un Sueño > Inti-Ilumani y la Generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com), October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3775/2/el-exilio>

<sup>cdxxx</sup> Morris, Nancy. "New Song in Chile: Half a Century of Musical Activism." In Villa, Pablo Ed. Rodríguez, Illa Carrillo, María L. Figueredo, Laura Jordán González, Camila Juárez, Eileen Karmy Bolton, Carlos Molinero, Nancy Morris, and Abril Trigo. *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Lexington Books, 2014), 19-39. 38.

<sup>cdxxxi</sup> This episode is recounted in Black, "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974." 131-2 and 134.

<sup>cdxxxii</sup> The concert and those in attendance at it are described in Black, Ashley. "Canto Libre: Folk Music and Solidarity in the Americas, 1967-1974," 135-6.

<sup>cdxxxiii</sup> Fairley, Jan. "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!" *Popular Music* 8, no. 1 (1989): 1-30. 5.

<sup>cdxxxiv</sup> Fairley, Jan. "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," 1-30. 15-7.

<sup>cdxxxv</sup> Fairley, Jan. "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," 1-30. 1-4.

<sup>cdxxxvi</sup> Fairley, Jan. "Analysing performance: narrative and ideology in concerts by ¡Karaxú!," 1-30. 2, 3, and 16.

<sup>cdxxxvii</sup> Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis. "El Exilio." In Cifuentes-Seves, Luis. *Fragmentos de un Sueño: Inti-Ilumani y la Generación de los 60*. Santiago, Lom ediciones, 2014. Found on [cancioneros.com](https://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed October 17, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/co/3779/2/el-exilio-por-luis-cifuentes-seves>.

<sup>cdxxxviii</sup> Cifuentes-Sebes, Luis. "El Exilio."

<sup>cdxxxix</sup> "Isabel Parra: Existía una Conexión Natural entre Mercedes Sosa y las Letras de Violeta." On [www.cooperativa.cl](http://www.cooperativa.cl) Published 5 Oct, 2009. Accessed 18 Mar, 2022.

<https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/entretencion/musica/mercedes-sosa/isabel-parra-existia-una-conexion-natural-entre-mercedes-sosa-y-las/2009-10-05/131136.html>.

<sup>cdxli</sup> For the conventional view of the relationship between music and party militancy, which sees musicians as working in political parties in a distinctly instrumental way in which musical input on ideological or doctrinal issues is minimal, consult Eyerman, Ron, and Jamison, Andrew. 1998. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For a telling of the story which gives musicians slightly more latitude to influence political events, see Street, John. *Music and Politics. Contemporary Political Communication*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012. William G. Roy, however, theorizes that musicians have far greater input into the ideology of political movements than scholars generally realize. See Roy, William G. *Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States*. Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology Ser. 2010. My work on Chile has led me to take a posture far more similar to Roy's theorization than the other two cited works.

<sup>cdxli</sup> Just as music could inspire solidarity through sound, cinema by exiled Chileans shaped international public opinion through visual art. Specifically, cinema showed audiences the downfall of Popular Unity, and documented the extreme violence of the military coup with an immediacy difficult to match.

Documentary film told the story of every-day Chileans as it actually occurred, and with relatively brief delays between the events being portrayed and the films themselves. Patricio Guzmán's documentary trilogy *La batalla de Chile* (The Battle for Chile) was made in Cuba, where Guzmán self-exiled after smuggling much of the footage out of Chile after the military coup. In its three installments, Guzmán provides emblematic film footage of the Popular Unity government, including famous video and audio of the military bombing of *La Moneda*, Chile's presidential palace. *La batalla de Chile* also refuted the authoritarian government's justifications for deposing Popular Unity. When questioned about bread lines and food shortages, one of Guzmán's female interviewees related: "I don't believe in scarcity because I haven't even lost half a kilogram yet. This particular reference to weight loss--or the lack thereof--in a time of alleged scarcity is undoubtedly humorous, meant to be poking fun at one of the authoritarian rationalizations for the coup. Indeed, Guzmán's work treated the wide range of emotions, including humor, felt by Chileans as they lived through one of their country's most traumatic historical and political moments. The combination of Guzmán's narration of events in chronological order from his exile in Cuba, and testimonials from Chileans from across the political spectrum proved a particularly effective way to tell the story of the Popular

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Unity's rise and fall, with a rigor and a historical exactness that was difficult to dispute. All of these factors are advantages to the medium of documentary film, which made it particularly effective at transmitting the Chilean reality to the outside world.

Other Chilean cineastes used fiction that resembled historical fact to convey the country's realities. "*La noche sobre Chile*," directed by the Chilean film student Sebastián Alarcón during his exile in the Soviet Union, used fiction to portray actual events in Chile.

The protagonist, Manuel, is an architect whose apartment is used by a leftist activist as he attempts to escape after the coup; Manuel is therefore arrested, jailed at the national stadium, and witnesses tortures and executions. With a Russian-language script and *nueva canción* music from some of the most famous bands before the coup, "*La noche sobre Chile*" visually and sonically depicts the abridged hopes of Popular Unity, while bridging across spatial, temporal and linguistic divides. Given that the Popular Unity was allied with the USSR, "*La noche sobre Chile*" was presumably welcome for a Soviet government trying to gin up propaganda in favor of a defeated ally. Be that as it may, the images of violence juxtaposed with the hopeful tones of *nueva canción* music were particularly emotive. Furthermore, in light of the intense censorship exercised by the authoritarian government in Chile, and the difficulty of getting information out of the country as a result, the film is remarkably true to the historical events it dramatized. Generally speaking, exile films—even fictional depictions—illustrate the violence of the military coup, and government repression towards Chileans. More important, cinema produced by exiles contrasted the heavily controlled lives of Chileans under authoritarianism with the more hopeful, ebullient images of prior times.

Guzmán, Patricio, Elton, Federico, and Fernández, Abilio. *La batalla de Chile*. Brooklyn, New York: Distributed by Icarus Films, 2015. For bombing of *La Moneda* palace, see Part Two: "El golpe de estado." 90 min; Guzmán, Patricio, Elton, Federico, and Fernández, Abilio. *La batalla de Chile Parte I: La Insurrección de la Burguesía*. Brooklyn, New York: Distributed by Icarus Films, 2015. YouTube, 2 May, 2022. <https://youtu.be/kUHsggUO0i4>. In the second sequence, we have the following quotation: *Yo no creo en el desabastecimiento Porque todavía no bajo ni medio kilo*;

Alarcón, Sebastián, and Aleksandr Kasarev. *La noche sobre Chile*. MosFilm: Moscow, USSRÑ (1977). 1Hr50M.

<sup>cdxlii</sup> David Spener, "A Song, Socialism, and the 1973 Coup in Chile." In Spener, David. *We shall not be moved/No nos Moverán: Biography of a Song of Struggle*. Temple University Press, 2016. 18-26. See specifically page 19.

<sup>cdxliii</sup> David Spener, "A Song, Socialism, and the 1973 Coup in Chile," 18-26. For the history to which I refer, pages 19-24.

<sup>cdxliv</sup> Spener, David. *We Shall Not Be Moved/No Nos Moverán: Biography of a Song of Struggle*. 2016.(20). Spener does not provide the Spanish translation of his communication with Revaste.

<sup>cdxlv</sup> Testimonial art, by which I mean art which is created to testify or witness to a given situation, reveals that even in the Chilean authoritarian context, artists continued to produce political work against the state's controls. Testimonial art often influenced people through their personal sensory reactions. Yet visual art, in both the artist's production and the observer's observance, is generally an individual experience; the artist produces a painting, drawing or sculpture alone or with minimal help, and the observation of works of visual art impacts humans as individuals, each in her own way. For resisting art to attract publics which could function in community, it was necessary for works of art to be performed and experienced in groups.

<sup>cdxlvi</sup> Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 215; Accatino, Sandra. "Trazar Un Lugar En La Memoria. Mnemotecnia En Los Planos, Mapas Y Dibujos De Isla Dawson De Miguel Lawner." *Revista* 180, no. 44 (2019): 3-16. And López, Gloria Loreto, and María Teresa Johansson.

"Memoria Geográfica En El Testimonio Chileno: Isla Dawson." *Magallania* 47, no. 2 (2019): 39-53.

<sup>cdxlvii</sup> Preda, Caterina. *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 213-4.

<sup>cdxlviii</sup> Catarina Preda gives this quotation with no Spanish-language translation in Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 212-3.

<sup>cdxliv</sup> Theater provided the first venue for Chileans to experience their country's new reality, and therefore contest authoritarian controls as group members—actors or audiences. The play *Pedro, Juan y Diego* (1976) critiqued the *Programa de empleo mínimo* (Minimum Employment Program), in which the authoritarian government hired Chileans for paltry wages to perform dangerous manual labor. The work's protagonists are three construction workers who, after enduring dangerous working conditions and miserably low pay, must demolish the highway median they were hired to construct on the day of its inauguration, because the maps the government provided the workers placed their work site in the incorrect position.

One of the first plays which dared to critique Chilean political realities under authoritarianism, the work demonstrated – if only through fictional characters – the state's falsehood: that unemployment and poverty did not exist in the new Chile. The 1979 play *Tres Marias y na Rosa* reveals the dark side of international solidarity and the realities of women's employment during the authoritarian period. The protagonists, all women, who make *arpilleras*

(tapestries) for foreigners and religious groups, earning tiny salaries over which the women compete fiercely, to feed their families. In keeping with the economic realities of Chile during the late 1970s, references to hunger and the feminization of poverty emerge as prominent themes in this work. Works of theater demonstrate the power of communal audience participation and reveal the critical potentialities of realist works of fiction in exposing flaws in the Chilean authoritarian project.

Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 215. David Benavente, "Pedro, Juan y Diego." In Benavente, David., and Taller De Investigación Teatral. Pedro, Juan Y Diego; Tres Marías y una Rosa; Ensayo "Ave Félix", Teatro Chileno Post-golpe. Santiago: CESOC, Ediciones ChileAmérica, 1989. 20-138; and Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 215; David Benavente, "Tres Marías y una Rosa." In Benavente, David., and Taller De Investigación Teatral. Santiago: CESOC, Ediciones ChileAmérica, 1989. 148-269.

<sup>cdl</sup> The musicologist Nancy Morris provides this quotation in two places, without providing a Spanish translation in either. See Nancy Morris, "New Song in Chile: Half a Century of Musical Activism." In Villa, Pablo Ed. And Rodríguez, Illa Carrillo, María L. Figueredo, Laura Jordán González, Camila Juárez, Eileen Karmy Bolton, Carlos Molinero, Nancy Morris, and Abril Trigo. *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*. Lexington Books, 2014. 19-39. See specifically page 35. And Morris, Nancy. "Canto porque es necesario cantar: the New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983." *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 117-31. See specifically pages 125-6.

<sup>cdli</sup> Espinosa, Christian Spencer. "MELODÍA EUROPEA, TEXTURA ANDINA: EL CONJUNTO BARROCO ANDINO Y LA RESIGNIFICACIÓN DEL SONIDO CLÁSICO." *Entretexos* 2007 (2017): 5317.

<sup>cdlii</sup> "Retorno a Pulcritud." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. September 19, 1973. 3. "Recordemos que los ferrocarriles chilenos – aun a despecho de su permanente desfinanciamiento- fueron motivo de orgullo para Chile y Sudamérica por su limpieza. Hoy los vagones para pasajeros no difieren de los carros rejas para el transporte de animales, por su desaseo y desaliño. El mismo descuido y desaseo se aprecia en las salas de espectáculos intervenidas, en los parques y paseos públicos."

<sup>cdliii</sup> "Folklore." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. December 2, 1977. 46.

<sup>cdliv</sup> "Folklore." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. December 2, 1977. 46.

<sup>cdlv</sup> "Folklore." In *El Mercurio de Chile*. December 2, 1977. 46.

<sup>cdlvi</sup> "Formuló Comando Juvenil 11 de septiembre: Emplazamiento a "Grupo de los 24"." *El Mercurio de Chile*. August 21, 1980. C3.

*Otras agrupaciones juveniles emitieron ayer una declaración pública rechazando el próximo plebiscito a realizarse el 11 de septiembre y convocan a todas las organizaciones y jóvenes a participar en la "Vigilia por la Democracia."*

*El objetivo de este acto, que se realizara mañana desde las 20 horas en la sede del sindicato Panal (Yungay 2715) "será demostrar nuestro rechazo a este mero fraude y renovar una vez más nuestro compromiso por la construcción de un Chile democrático en donde imperen la Verdad, Justicia y Libertad", según indica el comunicado.*

*Asimismo, señala que "los parece burdo que existiendo un cuadro generalizado de represión a las libertades fundamentales se convoque a un acto sin que se aseguren las garantías democráticas que permitan participar libremente a todos los sectores de la comunidad nacional."*

*Los firmantes son la Comisión Nacional Pro Derechos Juvenil Coordinadora Nacional Sindical (CNS; el comité reestructurador del Movimiento Estudiantal tal Universidad de Chile (Córreme) la Agrupación Nacional de Centros Culturales Juveniles (ANCECUJ); la Unión de Estudiantes de Enseñanza Media (UEM); la Coordinadora de Enseñanza Media; la Unión de Organizaciones Estudiantiles de la Universidad Técnica (UCE); los Centros de Alumnos Democráticos de la Universidad Católica de Chile; la Agrupación Cultural Universitaria (ACU); la Agrupación de Talleres Académicos (ATA) y la Agrupación Cultural Santa Marta.*

<sup>cdlvii</sup> Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. 221-3.

<sup>cdlviii</sup> Preda, *Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*, 221-3. See also Delgado, Teresa. "No+ Pinochet. Documentación, Publicidad y Ficción En Torno al Plebiscito Chileno de 1988." [www.jkverlag.com](http://www.jkverlag.com). (2013). See especially pages -23.

<sup>cdlix</sup> Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez. "'Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos': una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros." *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* 5, no. 1 (2016). 18-36. (23).

<sup>cdlx</sup> González, Jorge. "La VOZ de los ' 80." *Los Prisioneros: la VOZ de los ' 80*. EMI Odeon Chilena, S.A. (1984). Available on YouTube. Uploaded by Los Prisioneros. 3 March, 2015. Accessed 21 April, 2022.

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<https://youtu.be/Jyc8IIVOLvo>; and González, Jorge. “Muevan las industrias.” By Los Prisioneros. On *El Baile de los que Sobran*. EMI Music Chile: 1986. YouTube, 20 April, 2022. <https://youtu.be/DejT0oSseHg>.

<sup>cdlxi</sup> González, Jorge. “La VOZ de los ’80”; and Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez. ““Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos”: una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros.” *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* 5, no. 1 (2016). 18-37. (24).

<sup>cdlxii</sup> González, Jorge. “La VOZ de los ’80”; and Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez. ““Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos”: una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros,” 18-37. (25).

<sup>cdlxiii</sup> Fernández, and Gómez. ““Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos”: una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros,” 18-37. (page 26 for the quotation). Originally found in the magazine *SuperRock*, Issue 2 (March 23, 1986:11).

*Esta pieza es algo más o menos literal, que intenta mostrar en buena forma lo que es la canción. Las grabaciones las hicimos en una fábrica abandonada en Barrio Franklin y en una industria de textil en funcionamiento.”*

<sup>cdlxiv</sup> González, Jorge. “Muevan las industrias.” By Los Prisioneros. On *El Baile de los que Sobran*. EMI Music Chile: 1986. YouTube, 20 April, 2022. <https://youtu.be/DejT0oSseHg>; and Fernández, Javier Osorio, and Nayive Ananías Gómez. ““Sintoniza el sonido, agudiza tus sentidos”: una aproximación a los videoclips de Los Prisioneros.” *Rebeca-Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual* 5, no. 1 (2016). 18-37.

*¡Están paradas esperando a las manos que decidan hacer andar! La neblina las rodea y las oxida y ya piensan en petrificar.”*

<sup>cdlxv</sup> Fernández, Javier Osorio. “La bicicleta, el Canto Nuevo y las tramas musicales de la disidencia. Música popular, juventud y política en Chile durante la dictadura, 1976-1984.” *Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America* vol. 8 no. 3: (2011): 255-286.

<sup>cdlxvi</sup> Fernández, “La bicicleta, el Canto Nuevo y las tramas musicales de la disidencia. Música popular, juventud y política en Chile durante la dictadura, 1976-1984,” 255-286. (274).

*“Me ha tocado la experiencia de ver, en viajes al sur, a jóvenes que tocan canciones: no conocen ni el autor de estas canciones y menos conocen La Bicicleta; indagando, me doy cuenta que [estas canciones] se la enseñó un amigo de un amigo, que la sacó a partir de los acordes de la revista.”*

<sup>cdlxvii</sup> Muñoz Tamayo, Víctor. ““Chile es bandera y juventud”. efebología y gremialismo durante la primera etapa de la dictadura de Pinochet (1973-1979).” *Historia Crítica* (Bogotá, Colombia), no. 54 (2014): 195-219.

<sup>cdlxviii</sup> Muñoz Tamayo, Víctor. ““Chile es bandera juventud,” 195-219. 212.

*“El frente juvenil no excluye a nadie. Se autoexcluyen de él aquellos jóvenes que persistan en preferir el concepto marxista de la lucha de clases, frente a la noción integradora de la Unidad Nacional, o que por cualquier causa se sustraigan voluntariamente de la defensa de Chile y de su régimen ante la conjura extranjera.”*

<sup>cdlxix</sup> “Teleanálisis. Episodio 01 (octubre 1984).” YouTube, 22 April, 2022. <https://youtu.be/PbTIdRTGdoE>. From 08:40 to 09:50.

<sup>cdlxx</sup> “Teleanálisis. Episodio 01 (octubre 1984).” The clip begins at 13:00 and last approximately 20 seconds.

<sup>cdlxxi</sup> “Teleanálisis. Episodio 02 (noviembre 1984) Completo.” YouTube, 22 April, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/Vj7LO10OsAk>.

<sup>cdlxxii</sup> The performance of political critique extended beyond traditional cultural institutions, and journalists began to make strong critiques of the state by the late 1970s. *Radio Cooperativa*’s rigorous performance of objective journalism challenged authoritarian monopolies on radio news for the first time under military rule, in a news environment in which many facts went unreported due to their inconvenience to the state and its sympathizers. The case of the detained-disappeared activists at Lonquén, who were immolated and buried in an abandoned mineshaft, symbolizes this performance of political critique through objective journalism. As the judicial correspondent for *Radio Cooperativa*, a radio station with links to Chile’s Christian Democratic Party, Jaime Hales stated:

Good morning. Last Friday’s news was a heavy blow. Judge Bañados declared himself incompetent. Adolfo Bañados, Judge of the Santiago Appeals Court, headed the investigation about the finding of cadavers in Lonquén. (...) Moving forward in the investigation, the judge was able to establish, with a high degree of certainty, the identities of the dead. They were peasants from the area detained by *Carabineros* (*national police*) in 1973 and disappeared since that date. They were people whose disappearances had been denounced by their families, part of the lists which the Vicariate of Solidarity had denounced on reiterated occasions. People who were detained by *Carabineros*, about whom nothing more was ever known. And now they appear in a mass grave, clearly with the intention of hiding them in an abandoned lime mine. And they are dead without any identified killer. And even if he appeared, there will be no punishment because there is an amnesty for all those who committed homicide from 1973 up to March, 1978. But the country should at least know the names of the guilty ones, of those murderers, even though there is only a moral sanction – not to mention the murderer’s obligation to indemnify the families of the victims – an obligation which does not go away with the amnesty law. So what is the basis of Judge Bañados incompetency? That the directly

implicated parties are active members of the forces of public order, that is to say, *Carabineros*. In the highly controlled political context of authoritarian Chile, Jaime Hales remarks were a performance, just as much as a piece of opinion journalism. Hales had a unique opportunity to make a definitive statement on the Lonquén executions, since the facts of the case and the state's response to those facts were matters of public knowledge, and a similar opportunity to publicly speak out might be a very long time coming. In carefully chosen, measured words, Hales critiqued the magistrate assigned to the case, for a failure to complete his function of providing justice and accountability to Chileans. Notably, the histories of the Lonquén massacre victims, most of whom had been arrested for political reasons in the aftermath of the coup, were not mentioned. By referring to these victims as he would refer to any other murdered Chilean, Hales claimed an equal value for the lives of detained and disappeared persons all over Chile, while making it clear that the Chilean state did not respect their intrinsic human dignity as basic notions of justice demanded. In this way, *Radio Cooperativa* verified facts to critique impunity and lack of civil rights—as well as the legal protections-in Chile's authoritarian process. In doing so, they showed how stating facts could challenge the government, and manifested performance of dissent through truth-telling in a highly controlled cultural and political context.

Rivera Aravena, Carla A. "La verdad está en los hechos: una tensión entre objetividad y oposición. Radio Cooperativa en dictadura." *Historia (Santiago)* 41, no. 1 (2008): 79-98. (86).  
*Buenos días. La noticia fue impactante el último viernes. El Ministro Bañados fse declaró incompetente. Adolfo Bañados, Ministro de la Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago, conducía la investigación sobre el hallazgo de cadáveres en la mina abandonada de Lonquén. (...) Al avanzar en la investigación, el Ministro logró establecer, con un alto grado de seguridad, la identidad de los muertos. Se trataba de campesinos del lugar detenidos en 1973 por Carabineros y desaparecidos desde entonces. Eran personas cuyo desaparecimiento habían denunciado los familiares, parte de las listas que ha denunciado reiteradamente la Vicaría de la Solidaridad. Personas detenidas por Carabineros y de las cuales nunca más se supo. Y ahora aparecen enterrados en grupo, claramente con la intención de ser ocultados en una mina de cal abandonada. Y están muertos sin que aparezca su asesino. Y aunque aparezca, no habrá castigo porque hay una ley de Amnistía para todos los que cometieron homicidio desde 1973 hasta 1978, en marzo. Pero al menos el país debiera conocer el nombre de los culpables; de esos asesinos, aunque para ellos haya solamente una sanción moral, además —por cierto— de la obligación del homicida a indemnizar a la familia de las víctimas, responsabilidad que no desaparece con la ley de amnistía. ¿Cuál es el fundamento de la incompetencia del Ministro Bañados? Que aparecen directamente involucrados como autores miembros activos de las Fuerzas del Orden, es decir, Carabineros.*

<sup>cdlxxiii</sup> Bresnahan, Rosalind. "Radio and the democratic movement in Chile 1973–1990: Independent and grass roots voices during the Pinochet dictatorship." *Journal of radio studies* 9, no. 1 (2002): 161-181. 169.

<sup>cdlxxiv</sup> Bresnahan, "Radio and the democratic movement in Chile 1973–1990: Independent and grass roots voices during the Pinochet dictatorship," 161-181. (172). See also Acevedo, Raúl. "Encuentro de Canto Popular en el Estadio Santa Laura – Radio Umbral – 15 enero 1988." YouTube, 29/11/2017.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dR67RVisLE>.

<sup>cdlxxv</sup> Bresnahan, Rosalind. "Radio and the democratic movement in Chile 1973–1990: Independent and grass roots voices during the Pinochet dictatorship," 161-181. (171).

<sup>cdlxxvi</sup> Sting. Ft. Ruben Blades. "They Dance Alone." On *Nothing Like the Sun*, Track 5. (October 13, 1987). A&M Records. [www.genius.com](http://www.genius.com), 7 May, 2022. <https://genius.com/Sting-they-dance-alone-lyrics>.

<sup>cdlxxvii</sup> Sting. Ft. Ruben Blades. "They Dance Alone."

<sup>cdlxxviii</sup> These two brief quotations refer, respectively, to the mottos of the "yes" and "no" campaigns in Chile's 1988 plebiscite. The "yes" campaign, which supported President Pinochet's continuity in government, used the motto of *Chile: un país ganador* (Chile: A Winner of a Country). The "no" campaign, for its part, used "*Chile, la alegría aa viene*" (Chile, Happiness is On The Way) for its slogan.

<sup>cdlxxix</sup> For two sources which make this claim, see Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts. "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule." *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93; and Olalla Mayor, Jorge. "La historia de un mensaje memorable: sin odio, sin violencia, sin miedo. No Más..." *Ciper Chile*, 24 June, 2022. <https://www.ciperchile.cl/2018/09/25/la-historia-de-un-mensaje-memorable-sin-odio-sin-violencia-sin-miedo-no-mas/>.

<sup>cdlxxx</sup> "Franjas del SÍ y del NO – capítulo 1 – 5 de septiembre." YouTube, 3 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB\\_Cw](https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB_Cw). (Minute 17:10 to 17:50). The original Spanish reads as follows:

*Sí, digamos todos que sí.*

*Sí, el país merece el sí*

*sí, digamos todos que sí Sí, por un futuro mejor,*

*Sí sí sí, un país ganador.*



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*Porque nos hemos ganado la democracia, plena, estable, con total participación. Porque merecemos la paz y la grandeza. Marchemos todos juntos hacia un país ganador.*

<sup>edlxxxii</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 1 – 5 de septiembre.” YouTube, 22 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB\\_Cw](https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB_Cw). From minute 22:25 to 23:05.

*Sí sí. ¿Por qué decimos que sí?*

*Sí sí. Porque yo creo en mí.*

*Sí sí. Porque yo quiero vivir feliz. (Repeats thrice).*

*¡Digo sí!*

<sup>edlxxxiii</sup> For details as to the cast of the song, I use an *El Mercurio* article written by the pro-Pinochet youth leader and present-day mayor of the municipality of *Las Condes*, Joaquín Lavín Infante. See Joaquín Lavín, “El “no” Baila, El “Sí” Gobierna.” In *El Mercurio de Chile*: September 8, 1988. C2.

<sup>edlxxxiiii</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 2 – 6 de septiembre.” YouTube, 4 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/DqFIWTgVMI4>. From 11:50 to 13:35.

*Un horizonte de esperanza,*

*Nace un septiembre inolvidado.*

*Nos hizo dueños de un legado*

*Que prometimos defender.*

*Con una voz igual al viento*

*Va creciendo el sí de las conciencias.*

*Hay un país, país ganador, (¡Sí!)*

*En democracia y libertad.*

*El pueblo y usted, (Pinochet!)*

*Harán posible la esperanza.*

*Porque la patria entera avanza junta a usted.*

*Con nuestra fe (Pinochet!)*

*En dios, la patria y su bandera (¡Sí!)*

*Hoy la victoria tiene nombre, Presidente Pinochet. (Sí!)*

<sup>edlxxxv</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 14 – 18 de septiembre.” YouTube, 18 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/N529QS9ixOU>. From 0:00 to 01:10.

*Hijo nuestro que llegas, que la libertad sea contigo. Que este antiguo país recién nacido te alimente de fe, y sea fraternal y sea tibia tu bienvenida a Chile. Hijo nuestro que llegas, que la libertad sea contigo, y cuando tus manos niños sean manos de hombre, empuñan solamente las herramientas nobles del amor y el trabajo. Porque hoy Chile cumple años, y tú cumples un día, vamos a hacer un pacto. Este país es tuyo. Hoy nosotros, tus padres, lo estamos defendiendo. Y tú, hijo mañana, lo sembrarás de paz, por todos los septiembreres de tu vida. Hijo nuestro que llegas, que Chile sea contigo.*

<sup>edlxxxvi</sup> Allison Bruey addresses the leftist political tendencies of many poor and religious Chileans in Bruey, Alison. Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grassroots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile. *Critical Human Rights Ser.* 2018.

<sup>edlxxxvii</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre.” YouTube, 17 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/5V1DO8Kjv8s>. From 11:00 to 12:20.

*Desde el sur, eterno, generoso y próspero, donde se forjó la grandeza de la raza chilena, la victoria del 5 de octubre avanza. Sí. Porque los sureños somos agradecidos y leales con quien ha puesto a Chile en el umbral del desarrollo pleno.*

<sup>edlxxxviii</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre.” From 11:00 to 12:20.

*Vengo de las playas solitarias que se pueblan con las alas de gaviotas en el sur. Soy del sur. Muy al sur. Siento que resueñan mis mayores, que mi voz es como un eco de esta tierra enamorada. Llevo en mí el destino de todos los que hacen que mueren con la esperanza. Vengo del rincón más infinito de la luz soy del sur. Muy al sur.*

<sup>edlxxxix</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre.” From 11:00 to 12:20.

*Para enfrentar con fe y alegría al tercer milénium, arrasa Pinochet. Palabra que sí.*

<sup>edlxxxix</sup> “Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 1 – 5 de septiembre.” YouTube, 22 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB\\_Cw](https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB_Cw). From 0:0 to 0:45.

*1973, septiembre: Allende notificaba a Chile, “Hay harina solo para tres o cuatro días.” Era el reconocimiento oficial al fracaso. En tanto a las calles miles de personas agotadas, hastiadas e indignadas hacían largas y denigrantes colas. Toda la noche, y parte importante del día para conseguir un poco de pan. El marxismo en poco tiempo había conculcado hasta el más elemental derecho humano; el derecho al pan.*

<sup>edxc</sup> “Franjas del “Sí” y del “NO” – Capítulo 15 19 de septiembre.” From minute 23:00 to 23:07. (Approx).

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*Quando hay fe y futuro, se vence a la adversidad. E aquí un testimonio.*

<sup>cdxci</sup> “Franjas del “SÍ” y del “NO” – Capítulo 15 19 de septiembre.” From minute 23:00 to 23:50.

*Soy no vidente, dueña de casa como ustedes pueden ver, y me siento feliz de tener la seguridad que tengo hoy día, de tener un gobierno como tenemos. No con sacrificios de ir a las colas como en tiempos pasados, porque como me falta la vista a mí, fue... fue una experiencia muy amarga la que yo viví. Yo iba a conseguir el pan nuestro de cada día, levantaba la mano y no me... no lo... no me pasaban el número las señoras de la JAP. En cambio ahora con nuestro presidente, yo compro el pan, yo compro mis cosas y vengo tranquila a mi casa sin perder días enteros. Por eso mando un mensaje a la mujer chilena, que estemos conscientes y que el cinco de octubre digamos que sí a nuestro presidente.*

<sup>cdxcii</sup> I employ the concept of functional diversity, viewing it as more empowering than the previously common usage of the word “disability,” which implies that persons with functional diversity are less able than others. The reality is that their societies do not recognize them, and the word “disability” is part of the social invisibility which functionally diverse persons suffer.

<sup>cdxciii</sup> “Franjas del NO y del SÍ – Capítulo 3 – 7 de septiembre.” YouTube, 10 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/TAQSNRlg-Jo>. From 19:00 to 19:50.

*“Hoy se cumplen dos años que el cabo segundo Cardenio Hernández Cubillo, mi esposo, fue asesinado brutalmente por los extremistas en el Cajón del Maipo. Donde no saben qué dolor dejaron atrás. Sus hijas, sus padres, y en general toda su familia que lo recuerdo pero con orgullo, no porque haya muerto, sino porque dio su vida por este país, por la patria y por nuestro presidente, que siempre fue su meta más importante.”*

<sup>cdxciv</sup> Dreifuss, Daniel, Pablo Larraín, and Juan De Dios Larraín. No. Academic Video Online: Premium. New York, NY: Sony Pictures Classics, 2013; and Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts. "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule." *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93. 679-681.

<sup>cdxcv</sup> Coro Bajo Cuerda Ft. Claudio Guzmán and Rosita Escobar. “Chile, La Alegría ya Viene.” Genius Lyrics, 10 May, 2022. <https://genius.com/Coro-bajo-cuerda-chile-la-alegría-ya-viene-version-completa-lyrics>.

<sup>cdxcvi</sup> For a sound recording of this song, consult “Franjas del NO y del SÍ – Capítulo 3 – 7 de septiembre.” YouTube, 10 May, 2022. <https://youtu.be/TAQSNRlg-Jo.Ferom.10:00.to.11:30.n> actuality, “Chile, La Alegría ya Viene” is available on every episode of the “no” campaign’s materials. I cite this one because the song is played in its entirety, and the sound quality is superior, which is not always the case. The cited lyrics read as follows:

*Chile, la alegría ya viene.*

*Chile, la alegría ya viene.*

*Chile, la alegría ya viene.*

*Porque diga lo que diga, yo soy libre de pensar*

*Porque siento que es la hora de ganar la libertad*

*¿Hasta cuándo ya de abusos? Es el tiempo de cambiar*

*Porque ¡basta ya de miseria! Voy a decir que no.*

*Porque nace el arcoiris después de la tempestad,*

*Porque quiero que florezcan mis maneras de pensar,*

*Porque sin la dictadura ¡la alegría va a llegar!*

*Porque pienso en el futuro, voy a decir que no.*

*Vamos a decir que no*

*Con la fuerza de mi voz*

*Vamos a decir que no*

*Yo lo canto sin temor*

*Vamos a decir que no*

*Todos juntos a triunfar*

*Vamos a decir que no*

*¡Por la vida y por la paz!*

*Terminemos con la muerte, es la oportunidad*

*De vencer a la violencia con las armas de la paz,*

*Porque creo que mi patria necesita dignidad*

*Por un Chile para todos, vamos a decir que no.*

(Chorus repeats).

*¡Vamos a decir que no!*

(Introduction repeats, fade out).

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cdxcvii “Franja del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 4 8 de septiembre.” YouTube, 15 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/YKuTmC35G4M>. from 24:20 to 24:50.

*Buenos días Don Hanibal. Déme dos marraquetas.*

*Anibal: Cómo no señora Yolita. ¿Algo más?*

*Yolita: Voy a llevar té también.*

*Anibal: ¿Cómo no? ¿Dos bolsitas?*

*Yolita: Una no más.*

cdxcviii “Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 2 – 6 de septiembre.” YouTube, 4 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/DqFIWTgVMI4>. From 15:30 to 16:40.

cdxcix “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 7 – 11 de septiembre.” YouTube, 17 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/XLdEh3otdKA>. From 0:50 to 02:50.

d “Franja del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 4 8 de septiembre.” YouTube, 15 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/YKuTmC35G4M>. From 15:00 to 17:00.

di “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 6 – 10 de Septiembre.” YouTube, 17 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/5V1DO8Kjv8s>. From 14:45 to 15:00.

*Compañero, los Marxistas ya vienen,*

*Destruye, los Marxistas ya vienen.*

dii Joaquín Lavín, “El “no” Baila, El “Sí” Gobierna.” In *El Mercurio de Chile* (September 8, 1988). C2.

*La política espectáculo tuvo su puntapié inicial. Cada noche, a las 22.45 horas, los chilenos se preparan para asistir a una especie de Festival de Cannes de la política criolla. Al otro día, convertidos en críticos de cine en potencia, “interesantes” argumentos constituyen el centro del debate: la canción del “no” pegaría más que la del “sí”. “Las mujeres que testimoniaron su apoya al “si” el lunes en la noche distarían de parecerse a la Cecilia Bolocco. Mientras el “video clip” del “no” se habría filmado en cine por un prestigioso director, el del “si” parecería, según los técnicos un video de aficionados.*

*... Pero estamos en Chile. Aquí las posiciones son muy diferentes y los proyectos de sociedad que ambas opciones ofrecen también lo son. Esto es en serio. ¿Cree alguien de verdad que un chileno va a inclinarse a favor o en contra entre dos opciones tan diferentes como Pinochet o Lagos simplemente porque Patricia Maldonado canto mejor o peor que Florcita Motuda, o porque el ritmo de Antonio Zabaleta es mejor o peor que el de Los Prisioneros? Podemos entusiasmarnos con un ritmo u otro, pero cuando llegue el momento de votar lo que va a pesar son consideraciones mucho más relevantes. ... Hasta ahora la conclusión de los televidentes es muy clara: El “no” baila bien, pero el “si” gobierna mejor.*

*...¿Chile, la alegría ya viene? Hay que ser alegres. Pero cuidado. No basta estar contentos Para hacer un buen gobierno. Durante la Unidad Popular también hubo alegría y canciones en las calles. Fue tan entretenido que algunos llegaron a decir que “este es un gobierno de m.... pero es mi gobierno.” A confesión de partes, relevo de pruebas.*

diii “Franja del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 20 – 24 de septiembre.” YouTube, 19 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/\\_OExlZqDmAI](https://youtu.be/_OExlZqDmAI). From 13:40 to 14:45.

div “Franjas del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 14 – 18 de septiembre.” YouTube, 18 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/N529QS9ixOU>. 25:05 to 25:50.

*Se empieza a escuchar, no, no,*

*En todo el país, no, no.*

*Cantan los de allá, no, no.*

*También los de acá, no, no.*

*Canta la mujer, no, no.*

*Y la juventud, no, no.*

*El no significa libertad, todos juntos por el no.*

dv “Franja del SÍ y del NO Capítulo 10 – 14 de septiembre.” YouTube, 18 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/3DyzOmgDlcc>. From 25:50 to 27:50. *Nadie lo puede ver. Nadie lo quiere recibir.*

dvi “Franja del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 22 – 26 de septiembre.” YouTube, 19 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/HDawsSyOZbw>. 08:30 to 09:40. *Todos lo quieren ver. Todo Chile dice sí a Pinochet.*

dvii “18 Franja del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 18 – 22 de septiembre.” YouTube, 19 May, 2022.

[https://youtu.be/6B0l\\_flynE0](https://youtu.be/6B0l_flynE0). From minute 15:20 to 18:00.

*Soy Claudio Arrau. Creo en la democracia. Sin la democracia, la libertad y el respeto para los derechos humanos, la humanidad no podrá sobrevivir. Cordiales saludos para el pueblo chileno.*

dviii “Franja del SI y del NO, Capítulo 21 – 25 de septiembre.” YouTube, 19 May, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/bOHRsNAihUQ>. From 16:10 to 17:50.

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*En nombre del maestro Claudio Arrau y de esta fundación que me honro en presidir, presento el más enérgico repudio al uso que se ha hecho de una declaración extraída al maestro con pretextos falsos. El maestro Arrau accedió a leer en cámara una declaración ya escrita, pues le explicaron que era un simple saludo a Chile con motivo al retorno al país de la democracia representativa. Le agregaron que otros famosos artistas Chilenos clásicos y populares como Ramón Binay, Lucho Gatica, la soprano Claudia Parada ETC ya habían enviado a Chile saludos similares. El maestro Arrau nos ha expresado ahora que jamás habría accedido a tal cosa si hubiera sabido que su mensaje iba a usarse con fines de política partidista. A su regreso a Nueva York desde Montreal, tomará otras medidas, ya que se encuentra actualmente en gira de conciertos por Canadá. El maestro y su fundación reiteran pues su profundo repudio a los que se abusaron de su confianza, y lo engañaron de mala fe.*

<sup>dx</sup> The fact that pro-authoritarians were reaching out to communities previously associated with the Chilean left is ironic, since I show in this chapter that anti-authoritarians took pains to moderate their messages; in a way, authoritarians were doing more outreach to Chile's political left than anti-authoritarian moderates undertook. My analysis of authoritarian efforts to project their ideologies, customs and traditions through nationalist displays in the mid-1970s, and the Andean boom of the late 1970s reveals how authoritarian supporters advanced this politicization. Moreover, due to tight control and censorship, authoritarian nationalists and neoliberals could politicize content with very little opposition from critics for much of the authoritarian era.

<sup>dx</sup> Wiley, Stephen B. Crofts. "Assembled Agency: Media and Hegemony in the Chilean Transition to Civilian Rule." *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 5 (2006): 671-93. 678-81.

<sup>dx</sup> "Franja del SÍ y del NO, Capítulo 27 – 1 de octubre." YouTube, 19 May, 2022. <https://youtu.be/mDbMsr4wZd4>. From 00:15 to 01:15. *Necesito que me ayuden todos a cantar. Eso tenemos que hacer con el pueblo de Chile, ayudarlo a cantar.*

## Chapter Four

### ***El Estallido Musical! Consensus, Rupture, Continuity and Change: From the Democratic Transition into the 21<sup>st</sup>-Century***

The Chilean electoral democracy put in place in 1990 ended authoritarian rule, but the authoritarian economic and political systems from the Pinochet era lived on.<sup>dxii</sup> With re-democratization, music still confronts political arrangements, but musicians perform in a changed environment and make their performances accessible to the general public through new technologies. These musical forms of protest expose the unfulfilled promises of the Chilean democratic transition, commemorate the still unpunished violence of the authoritarian past, and imagine new political futures.

In 2019, Chileans announced their grievances about the shortcomings of democracy in the so-called *estallido social* (social eruption) at the center of this chapter. The first protestors were high school and university students, but Chileans from all walks of life were taking to the streets. In Santiago and other, smaller cities the protests continued for months. Music and performance enhanced the visibility and staying power of the protests. Social media was instrumental in enabling protestors to share performances securely and in real time, and disseminating the protests to large groups. During the *estallido*, protestors voiced their discontent more forcefully and achieved greater visibility than at any time since the return to democracy.

Crucially, Chilean protestors are younger than they used to be, and employ musical performance in different ways, all of which has changed the nature of political contestation in Chile. First, musicians joined what the journalist Ethan Watters has called urban tribes.<sup>dxiii</sup> These new political and social collectives shaped the process of re-democratization by challenging politics and adding complexity to Chilean political life and expression. Reflecting these “tribal” affiliations, protestors incorporated new symbolic, sonic, and technological strategies to expose the shortcomings of Chile’s representative democracy. Because of the youthful nature of Chilean urban tribes, youth-based protest movements gained new prominence, and provided additional impetus to existing demands for change.

This chapter explores musical and performative elements of Chile’s democratic transition from the 1990s to the *estallido social* and constitutional plebiscite of the early 2020s, revealing popular discontent with Chilean political institutions and demands to change them. In the first part

of this chapter, I analyze new connections between political and musical expressions through the lens of alternative forms of social mobilization, particularly among young people. Next, I connect the analysis of politically conscious performance to the present day. Protesters of the long *estallido social* innovated through their use of social networks and digital technologies. In doing so, they articulated demands which appeared to “modernize” the revolutionary rights-based claims of the Popular Unity era for the 21<sup>st</sup>-century, while also introducing and performing unprecedented claims on their society, such as the demand for a progressive and egalitarian constitution. I elucidate the relationship between new forms of protest and the pressure to replace the old constitution with a new, democratic magna carta.

### **The Democratic Transition and Critical Culture.**

Musical and artistic performances were at the center of the campaigns for the 1988 Chilean plebiscite, a referendum to determine whether Augusto Pinochet should extend his rule for another eight years. The self-censorship of the “no” campaign showed that Chile’s democratic transition was compromised from the start, choosing to exclude confrontational forms of performance, such as *canto poblacional* – a genre that often relied on aggressive language and images and remained connected to Chile’s poor urban neighborhoods, *poblaciones*. To drive home the pacifist nature of their campaign, No-campaigners employed the slogan “*sin odio, sin violencia, sin miedo*” (without hatred, without violence, without fear).<sup>dxiv</sup> As the Chilean film director and script writer Jorge Olalla Mayor described,

The no, being a negative premise, already started at a disadvantage. So the narration said: no more, vote no. The more helped to balance it out, it was positive. It’s always easier to say yes than to say no. The narration of ‘without hate, without fear, without violence’ expressed that the only tool one had was the pencil to vote, and that was a powerful tool.<sup>dxv</sup>

According to Olalla Mayor, this approach from the ‘no’ campaign completed two goals simultaneously. By exposing all the bad things “no” did not represent, it disputed authoritarian claims that “no” would settle old scores. It demonstrated that the “yes” campaign used fear, violence, hatred, and the other things “no” did not represent. It thus sought to achieve its greatest single objective, to convince Chileans that democracy was not a radical choice.

This deliberate exclusion of confrontation and the threat of violence from the “no” campaign’s list of options came with a cost. The transition would be partial at best – as any direct engagement with authoritarian violence remained excluded from processes of re-democratization.

Musical performances in the 1990s maintained these controlled silences, even under the new democracy. On March 12, 1990, the *Estadio Nacional* (National Stadium), an infamously brutal prison camp in the early months of authoritarian government, hosted the *Encuentro por el Retorno a la Democracia* (The Gathering for the Return to Democracy).<sup>dxvi</sup> Scheduled the day after the democratically elected President, Patricio Aylwin, was sworn in, the *Encuentro* featured commemorative musical performances, as well as a lengthy presidential address. The stadium was packed, and amid Chileans dignitaries from over 130 countries attended the event. Democratic leaders saw the official performance as an act of healing, a reclamation of public space, and a patriotic gesture. In spite of this, the location symbolized pain and loss for many Chileans – so it signaled the ambivalent and contradictory nature of the democratic process.<sup>dxvii</sup>

The selective uses of *nueva canción* at the *Encuentro* vividly demonstrated the contradictions and limits of the new democracy. In particular, songs referred to those who gave their lives to resist authoritarianism, but did not single out perpetrators of violence. The work of Víctor Jara, himself assassinated in a stadium converted into a prison camp, is a case-in-point: the lyrics of his song “*Te recuerdo, Amanda*” (I Remember You, Amanda) depict the sufferings of a woman whose lover was murdered by the state for union organizing.<sup>dxviii</sup> A version of this song was played at the *Encuentro*, the first state-sponsored recognition of Jara’s legacy since his murder at the hands of state officials. Yet, the *Encuentro* version was instrumental, muzzling Jara’s critique of political violence for any listeners who did not already know what the words of the song meant.<sup>dxix</sup> Similarly, female relatives of detained and disappeared persons sang the “*Cueca de los etenidos desaparecidos*” (Cueca for the Detained and Disappeared), while dancing with photographs of their missing loved ones.<sup>dx</sup> Yet this song does not mention violence or death in its lyrics, only the effects of disappearance on the living. Finally, the concert culminated with a rendition of Violeta Parra’s “*Gracias a la vida*” (Thanks Be to Life), sung by the choir of the University of Chile accompanied by the national symphony orchestra.<sup>dxxi</sup> Violeta Parra died before authoritarianism began in Chile, so the use of her most famous song was a safe choice in spite of Parra’s importance to the politicized *nueva canción* genre. These song choices were intentionally ambivalent. At the same ceremony as the representative government announced itself before the international community, *nueva canción* obtained official recognition by the Chilean state. Yet, in a very literal sense, the *Encuentro*’s organizers stripped *nueva canción* of its voice, so that audiences would not be confronted with its demanding tone as the new democracy dawned.

The broadcast of the *Encuentro* and changes to the Chilean media landscape afterwards exposed additional contradictions in the new democracy. Owned and administered by the United Methodist Church, *Radio Umbral* (Radio Threshold) broadcast the *Encuentro*, just as it had broadcast many other dissident performances.<sup>dxix</sup> Despite consistently high listenership, advertisers avoided dissident politics. Under democracy, the United Methodist Church cut off funding for *Radio Umbral* and the advertising problem continued, so the station went off the air in 1993.<sup>dxix</sup> Thus, whereas the *Encuentro* sparked great joy for dissidents, it also represented the apogee of dissident influence in broadcast media.

Dissident musicians under authoritarianism felt especially betrayed by the lack of opportunities for them after the return to elections. Amidst abundant critiques that they were prepared to make, there were now even fewer spaces than there had been under authoritarianism, as a result of media consolidation. As the *canto nuevo* singer Pancho Villa remarked for a 2016 documentary:

“And when the changes came, when we supposed that everything was going to flourish, and we could finally sing freely, we could finally have spaces for our music, came the tremendous slap in the face of the negotiated democracy. And what little media that we had been able to raise up during the dictatorship all disappeared. So not only did we not get new media, but the few outlets we had been able to raise up all went away.”<sup>dxix</sup>

In these remarks, Villa expressed frustration with the lack of musical exposure. Dissident performances had been key to dismantling authoritarianism, but the elected government which performers had worked so hard to install was not taking them seriously. His references to a “negotiated democracy” indicate that musicians felt muzzled by elite actors who presided over the democratic transition without input from performers, and who could now operate in an environment conveniently free of dissident voices in the media. Far from providing opportunities to speak their minds, the drive for consensus in democracy actually limited dissenting voices.

The 2005 song “*El viejo comunista*” (The Old Communist), performed by Manuel García on the album *Pánico* (Panic) spoke of despair as a result of the unpunished wrongs of the past, while also keeping historical memory alive through music. The first two verses of lyrics portray the sadness and regret which remained during the democratic transition, especially for leftists:

An old man who might have been a Communist sits to smoke all afternoon,  
While a hard rain falls outside.  
With a naked voice, the old man thinks



Because at his window, gray doves meet the shame he smoked.  
Gray doves and the shame he smoked.  
His eyes turn back to one day far away  
Back to a book, a verse, a girl, a thought,  
Back to a book, a verse, a girl, a thought  
Now he believes that nothing surprises him,  
He cured himself of fright, spent all his grief  
He cured himself of fright, spent all his grief.<sup>dxxv</sup>

These verses portray a deeply committed activist suffering through the emptiness of the democratic transition. His emotions include despair and shame, yet the reasons for this emotional state are unspoken; perhaps it is because they are too traumatic to be expressed, or perhaps the silence reflects the pointlessness of political activity during a time when democracy was driven by a consensus in which this particular activist had no voice. The last verse of lyrics turns the listener's attention from the general state of things to this man's very particular, pensive and commemorative state. It addresses specific traumas, and reveals that the wounds inflicted under authoritarianism will not heal with time. Yet just as time does not heal these wounds, it also does not dampen historical memory.

He remembered songs he used to sing,  
And conversations with friends until dawn,  
And conversations with friends until dawn.  
He remembered the street corner by his house,  
When he said goodbye and saw his mother crying,  
When he said goodbye and saw his mother crying.  
And now in his eyes it is also raining,  
And it surprises him that it hurts even now,  
The years, life, his love.<sup>dxxvi</sup>

For García's "old communist," there is no accountability for past injustice and little hope for the future, a reflection of the political consensus in which the very idea of punishing past injustices was a non-starter. More than that, for a man who "might have been a communist," the idea of class struggle would have seemed hopelessly out of place after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the neoliberalization of much of the global economy. Yet despite the sadness, memory remains intact and vivid. This activist's traumatic memories of his family, and the somewhat happier memories of discussions with friends have not gone away. Indeed, they may be all that is left after a lifetime of failed political struggle.

**Symbols, Representations, and Youth: Urban Tribes and the New Chilean Democracy.**

During the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup>-centuries, Chilean youth began to change the groups they associated with, and the reasons for those associations. In the authoritarian period, pro-authoritarian youth tended to belong to groups such as the *Frente Nacional de la Juventud* (National Youth Front), and other conservative groups.<sup>dxxvii</sup> During the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, young people began to associate with like-minded people based on certain musical and sensory expressions; this tendency began with punk and new wave communities during authoritarianism,<sup>dxxviii</sup> but aside from specific groupings, youth associations during the authoritarian period were mostly based around political ideology and local geography.<sup>dxxix</sup> During the democratic transition youth began to associate with like-minded groups based on sensory expressions. Urban tribes, defined by Ethan Watters as groups of mostly young people who perform the same symbolic rituals in contexts of extreme cultural relativism, claimed space within Chilean cities through testing new processes of self-expression, some of which led to political demands on their society.<sup>dxxx</sup>

These new processes of self-expression often manifested in the ritual use of symbols that distinguished one tribe from others. These symbolic rituals ranged from collective music listening to common forms of dress or fashion sense, to slang words or ideas known only to members of the tribe.<sup>dxxxi</sup> At times, visual symbols were the distinguishing markers. Punks, new waves, and alternatives, the three urban tribes who partied at the Discotheque Blondie, all had strikingly different styles of clothing and dance techniques, despite listening to the same music on the same dance floor.<sup>dxxxii</sup> Other tribes used sound to differentiate themselves. Techno heads had the Background record store, famous for its cosmopolitan record collection of electronic music.<sup>dxxxiii</sup> These forms of sensory differentiation show how symbolic representation functions to create identity within a “tribal” group, as opposed to considerations of social class or national identities, which had previously taken precedence.

The rise of urban tribes challenged the imposed unity of “democratic” consensus in Chile. As urban tribes grew, youth participation in traditional institutions such as churches or political parties declined due to apathy and frustration over the lack of true equality. The state was unable or unwilling to solve problems of low wages, long working hours, and the dominance of neoliberal business groups over all aspects of the economy. In her interviews with youth in Chile’s *Villa Francia* neighborhood, known for generations of leftist activism, Alison Bruey documented that participation in political organizations and church groups declined drastically in the 1990s and

early 2000s, due to a widespread feeling that Chile's democratic transition had demonstrably failed to live up to popular expectations.<sup>dxxxiv</sup> Among Chileans generally, but especially young Chileans, the democratic transition was not achieving the sort of democracy people wanted.

In some cases, participation in a tribe replaced traditional institutions. As one participant in Santiago's electronic music scene remarked in a 2016 documentary, "Background [the Background record store] was super important. For electronic music, it was ... it was like a university.<sup>dxxxv</sup> " For this techno head, Background made attending a university or taking a degree in sound production unnecessary. The sensory symbols associated with urban tribes thereby became the locus of members' personal and sometimes professional identities. In this way, urban tribes both complimented and competed with political parties and other groups, demonstrating the frustrated expectations of young Chileans with the democratic transition.

Pop musicians and fans rejected political activism. As the Chilean pop star Álvaro Scaramelli, lead singer of *Cinema*, described:

"Latin America had that imprint of dictatorship and of song that was ... how should I say ... political? Politicized. Ponchos and charangos and things like that ... heavy! And then suddenly in Argentina, and in Chile, and in Mexico and other countries, that whole structure gets broken and you can begin to do fun music, for dancing, with some color, without political pretensions.<sup>dxxxvi</sup>"

Scaramelli's remarks acknowledged the emotional weight of politicized performances but claimed that something happier and lighter was needed for new times. In describing politicized music as "very heavy," he implies to know what people want when they listen to music; the average listener does not listen to music to learn, or to show solidarity, but to enjoy. Thus, the need for color, for upbeat sounds, for joyous forms of expression and performance. Scaramelli's remarks also suggested contempt for the politics which inspired critical musical expression, and for the ability of political performers to truly communicate with audiences. The ubiquity of politicized sounds in Latin America during the 1960s and 70s, and the failure of the leftist governments associated with much of this politicized music, indicates that politicized sounds did not reach large audiences emotionally, or at least not to a sufficiently great degree to keep leftist governments in power. To touch the emotions of audiences, light, happy sounds which did not polarize people on ideological grounds were needed.

Scaramelli's views notwithstanding, examination of pop music in a wider context elucidates its political nature, whether its performers and publics realize this or not. In her

discussion of African American and Chicano music in Los Angeles, the musicologist Gay Teresa Johnson coined the term “spatial entitlement” to refer to the reclamation of physical and discursive spaces through musical performance by black and brown Angelinos, who had been excluded from those spaces by government policy and neoliberal economics. To enact spatial entitlements, groups use new technologies or new art forms to reclaim spaces which they once inhabited, but have been removed from by exclusion or eviction.<sup>dxxxvii</sup>

In Chile, such exclusion or eviction had economic and political components. Intense neoliberalism burdened already disadvantaged populations, and the state implemented neoliberal economics without an electoral mandate and, therefore, without the consent of Chilean society at large. In addition, draconian curfews prohibited Chileans from using most public spaces at night. Simply being in prescribed spaces was a highly transgressive statement of citizenship by marginalized people, even when these spaces were not necessarily physical ones, although they often were. Simply by existing and by giving Chileans a way to express joy, pop music enabled Chileans to claim physical and discursive spaces of happiness and freedom.<sup>dxxxviii</sup> This ability of music to transmit messages which may or may not be intended by its performers reveals an extreme diversity of means to bring about change, often going beyond the textual meaning of the works involved.

Pop musicians avoided political involvement well into the democratic transition, presumably so as not to lose valuable radio and television exposure. The early 1990s was the height of airplay for pop music, coinciding in time with the near total lack of political messaging.<sup>dxxxix</sup> By contrast, punks, rappers, and especially folk musicians continued their political activism – and their poverty, not to mention frustration with their lack of airtime.<sup>dxl</sup> These circumstances shed light on the enduring legacy of authoritarian times on musical expression. Whereas pop musicians had embraced—or at least benefited from—the neoliberal economy, musicians whose inclination was to critique or protest had a much more difficult time finding space for their work and, consequently, a harder time surviving Chilean neoliberalism. The segregation of protest music by genre became quite acute as a result, so that by the early 21<sup>st</sup>-century, it was difficult to imagine a pop musician engaging in protest as *Los Prisioneros* had done less than twenty years earlier.

In contrast to the political apathy of pop musicians during the 1990s, Chilean punks stridently referenced politics of the day. The band *Fiskales Ad-Hok* (Ad-Hok Prosecutors) 1995 song “*El circo*” (The Circus) scathingly criticized Christian Democratic leadership for the

continued poverty of most Chileans, and the party's incompetence in government.<sup>dxli</sup> In spite of presiding over the first freely elected government in nearly two decades, the Christian Democrats did not alter either the intense neoliberalism which dominated the Chilean economy ever since the authoritarian period, or the country's political structure which built in advantages to right-wing parties in terms of parliamentary representation.<sup>dxlii</sup> Although many of the restrictions on their mode of action were implanted into the 1980 constitution and therefore nearly impossible to remedy, we can see from their lyrics that *Fiskales Ad-Hok* did not give Christian Democracy the benefit of the doubt.

A new circus arrives in town  
The ringmaster is a Christian Democrat,  
Clown politicians laugh while they enjoy themselves,  
And we don't have money to get in! Oh oh oh!  
A strange and smiley ringmaster,  
A flag of six colors will come next,  
If the big tent is our homeland, why are we here?  
Tight packed onlookers who can't get in! Oh oh oh!  
Let's burn down this circus, and the next one also,  
We know that none of them will help us.  
Let's burn down this circus, the ringmaster too,  
We know that none of them will save us! Oh oh oh!  
This circus will last six years  
Six years in which nothing will change,  
The clowns enjoying themselves, and us just watching,  
And we don't have money to get in! Oh oh oh!  
Let's burn down this circus, and the next one too,  
We know that none of them will help us.  
Let's burn down this circus, the ringmaster too,  
We know that none of them will save us! Oh oh oh!<sup>dxliii</sup>

*Fiskales Ad-Hok*'s lyrics show that they did not view the Christian Democrats as worthy of their respect. References to clowns and a Christian Democrat ringmaster explicitly described the politics of their country as a circus, and the group most responsible for the carnivalesque state of affairs as the Christian Democratic president and party leadership. Injunctions to "burn down this circus" reflected the DIY (do it yourself) mentality characteristic to punk movements, and anger over the lack of real political change. The fact that the Christian Democrats were hamstrung by the neoliberal constitution and the skewed system of electoral representation did not mean very much to these punks, who still blamed the party and President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle for not even attempting to remedy some of these imbalances. More than not even trying to solve problems, the lyrics portrayed the clowns as "enjoying themselves," suggesting that *Fiskales* thought Christian

Democracy was happy with their moderate course, and perfectly willing to enjoy the trappings of power without attempting to improve the lives of ordinary Chileans. If the government would not solve the country's problems, protestors would have to take matters into their own hands. If "burning down this circus," presumably some violent change to the country's system of government, was the only way to bring a sense of mission and seriousness to Chilean politics, so-be-it.

The band *Los Peores de Chile* (Chile's Worst) discussed disillusionment and overwork from the point of view of Chilean youth, accustomed to the 54-hour work week and informal working arrangements, in their 1997 song "*Cerdo por liebre*" (Pig for Hare).<sup>dxliv</sup>

Three little pigs are dancing,  
Drunk on power they're taking it all,  
Lots of rainbows and lots of happiness,  
Everything was going to change, you believed it!  
We exchanged boots for cassocks but now nothing is happening. Nothing is happening!  
You will have work until you become a brute,  
And if you don't work, they will work you by selling you things,  
You will shut up, you will be a Chinaman,  
You will be a dragon, or you will be a cretin,  
We exchanged boots for cassocks, but now nothing happens, nothing happens!  
Oh my God, this is even worse!  
I swear to God that I don't understand anything!<sup>dxlv</sup>

*Los Peores de Chile* advanced the idea that anything would be better than the repression of the authoritarian era, with "rainbows" and "happiness" referring to the "no" campaign during 1988. Less than a decade later, they saw neoliberal capitalism as it was being practiced under democracy as violent and oppressive as well, in spite of the return to the electoral democratic form of government. To be sure, neoliberal capitalism was a central part of the authoritarian experiment with the economy, particularly as a result of the 1980 constitution and the creation of the subsidiary state. Yet *Los Peores de Chile* were disillusioned by the continued dominance of neoliberal economic arrangements over the lives of most Chileans. It is telling that the song's lyrics made no explicit mention of government at all. This neglect of government in the lyrics indicates that the band saw the government as an irrelevant actor unable to alter the economic *status quo*. The irrelevance of the government, in turn, elucidates the legacy of authoritarianism on Chilean

politics, in so far as the authoritarians had successfully neutralized the ability of the state to act upon the neoliberal economy.

### **Playing the Changes: Music, Pragmatism, and Technological Change in the Early 21<sup>st</sup>-century.**

In improvisational music, the phrase “to play the changes” refers to changing the musical scales one uses during an improvised solo, so that one’s improvisation fits with the changing structure of the song. Being a jazz musician, I found the metaphor of playing the changes particularly useful to understand Chilean politics; I am the first scholar to use the metaphor in this way, as far as I am aware. In early twenty-first-century Chile, protestors and members of urban tribes changed performances and protesting strategies to fit new temporalities and geographic scales. In this way, protesting students managed to construct a discourse in much the same way as jazz musicians play the changes over changing chords to a song.

Though many musicians and publics contested the functionality and leadership of traditional institutions during the democratic transition, they continued to demand a better society. They called for social change in new and often disruptive and imaginative ways. Both urban tribes and high school and university students became more vocal in their protests; they articulated their demands in innovative ways through new music and digital technology. Their increasing demands for equality, and more innovative forms of presentation suggested the emptiness of Chile’s democratic consensus, particularly for young people.

During the democratic transition, Chilean students used music to protest and mobilize after refining their strategies in non-musical settings. I argue that the student activists’ combination of electoral and more confrontational forms of involvement is similar to the way in which musicians challenged Chilean political leaders near the end of the authoritarian period. According to musicologist Mark Mattern, musicians sometimes use confrontational acting in concert to denounce an unfavorable situation, while pragmatic forms of “acting in concert” make demands palatable to unfamiliar or unsympathetic interlocutors by finding common ground between musicians and their audiences.<sup>dxlvi</sup> Mattern suggests that in re-democratizing Chile, “acting in concert” facilitated political resistance; we have seen this dynamic at play in discussions of the 1988 plebiscite.<sup>dxlvii</sup> Chilean students – and youth – demonstrated flexibility by adapting personal preference to achieving desired results, suggesting a wide array of circumstantial choice available

to pressure groups in their quest to perform their claims for rights and equality. In her study of the Chilean student movement after the return to democracy, Sofía Donoso argues that students had a deliberate strategy of combining their confrontational, at times violent presence on the streets on the one hand, and running for seats in Congress under the name *Izquierda Autónoma* (Autonomous Left), which eventually became a partner in government during the 2010s on the other hand;<sup>dxlviii</sup> Chile's President at the time of writing, Gabriel Boric, was a member of the *Izquierda Autónoma* movement and was one of the first slate of students to win a congressional seat. Through astute combinations of representative political involvement and direct actions such as street protests, students managed to make their voices heard in government, without losing credibility with their more radical base.

Protesting students' new twists on a world-famous pop song used symbolic representations to link their demands to the shortcomings of the country's democratic transition and the rich legacy of symbols provided by urban tribes. On June 24, 2011, secondary and university students staged the "*Thriller por la educación*" (Thriller for Education), a flash mob of more than 900 students which blocked the entrance to the presidential palace. After blocking the way, they re-interpreted Michael Jackson's famous "Thriller" by dressing as werewolves, zombies, and other supernatural entities and painting tombstone-shaped cardboard signs on their bodies.<sup>dxlix</sup> Some of the signs said things like "I sold my organs to pay for my education," or "I died owing \$5 million," references to the exorbitant amount of student debt and high interest rates of Chilean student loans.<sup>dl</sup> In spite of the urban tribal tendency to emphasize difference, these students combined symbols from different urban tribes. Tribal influences ranged from the pop music on the original Michael Jackson video, to Goth symbolism, such as public representations of tombstones in strongly religious Chile, and the punk DIY esthetic to make their signs and costumes out of easily available materials.<sup>dli</sup> Through *Thriller por la Educación* and other student-lead flash mobs, students subverted traditionally apolitical pop culture, managing to be pragmatic, humorous, and expressive at the same time. They also fundamentally altered the original purpose for urban tribes as collectives; students used the lifestyle and symbolism of their urban tribes to make claims on the political system, rather than demonstrating their alienation from it. These symbolic combinations indicate that tribal members shared objectives despite their differentiated forms of self-expression, revealing a wide range of possibilities for Chilean social movements to contest the *status quo*.



In addition to using symbols from urban tribes to make claims on the political system, students used new technologies to communicate and distribute their messages to wide publics. Specifically, they broadcast the protests to their social networks, so that viewers saw the events as the students wished; importantly, students posted the protests in their entirety for viewers, rather than relying on sound bites and video clips in the media.<sup>dlii</sup> In this way, students spread messages through an increasingly democratized media landscape outside previous state controlled and censored communication channels.

### **The Rhythms of Rupture: Music and Rights-Based Demands during Chile's *Estallido Social*.**

Music and other sonic forms of expression defined the *estallido social* (social eruption) of 2019 and 2020. On October 5, 2019, the Chilean government hiked bus ticket prices during peak hours in Santiago by 30 pesos, roughly four U.S. cents. In coordinated actions beginning on October 18, angry crowds of protestors used secure messaging services to organize huge flash mobs that filled the streets of cities throughout the country.<sup>dliiii</sup> At their height on October 25, the protests brought over five million people together, about 30% of Chile's total population. Moreover, protestors' demands quickly increased in scope, encompassing everything from the original rises to public transit costs to ending Chile's intense brand of neoliberalism. By the middle of November, the country's major political parties had signed a working agreement to begin negotiations over a new constitution.<sup>dliiv</sup> These events show how small demands for an affordable transit system during the *estallido* led to broader demands for political change, demonstrating the fragility of the consensus of the 1990s and early 2000s.

In making and performing their demands, protestors relied on new technologies to incite public "musical" performances to large publics quickly and over wide geographies. Secure messaging services organized thousands of people before the state could interfere. Protestors demonstrated throughout the country; the rhythmical chant of "*No son 30 pesos, son 30 años!*" (It's not 30 pesos, it's 30 years!), was not just heard within Chile, but also around the world through global streaming technologies, live or after the fact.<sup>dliv</sup> As journalists Pablo Abufom and Santiago Ramos point out in their respective articles, live streaming created permanent digital archives of these protest events, which had two advantages as opposed to relying on coverage from the mainstream news media: streaming allowed the disruptive street protests to be visible, audible in both real time and permanently archived; just as important, since the streams covered the entire temporality of the protests, it was difficult for the mostly right-wing media to take the protestors'

actions out of context and portray their movement in a politically interested way.<sup>dlvi</sup> Protestors could now control their messages to the public, while also quickly growing their audiences; this combination of agility and message control reveals how technology enabled the geographical spread and the temporal staying power of protest.

During the *estallido social*, music and sound updated already tried and tested protest strategies. For instance, the *cacerolazo* (March of empty pots), made by banging cooking utensils together in cascades of sound, was originally used in 1971 to protest food shortages under Popular Unity.<sup>dlvii</sup> Protestors during the *estallido social* now performed *cacerolazos* with new technology to make the protests visible to wider publics. During the *estallido*, these *cacerolazos* were often streamed live on the internet, giving them a global audience who now saw and heard exactly what the protestors chose to stream.<sup>dlviii</sup> When combined with thousands of Chileans chanting in rhythm to the banging, the sound carried throughout entire neighborhoods and online spaces.

In her song “#Cacerolazo,” the rapper Ana Tijoux deployed the sounds of the many *cacerolazos* during the *estallido* and modern recording techniques to produce a confrontational and emotive work of art. Tijoux interspersed recordings of *cacerolazos* from the historically leftist *Villa Francia población* with original lyrics about *cacerolazos* as effective popular mobilization.<sup>dlx</sup>

[Intro, spoken]:

In 200 meters, turn right and run, motherfucker, the cops are coming!

[Chorus]

*Cacerolazo, cacerolazo cacerolazo*

*cace, cace, cacerolazo*

*Cacerolazo cacerolazo*

*Cace, cace, cacerolazo!*

[Verse 1]:

Burn, wake up, Resign Piñera,

Through the whole *Alameda*, the coins are ours.<sup>dlx</sup>

A wooden spoon face to face with your bullets

And to the curfew, *cacerolazo!*

It's not 30 peso, it's 30 years

The constitution, and the *perdonazo* (amnesty)

With a fist and a spoon facing off against the apparatus.

And to the entire state, *cacerolazo!*

Listen, neighbor, add fuel to the fire

And give some gasoline to the barricades!

With lids, with pots, against the clowns

The revolt has arrived, and the *cacerolazo!*

[Chorus repeats]

[Bridge]

Camilo Catrillanca (*cace*)<sup>dlxi</sup>  
 Macarena Valdé (*cace*) No more AFP (*cace*)<sup>dlxii</sup>  
 Down with the TPP (*cace*)  
 And for education (*cace*)  
 And for healthcare (*cace*)  
 Neither reason nor force  
 No more slavery  
 [Chorus repeats]  
 [Verse 2]  
 Listen to the empty pot from way far off  
 If the pot sounds, it means we're not cool  
 We put the spoon up against the *guanaco* (water cannon)<sup>dlxiii</sup>  
 We are not at war, we are alert  
*Vivita, guachita*, Chile wake up  
 A wooden spoon up against your bullets  
 And to the curfew, *cacerolazo*!  
 We are not aliens, nor extraterrestrials  
 We took out our cooking pots and they killed us  
 And to the murderers, *cacerolazo*!  
 [Chorus repeats]  
 [Verse 3]  
 MUR-DER-ReR  
 They took so much away from us that they took away our fear  
 Aim, fire, murderer of the people  
 If there is no justice, there is no peace for the government  
 Now you, tell me, who is the violent one (*Cacerolazo*)!  
 [Outro]  
 (The most important thing is), *cacerolazo*!  
 (How do you say it)? *Cacerolazo*!  
 The most important thing is to keep a cool head  
 The cool head  
 There are no cool heads, there are sell-out heads  
 Very, very, very cool  
 There are no cool heads, there are sellout heads  
 (Very bad)  
 There are no cool heads, there are sell-out heads  
 (It's coming...)  
 There are no cool heads ... (This is very bad)  
 There are no cool heads, (revolt)! ... very bad  
 (To take away our privileges)  
 (Share it with everyone) *Cacerolazo*!  
 Revolt, *cacerolazo*!  
 (To take away our privileges)  
 (Share it with everyone)  
*Cacerolazo! Cace, cace, cace, revolt!*  
 (How do you say it)? *Cacerolazo*!

Revolt, *Cacerolazo!*  
Revolt, *cacerolazo!* Hunt, hunt, hunt!  
(How do you say it)? *Cacerolazo!*<sup>dlxiv</sup>

Tijoux's *Cacerolazo* contributed to resistance during the *estallido* in two major respects. First, she equated the efficacy of *cacerolazos* to the bullets and guns used by the police and military to shoot protestors. Her angry growls of "cace!" (Hunt!) revealed that the *cacerolazo*, not traditional recourse to the legal system, was the most effective way to punish the state and its officials. She weaponized the *cacerolazo* as a protest tool. Her song was an indictment of the Chilean legal system as either feckless or outright rigged against protestors, and a defense mechanism against a state which she saw as the aggressor in the context of the *estallido* social. Tijoux's frequent references to online sharing represented a new use of a historically important protest tool. *Cacerolazos* were important in achieving publicity, both for movements against Popular Unity and, later, against the authoritarian state. With Tijoux's recording, and the multiplying power of online sharing, *cacerolazos* could be spread around the world in extremely rapid spaces of time. Tijoux's work shared *cacerolazo* content, and invited other people to take part in the sharing. Simply by pushing a share button, people could involve themselves in the *estallido* protests at the same time as they expanded the scope of those protests. The *cacerolazo*, therefore, became the powerful weapon of the unarmed populace, and a tool to challenge intolerable political present.

At times, musicians chose to perform revolutionary song from the Popular Unity era while combining new and old modes of presentation. The opera soprano Ayleen Romero combined her classical training with her respect for the *nueva canción* and performed Víctor Jara's classic "*El derecho de vivir en paz*" (*The Right to Live in Peace*) from the balcony of her apartment building while Santiago was under curfew and martial law.<sup>dlxv</sup> Although this performance was not live-streamed, Romero uploaded the video to YouTube, and the presentation went viral within hours. On the video, her operatic singing floats over the sounds of a *cacerolazo* taking place on the street below, the *cacerolazo* pauses, and the participants stop to listen.<sup>dlxvi</sup> Romero's work showed why the *nueva canción* remained relevant for new generations, as well as how this originally folkloric style of music created a powerful impact in artistic circles. The viral nature of her video during the very early days of the *estallido* social turned her into a symbol of the protest movement transforming Chilean society.

Other innovations upon Víctor Jara's work took advantage of the increasing political activism of pop stars, as well as new technologies. The song "*Un nuevo pacto social*" (A New Social Pact), sung to the tune of "*El derecho de vivir en paz*" and interpreted by nearly 20 musicians in the band *Músicx de Chile* (Musicians of Chile), updated the lyrics and rhythm of Jara's original to reflect twenty-first century demands.<sup>dlxvii</sup> "*Un nuevo pacto social*" also made a profound ontological argument. The band's name, *Músicx*, is a gender-neutral presentation of the word 'musicians' in Spanish, which categorizes nouns as either masculine or feminine. In this way, before singing a word, the band made claims to gender neutrality in a highly gendered linguistic and social context. With the vocal and visible nature of demands during the *estallido social*, this claim to gender neutrality represented a highly visible claim to equality on the part of gender minorities and women, amplifying the need for increased democratization in Chilean society.

The uncompromising lyrics of "*Un nuevo pacto social*" revealed the ambitious nature of protestors' demands. One verse reads as follows:

With respect and with liberty  
A new social pact,  
Dignity and education  
So there is no inequality,  
The struggle is an explosion  
Which sinks all the noise,  
The right to live in peace.<sup>dlxviii</sup>

"*Un nuevo pacto social*" demonstrates that twenty-first-century protestors internalized Salvador Allende's famous statement that "there is no revolution without songs," and which critiqued the status quo in Chile.<sup>dlxix</sup> This link between revolutionary moments of the past and present through musical performance shows that how deeply *nueva canción* still resonated with many protestors during the *estallido social*, elucidating the powers of music to commemorate the past, critique the present, and imagine a better future. The viral nature of the song — with over 6.54 million views on the official YouTube video at the time of writing- demonstrates how pop musicians and their fan base became increasingly political actors.

At times, protestors used music during the *estallido social*, not merely as an organizing tool but as a deliberate tactic of protest, calculated to organize people through coded messages within the musical rhythm. The *primera línea* (front line) brigades, which attacked police and soldiers, were the shock troops of the protest movement. Specifically, the *primera línea* would

advance and retreat in waves, forcing police and soldiers back with their sheer numbers to protect protestors.<sup>dlxxx</sup> These *primera línea* waves functioned through disciplined use of the cumbia rhythm, a popular rhythm in urban slums where many *primera línea* members lived. The cumbia beat organized these wave movements, with timing that coordinated with live *cumbia* drumming to indicate to protestors when to move forward and retreat.<sup>dlxxxi</sup> Cumbia therefore not only built morale and emotional connections between protestors and causes but became a tactical necessity for protests to occur and succeed. This tactical use of music shows how music facilitated class-based mobilization and reveals new strategies at the intersection of musical preference and class position as protest tactics.

Like music, visual arts modernized artistic traditions from the authoritarian era and transformed them into new symbols of public protest. Graffiti, a ubiquitous art form, took on new meanings. Common graffiti included the English-language acronym “ACAB” (All cops are bastards) and demands such as “No + AFP” (privatized pension funds), in a renewal of the “No” campaign instituted by *Colectivo Acciones de Arte* during the authoritarian period. Other graffiti fulfilled a distinctly tactical role. For instance, leaked photographs of individual police officers with their names and addresses spray-painted on city walls let protestors know how to avoid certain cops in ways which were difficult to punish or erase.<sup>dlxxxii</sup> Through graffiti, members of Chilean urban tribes used symbols to express their identities while making shared political demands with protestors outside defined urban tribal membership.

Finally, pop musicians produced unmistakably politicized works during the *estallido social*. In the song “*Plata ta tá,*” (Money) the pop star Monserrat (Mon) Laferte and the Puerto Rican rapper *El Guaynaa* (Spirit of the Sky) opposed Chile’s economic inequalities and supported the protest movement.<sup>dlxxxiii</sup> One verse exhorted well-off people to join the protests in the following terms:

Take off your cloth, and come carefully  
That way your brain will thaw itself out.  
Go and get your cacerola, grandmother,  
We are eating nothing but rice and beans.<sup>dlxxxiv</sup>

Other sections of lyrics spoke to protestors’ uses of new technologies, and courage to confront police and soldiers.

This generation has the revolution,  
With the cell phone it has more power than Donald Trump.

From Ecatepec to New York,  
Everybody wants to get into the flow.  
Even though we go lame,  
Even though they rip out our eyes,  
I entered the reggaetón and shook my ass,  
To send you the message again, so you get it!<sup>dlxxv</sup>

“*Plata ta tá*” was released in November, 2019, at the high point of the protests. It was therefore a pointed demonstration of the new political activism of pop stars and the transmission of their messages to growing audiences. Far from the happy, apolitical sounds of the democratic transition, pop musicians directly confronted issues of social justice and political change.

During the *estallido*, music about police brutality brought the issue to the attention of Chilean society. The song “*Paco vampiro*” (Vampire Cop) by Alex Anwandter critiques over-policing, both during the protests and during the thirty years since the beginning of the democratic transition. The presence of Ángel Parra, the co-founder of the first *peña* discussed in chapter one on electric guitar, and the rapper Ana Tijoux on vocals lent extra moral weight to the song’s message. The lyrics of the song depict a constant history of over-policing throughout the democratic transition, and a well-placed distrust of all police in general.

A country that smells of teargas,  
It’s been thirty years and it doesn’t go away  
An enemy always arrives  
He always comes in his truck  
He has the face of a vampire  
And I sing his song to him (it says)  
Vampire cop, vampire cop  
You have a thirst for blood  
Vampire cop, even your mama calls you a motherfucker  
Don’t be a traitor anymore  
Don’t forget who I am  
Bullets get returned to sender  
If you give it to me, I give it to you  
Bullets  
Blood  
Song  
Blood  
A country that smells of teargas  
And the bitter taste that won’t go away  
It stays forever in your mouth  
And it makes you remember  
That more battle remains for us  
And we must fight

Because they send their friend  
He who comes in his van  
He has the face of a vampire  
We sing his song to him (it says)  
Vampire cop, vampire cop  
You have a thirst for blood  
Vampire cop, even your mama calls you a motherfucker  
Don't be a traitor anymore  
And admit the truth  
That the blood which you spill  
Is your son and your mama (and they are your)  
Bullets  
Blood  
Grief  
Blood  
Ana, tell them  
[Outro - Ana Tijoux]  
How do you ask for peace while you torture?  
How do you ask for peace while you kill?  
How do you ask for peace while you kill?  
You have to be truly shameless to ask for peace while there is no justice.<sup>dlxxvi</sup>

“*Paco vampiro*” expressed important changes in the ideology of protest between the beginnings of the democratic transition and the peak of the *estallido social*. Far from the failures to name and shame those who committed violence at the beginnings of the democratic transition, the lyrics blamed the violence on the people who served an oppressive state. First and foremost, those people were the police force, the *Carabineros de Chile*, who are referred to disparagingly as *pacos*, (a word without a direct English translation but roughly equivalent to the disparaging English-language reference to police officers as ‘pigs’). To double down on this negative reference, Anwandter referred to them as “vampire cops,” implying that they gained power through shedding the blood of innocents; if the listener should mistake this reference to vampirism as poetic exaggeration, repeated statements that the vampire cop has a thirst for blood make it clear that for Anwandter, the metaphor is no joke. Second, the song defended the use of violence as a tool of protest, in response to the history of violent police crackdowns during public protests. Anwandter’s repeated references in the chorus to bullets getting “returned” reveal that for him, when law enforcement uses violence against protestors, protestors are morally justified in using the same methods to defend themselves. More than that, Anwandter’s references to police as “traitors,” and the repeated line in the chorus that “even your mother calls you a motherfucker” show that



Anwandter views individual police officers as enemies of the Chilean people, and suggest that their own family members should view them similarly. Finally, “*Paco vampiro*” refused to depict police forces as the crime-fighting forces they are supposed to be, instead framing police as violent by choice, rather than out of necessity. Betraying one’s people and one’s family are acts that one chooses to take, after all. The “vampire cops” therefore deserved to be treated with contempt, both through the words and the actions of protestors, who are fully justified in using violence when provoked. In this way, Anwandter signaled that not only was he tired of police brutality, but that the logical way to solve this police brutality was through violent acts of self-defense against brutal officers.

Feminist groups also blamed injustices on the state and its officials through music. The *Colectivo LASTESIS*<sup>dlxxvii</sup> (The Theses Collective), a group of four law students from the city of Valparaíso, use audiovisual media to teach critical legal studies and feminist theory in easily understood language; their audience was originally restricted to university students, but their internet presence has since gone viral, giving them a global reach and audience.<sup>dlxxviii</sup> In their song “*Un violador en tu camino*” (A Rapist in your Path), *LASTESIS* contextualized the acquittal of five men accused of raping and immolating Macarena Valdés, a sex worker and street theater actress. Though the song was released in March of 2019, well before the *estallido social* protests, the song achieved international fame during the *estallido*.<sup>dlxxix</sup>

The patriarchy is a judge  
who judges us for being born,  
and our punishment  
Is the violence that you don’t see.  
The patriarchy is a judge  
who judges us for being born  
and our punishment  
is the violence that you now see.  
It is femicide.  
Impunity for my murderer.  
It is disappearance.  
It is rape.  
And the fault was not mine, nor where I was nor how I dressed.  
And the fault was not mine, nor where I was nor how I dressed.  
And the fault was not mine, nor where I was nor how I dressed.  
And the fault was not mine, nor where I was nor how I dressed.  
The rapist was you.  
The rapist is you.  
They are the cops,

the judges,  
the State,  
the president.  
The oppressor State is a male rapist.  
The oppressor State is a male rapist.  
The rapist was you.  
The rapist is you.  
Dream in peace, innocent girl,  
without worrying yourself over the gunman.  
your Carabinero lover watches. The rapist is you.  
The rapist is you.  
The rapist is you.  
The rapist is you.<sup>dlxxx</sup>

*Lastesis* makes two important points about the relationship between sexual violence, the patriarchy, and impunity in Chile. First, they accused the state and its officials of torture, disappearance, murder, and legalistic obfuscation to defend male privilege. This impunity and defense of male privilege goes from the bottom to the top, from the judges in the judicial branch through the Carabineros in the executive and the legislators who fail to make laws protecting women from male impunity; references to the state as “a male rapist” make this attribution of responsibility clear, and applicable to the state and its functionaries at all levels. Second, by creating a culture of impunity, the state and its officials are both complicit and guilty of rape and femicide. By unmasking an unapologetically patriarchal, violent *status quo*, *LASTESIS* demonstrates that replacing patriarchy is a legal and moral imperative if one takes equality and rights seriously. Just as important, by referring to the rapist in the second-person singular, (you), *LASTESIS* claims that all citizens of the rapist state, and indeed all listeners to the song, are complicit in the rape of women everywhere. By not creating a state in which rape is rigorously persecuted, the citizenry, as well as state functionaries, commits rape and defends male impunity. This pointed revelation of male impunity backed up by a patriarchal oppressor state demonstrates the need to set the state and society on a just legal foundation, modeled on new constitutional principles.

### ***¡Apruebo!*<sup>dlxxxi</sup> Musical Voices in Favor of a New Constitution.**

Music accompanied the drafting process for Chile’s proposed constitution between 2020 and 2022. On October 4, 2020, Chileans rejected the 1980 constitution, a highly undemocratic document which reduced the state to a subsidiary role.<sup>dlxxxii</sup> In the same plebiscite, Chileans also voted to convene a democratically elected constitutional convention, whose composition was revolutionary

in two important respects: (1); 50% of the delegates were women, and (2); for the first time, seats were reserved for the country's indigenous population.<sup>dlxxxiii</sup> These developments broke with the authoritarian past and the so-called negotiated democracy, in which the rights of women, indigenous groups, and others were ignored. Though defeated in the exit plebiscite of September 4, 2022, politicized musical performances articulated goals of the constitutional framers and those Chileans who supported the new project.

The musical conversation around a new constitution was markedly one-sided, with voices against a new constitution almost totally absent. Musicians performed works to support the flagging morale of *estallido* participants. A new national plebiscite on the question of getting rid of the 1980 constitution had been planned for April 25, 2020, but the government canceled the vote, citing the global pandemic. Javiera Parra, the granddaughter of Violeta Parra and daughter of the exiled singer-songwriter Isabel Parra, released the song “*En un día como hoy* (On a Day like Today) over the encrypted messaging app WhatsApp to express her grief and frustration over the cancelation of the scheduled vote.

On a day like today, I would have left my house very contentedly,  
I would have left to take public transport, to arrive at my polling place.  
On a day like today, the sun would have announced the beginning of a new history,  
One which would embrace and comprehend memory, and which would build with  
the heart and the mind.  
On a day like today, I would be proud of my people,  
Who with just a pencil would cry out their desire to create a new world.  
With an *Apruebo!*<sup>dlxxxiv</sup>

“*En un día como hoy*” summarized generations of politicized activity by the Parra family, from the hopes of the *nueva canción* era to the frustrations they expressed in the twenty-first century. Lyrically speaking, Parra's references to things she would have done had the plebiscite taken place on schedule served a paradoxical function: by reminding people of things she would have done, Parra kept the demands of the *estallido* social front and center in peoples' minds, while also reminding both the state and average citizens that by canceling the vote, the state had failed to live up to its obligations. Just as important, the song strongly suggested that the public health emergency had not overridden demands for political change. Finally, the use of encrypted messaging services instead of traditional streaming outlets shows how semi-clandestine performance and distribution had once more become necessary. The song's semi-clandestinity, in turn, raises questions about the neatness of the rupture between the authoritarian period and the so-called democratic transition.

The national song and dance form, *the cueca*, was a prominent source of pro-constitution songs, and a claim to Chilean patriotism from the left by pro-*apruebo cuequeros* (cueca artists). *Cueca* activity in favor of the new constitution was abundant in quantity and uncompromising in tone. The group *Los Treinta Pesos* (The Thirty Pesos), for instance, released the “*Cueca por el apruebo*,” (Cueca for the Yes Vote), in which they made frequent references to the *estallido social* protests and the historically deep roots of their political project.

Those who were asleep,  
The rotten politicians from the corrupt institution  
Now listen to the song that sounds at full volume  
For a new plebiscite and for a new constitution.  
To the students of Chile!  
Long live, long live the students,  
Who took the lid, took the lid off the deceit  
Not only, not only the 30 pesos  
But also, but also the 30 years.  
Long live, long live the students  
And Gustavo Gatica,<sup>dlxxxv</sup> he made it real.  
I give my eyes to the people, so they wake up.  
To wake them up, yes! And Don Gastón.<sup>dlxxxvi</sup>  
He asks the people, to give more heart.  
For the constitutional convention, long live the people!<sup>dlxxxvii</sup>

“*La Cueca por el apruebo*” contributed to debates about the place of *cuecas* in Chilean politics, which both the left and right have used for their own ideological purposes. Whereas conservative and pro-authoritarian forces generally view the cueca as a return to the simpler, less polarized times of the past through bucolic and romantic imagery, leftists have consistently used the cueca to make explicit demands on the Chilean state and society. This difference in approach goes back to well before the authoritarian period, but an analysis of cuecas from the authoritarian era to the present provides useful context. In 1979, the authoritarian government made the *cueca* Chile’s national dance, in a historical context in which many cueca groups such as *Los Huasos Quincheros* and *los Cuatro Cuartos* supported authoritarian rule.<sup>dlxxxviii</sup> Leftists used the *cueca* to contest state hegemony over public discourse. Women, especially, used *cuecas* to draw attention to disappeared loved ones, and to the state actively hiding their whereabouts.<sup>dlxxxix</sup> “*Cueca por el apruebo*” fits neatly with the tradition of leftist *cueca*, by stating opinions from the left, and making left-wing claims to feelings of patriotism and Chileanness. Finally, the song’s release exclusively through social media is a testament to the transformative powers of the internet to spread messages

inspired by the *estallido social*. Just as rappers, pop musicians, and others had used the internet, *cuequeros* of a leftist disposition were demonstrating the same ability.

“*La Cueca del Apruebo*” is also noteworthy due to its topical lyrics, which addressed the recent past of the *estallido social* directly, in ways that are very difficult to misinterpret. References to “the corrupt institution” imply that it is government itself which is corrupt, not merely certain elected politicians or functionaries. The song expressly credited Chilean students with leading the protest movement, reversing the conventional wisdom about who leads and who follows. In exercising true leadership, distinct from the leadership of elected political representatives, students showed the world that the point at issue was not simply a thirty peso rise to public transport costs, but the roughly thirty years between the return to democratic elections and the *estallido social*. Politicians therefore had one opportunity, perhaps a final opportunity, to remain relevant: to “listen to the students,” and follow student leadership by accepting calls for a constitutional plebiscite and a new constitution. Finally, the “*Cueca por el apruebo*” gave the *estallido social* a martyr, all-but a living martyr, in the person of Gustavo Gatica, a university student who was blinded by rubber bullets fired by police while attending a protest. By choosing a figure who was very much alive and politically active, the song made Gatica a synecdoche for Chilean society in general and protestors in particular; just like the people of Chile, Gatica was gravely injured by an oppressive government, but still capable of making demands on that government.

Other performers emphasized the links between their current work and prior historical struggles. Héctor Pavés, a dissident who chose to remain in Chile during the authoritarian era, released his “*Cueca larga por una nueva constitución*” (Long Cueca for a New Constitution), citing the proposed rights protections in the document as reasons for approving the text. In addition to the lyrics and title, Pavés’s choice of musical form represented a highly political act; the *cueca larga* is now overshadowed by the hegemonic Central Valley *cueca*, Chile’s national dance. Before even playing a note, therefore, Pavés claimed a place for this regional *cueca* variant in Chile’s national discourse.<sup>dx</sup>

The peoples’ art makes itself present in this new constitution. So that no one has too little, and so that no one has too much.  
Let’s approve it everywhere, this new Chile under construction.  
Let’s all sing the *cueca larga* for a new constitution.  
To wake up the consciousness of the working people  
And you should vote for the approval which cost the people so much pain.  
For all that pain, oh yes! Don’t forget about education.

Of quality and free, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! For healthcare, and the nation.  
 For the right to be healthy, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Houses made of cardboard,  
 For a dignified little house, approve the new constitution  
 Constitution, oh yes! Work is the big question.  
 For a living wage, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Pensions are painful.  
 So that the elderly can travel, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Women acting freely.  
 For equal treatment, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Your condition (ability) doesn't matter.  
 For respect for all humans, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! The environment and tradition.  
 For the water and for the land, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! For culture and for creation.  
 For the artists of Chile, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Passions of my nation.  
 (Lyrics garbled), approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! Freedom of expression.  
 For truth and justice, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! I tell you with emotion,  
 For the life of the people, approve the new constitution.  
 Constitution, oh yes! I sang you new truths.  
 If you keep being perfidious, your lamentation will be great.  
 For this new, loving change, approve the new constitution.<sup>dxc</sup>

The specific nature of content in the “*Cueca larga por una nueva Constitución*” fundamentally distinguished this work from music during the democratic transition, or much of the work produced during the *estallido*, for that matter. Most politicized music fulfills one (or more) of three functions; to commemorate past events, protest political affairs in the present, or to imagine a better future. Pavés, by contrast, enumerated specific categories of rights which the constitutional draft guaranteed, including housing, a better health care system, protections for the elderly, the right to universal quality education, the right to housing for all, and the rights of nature (to name a few categories). The “*Cueca larga*” imagined a better future for Chileans, based on the many categories of rights it enumerated, but these imaginings took place in extremely concrete terms rather than vague emotions. Instead of critiquing state actions or policies, or relying on emotion to commemorate the past or imagine a brighter future, the “*Cueca larga*” provided benchmarks for what the proposed text should achieve, and against which any failures could be measured. When packaged in this way, music held the state accountable to the promises made by constitutional

framers, by listing specific categories of rights and telling Chileans how they could make those rights a reality: voting yes on the constitutional draft. This was a far more ambitious project than protest music as scholars and musicians construe the term. The benchmarks for holding the state accountable for guaranteeing—or failing to guarantee—the rights it enumerated made the “*Cueca Larga*” a useful list of aspirations from protestors during the *estallido social*, and a very concrete reminder of the ways in which the Chilean state continues in its failure to live up to popular expectations.

Other performers responded to concerns that the proposed constitution guaranteed too many rights. For instance, the radio network *Radio Bío Bío* did a twenty-four part series called *Una constitución para Chile* (A Constitution for Chile), in which *Bío Bío* journalists released episodes on different subjects in the draft constitution.<sup>dxcii</sup> These episodes were almost uniformly critical, with a clear majority of the jurists and academics who were consulted speaking against the proposal; Tomás Moziatti, the anchor of *Bío Bío*’s morning news show and the host of the series, openly favored a “no” vote and grew quite emphatic as the series went on. Four especially critical episodes dealt with the establishment of a plurinational judicial system, new limits to the right to private property, family law, and strengthening Chile’s public health care system at the expense of private providers.<sup>dxciiii</sup> This suggests that the sovereignty of Chilean indigenous people over their own legal affairs, limitations to Chile’s extreme deference to private property rights, the right of non-binary couples to have legal guardianship over children, and strengthening public healthcare system were, respectively, make-or-break issues for conservative sectors of Chilean society and the media. In August, 2022 after pressure from political parties of the right and center, pro-apruebo parties agreed to study reforms to the constitutional text in the event that they won the September 4 vote.<sup>dxciiv</sup> Yet, well before the reform agreement was formalized, musicians were already critiquing politicians’ desire to alter the text. In his song *¿Recuerdas como fueron éstos días?* (Do You Remember Those Days?) singer and standup comic Jorge Barradit invoked the passions of the *estallido social* protests, and the unfulfilled popular demands for political change as reasons to leave the text alone. Notably, Barradit released the song over the social network Facebook live, in a gesture of recognition toward the grass-roots nature of the *estallido social* demands.

I approve of the text that I receive,  
And I approve of it just as it was made.  
In writing we will have the dreams,

Of the people who changed their path.  
 I approve the song of the street  
 I approve the dream of a mother,  
 And the soft winds that come to us  
 Bring the new spring.  
 I approve with a firm conscience  
 I approve that it now begins  
 The Chile that we all dream of  
 Between the sea and the mountains.  
 Come with me, come! That's the way the poet sang.  
 Come with me, come! And let's all go with him.  
 Come with me, come! Our dignity will be set out.  
 Come with me, come! Let's open all the doors.  
 I approve of the way we are taking,  
 I approve it with complete happiness.  
 I invite you to be the melody  
 And the tree of the new wise woman  
 I approve it with all my strength  
 I approve that everything may flourish  
 And I opened up the light of the new day  
 That our entire country is waiting for.  
 I approve to give a footing to hope  
 And I approve just like you approve  
 The land is asking us for the water  
 To make spring burst forth.  
 Come with me, come! That's how the poet sang.  
 Come with me, come! And let's all go with him.  
 Come with me, come! Dignity will be ours.  
 Come with me, come! Dignity will be ours.  
 Come with me, come! Let's open all the doors.  
 If you want spring to arrive on September 4 this year. I approve!<sup>dxcv</sup>

*¿Recuerdas como fueron éstos días?* elucidates the ideological pluralism of constitutional discussions, even among different groups who desire change. Barradit exposed a contrast between those who “approve of the text” as it was originally drafted, and another unmentioned camp of people who, although they may have supported the *estallido* social, thought the draft constitution was too ample a document. Barradit’s song does not mention specific rights, indicating that the specifics of the draft constitution may not have mattered to him as much as the fact that for the first time in Chilean history, a constitutional convention had been elected by popular vote. The song appeared to endorse the democratic process of election to the constitutional convention, over and above the negotiated, highly programmed representative system of the democratic transition,



and the political elites who sought to reform the draft text. In this way, he reveals fissures within the *Apruebo* camp between the radical demands of protestors and constitutional framers on the one hand, versus traditional political elites on the other.

In keeping with their visible and audible political involvement during the *estallido social* protests, feminist groups actively supported the new constitutional draft. One group calling themselves *Feministas por el Apruebo* (Feminists for Approval) released a song in favor of the approved text, reflecting their optimism for the country's future under the new constitution. In addition to addressing strictly Chilean themes, the song was sung to the tune of the nineteenth-century Italian protest anthem "*Bella ciao*," demonstrating the internationalist nature of musical struggles for rights, and the ability of politicized music to remain relevant across centuries.

We finally have it, we can finally do it, to the one from Pinochet we will say chao  
chao chao!  
We finally have it, we can finally do it, and we are all going to approve!  
Just for men, and in dictatorship, to the old constitution we will say chao chao chao  
This is for all of us, and all of us together, and in September to approve!  
To screw with the water, to screw with the forest, to screw with the soil and all the  
rest we will say chao chao chao.  
The (gender) equal one, and the one with the rights, we will all go to approve it!  
Listen (male) neighbor, listen (female) neighbor, so in September you don't forget  
to say chao chao chao  
Listen neighbor, listen neighbor, we militate with you to approve it!  
For its abuses, for its madness, to the old one from Pinochet we will say chao chao  
chao  
But to the new one, from all of Chile, we will all go to approve it!  
Just for men, and in dictatorship, to the old constitution we will say chao chao chao  
This is for all of us, all together, [gendered female] and we will all go to approve  
it!  
The gender equal one, and the one with rights, we will all go to approve it!<sup>dxcevi</sup>

This song vividly expressed the differences between the new text and Chile's present constitution. Instead of the 1980 constitution which was drafted in secret by—and for—men, the proposed draft was compiled with gender parity, which the song referred to at least once in every verse of lyrics. Instead of treating the environment as a tool to be "screwed with," the draft proposal contained an chapter dedicated to environmental rights, thus the verse of lyrics on the environment. Finally, the draft constitutional framers enjoyed popular mandate through free and fair election rather than imposing reforms on a resistant public as during the authoritarian era. *Feministas por el Apruebo* made near constant mention of the democratic process in their work, referring at the end of each

verse to the fact that “we will all go to approve.” The song reflected these important differences, demonstrating the hopeful, egalitarian, and participatory environment of the constitutional convention and electoral process. Equally important, *Feministas Por El Apruebo* visualized the possibilities of rejecting the Pinochet-era document, proposed a simple road map to the equality and parity of the new constitutional world to come through a yes vote.

### **Conclusion.**

Close examination of the period between the birth of *nueva canción* in the 1960s and the *estallido social* and constitutional drafting of the 2020s reveals how musicians created new - and at times competing - forms of solidarity, discipline, and community. During the *nueva canción* era between the mid-1960s and the military coup of September 1973, performers protested injustices such as poverty, police brutality and land ownership and imagined new ways to remedy those injustices through constructing an egalitarian future. As such, performers participated in a distinctly revolutionary and egalitarian nationalism based on communal solidarities and socialist discipline that was different from anything Chile had experienced before.

With the authoritarian coup in September 1973, politicized performance reflected the tension in a “nation of enemies”: authoritarian nationalists’ performances such as the works of Vicente Biancci or *Los Huasos Quincheros* performed works of joyful exultation commemorating the coup and thanking the authoritarian state for maintaining law and order.<sup>dxcvii</sup> In doing so, these pro-authoritarians proposed a traditional, patriotic nationalism with the nation-state at the center of its concept of community. At the same time, neoliberal tendencies greatly incentivized the profit motive, and made performing on a national scale more difficult through municipalization. Other performers criticized the government and commemorated those killed or oppressed under authoritarian rule, formulating new types of community through their critique. New technologies such as cassette tapes and fan zines publicized dissident performance and helped create new communities for the anti-authoritarian resistance. Far from taking politics out of performance and complicating the claims of “cultural blackout” coming from leftist scholars, the authoritarian era was a time of sharp debate and even polemic about the “proper” role of culture in Chilean society.

Performers continued to work in both pro and anti-authoritarian directions during the 1988 plebiscite, in which two distinct communal visions formed in the Popular Unity and authoritarian eras briefly competed with each other. Nationalists envisioned a community based on gratitude and loyalty to the government combined with individualist ideologies, whereas critical

performances and the communities they brought into being imagined a more solidary future needed to implement democracy. For the first time, the egalitarian nationalism of the left and the authoritarian nationalism of the right competed on a democratic playing field. Scholars and historical participants agree that the democratic, anti-authoritarian version of community empowered Chileans to vote to change their political destiny.

During the democratic transition, politicized performers had new demands and new forms of communitarian expression through performance to challenge political leadership to be more responsive and ensure a more representative democracy. Specifically, performers politicized their work to imagine new varieties of self-expression through the locus of the urban tribe, rather than focusing on the nationalist or solidary communitarian imaginaries of earlier times. During the *estallido social* and the constitutional drafting process, musicians and publics merged self-expression with new technologies to demand political changes. These new imaginaries, and the new technologies used to spread them, linked the protests and commemorations of the past to a more egalitarian future.

Since the inauguration of electoral democracy in 1990, musicians and their urban “tribal publics” have politicized music and performance in new and varied ways. On rare but important occasions, musicians have deliberately restrained or silenced specific controversial or provocative techniques in the name of consensus; far more often, musical performance has preserved collective memory of state violence, pointed protest against Chile’s political status quo, or imagining a better future. Considering growing student activism, the members of urban tribes have used performance to make ambitious demands for more legal rights and unprecedented forms of social change.

In the beginnings of the democratic transition, changes to traditional ways of performing and distributing music show how the underlying tensions and silences complicated the path toward democracy. Most dissident media shut down in the early 1990s, and many Chilean youth changed their allegiances from the political parties to the seemingly apolitical urban tribes. The rejection of official politics by some urban tribes notwithstanding, the aesthetic and symbolic signifiers of Chile’s urban tribes contested the traditional prerogatives of political institutions through decentralized systems of affiliations based on identity through self-expression. By creating new forms of self-expression and symbolic representation, urban tribes helped lay the groundwork for the political changes during the *estallido social* and constitutional drafting process. This is not to say that urban tribes made political parties irrelevant; urban tribes forced political parties and elites

to reckon with issues which they had largely been ignoring ever since the return to electoral democracy, by depriving parties of youth participation and, in doing so, showing political elites that youth could force changes in the country's political discourse by the sheer numbers they gathered into the streets. Specifically, urban tribes impelled demands for an end to Chile's intense brand of neoliberalism, and most important, a new constitution to replace the authoritarian-era document.

By performing alternative symbolic expressions of individual identity and collective belonging, dissident performers and their publics not only articulated ambitious political demands, but also involved unprecedented numbers of people in political processes. In new forms of protest, they combined symbols from different urban tribes and used information technology to reveal the power of imagination and instant communication to quicken political change.

New technologies, in particular, provide for nearly instant communication, giving transparency to the protests and allowing viewers from distant places to imagine themselves in the shoes of the protestors. Live streaming, in particular, has helped document the worst excesses of state repression, and also showed the state to be slow and violent instead of productively responsive. While as cassette tapes helped dissident Chileans express collective demands far from the prying eyes of the authoritarian government and its censors, new technologies now helped youth unite under a set of collective claims to rights and inclusion, offering proof of the repressive nature of the state's response to those claims. From the cassette tape to secure WhatsApp groups, new, dissident technologies have consistently shaped anti-government political discourse in Chile.

The use of these novel forms of performance and dissemination to display "modernized" versions of pre-existing claims to rights and equality stands out as the truly revolutionary feature of the *estallido social*. Remakes of Víctor Jara's work, for instance, commemorate and sonically link to the *nueva canción* past, protest an undesirable present, and imagine a better future to come all at the same time. Yet, these new forms of politicized performances did far more than older performances, across a wider geographic scale and a shorter, more efficient temporal scale; the fact that protestors could spread their performances instantaneously magnified their function and moral force, giving them greater resonance in the short-term than prior performative protests. Through the processes revealed in this chapter, the power of music has come closer to achieving the dreams for a just society originally inspired by the *nueva canción* than ever before.

We thus need to rethink the periodization of Chile's transition to electoral democracy. Some scholars asserted that Chile's democratic transition began after the defeat of the "yes" campaign in the 1988 national plebiscite; others refer to the early 1990s, and yet others doubt that the transitional phase of Chilean democracy has, in fact, ended at all.<sup>dxcviii</sup> Jaime Guzmán, the leading framer of Chile's 1980 constitution, made frequent references to Chile as a protected democracy, and constitutional framers deliberately skewed the political playing field toward the right and center at the expense of leftist groups. Specifically, the 1980 constitution set up gerrymandered legislative districts and a system of binomial electoral representation which is deliberately designed to inflate the representation of centrist and right-wing parties; Chilean election law repudiated the worst excesses in 2017, but they are still in place in attenuated form, revealing uncomfortable continuities between the authoritarian era and the allegedly democratic present.<sup>dxcxix</sup> My evidence of musical performance and the continuing need for artists to release their performances in semi-clandestinity reinforce the idea that, for all practical purposes, the Chilean democratic transition is at best incomplete.

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<sup>dxcii</sup> Three articles speak to the aspirations and limitations of Chile's democratic experience. See John L. Rector, *The history of Chile* (Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations. Greenwood Press, 2019). (225-282; and Carlos Huneeus. "The Limits of the New Democracy." In Huneeus, Carlos. Trans. Lake Sagaris. *The Pinochet Regime*. Boulder, Lyn Reener Publishers: 2008. (431-438.

<sup>dxiii</sup> Watters, Ethan. *Urban Tribes: Are Friends the New Family?* 1st U.S. ed. New York: Bloomsbury : Distributed to the Trade by Holtzbrinck Publishers, 2003.

<sup>dxiv</sup> We hear this slogan for the first time on the first day of campaigning for the plebiscite, and throughout the "no" campaign's materials. See "Franjas del SÍ y del NO – Capítulo 1 – 5 de septiembre." YouTube, 22 May, 2022. [https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB\\_Cw](https://youtu.be/rPfEpLHB_Cw). From 13:00 to 13:10. Jorge Olalla Mayor, a scriptwriter and film director and the major inspiration for the slogan, outlined his position in an article written decades later. See Olalla Mayor, Jorge. "La Historia de un Mensaje Memorable: Sin Odio, Sin Violencia, Sin Miedo. No Más..." Ciper Chile, 24 June, 2022. <https://www.ciperchile.cl/2018/09/25/la-historia-de-un-mensaje-memorable-sin-odio-sin-violencia-sin-miedo-no-mas/>. As we will see, Olalla Mayor and the "no" campaign leadership were trying to turn the word "no" from a negative premise into a positive affirmation.

<sup>dxv</sup> Olalla Mayor, Jorge. "La Historia de un Mensaje Memorable: Sin Odio, Sin Violencia, Sin Miedo. No Más..." Ciper Chile, 24 June, 2022. <https://www.ciperchile.cl/2018/09/25/la-historia-de-un-mensaje-memorable-sin-odio-sin-violencia-sin-miedo-no-mas/>.

*El NO, por ser una premisa negativa, partía en desventaja, entonces la locución decía: "No más, vota NO". El "más" ayudaba a equilibrar, era positivo. Siempre es más fácil decir que sí, que decir que no. La locución "sin odio, sin violencia, sin miedo", expresaba que la única herramienta que se tenía era el lápiz para votar y era una herramienta poderosa.*

<sup>dxvi</sup> The *Estadio Nacional* was the largest and most notoriously brutal of the makeshift prison camps established by the authoritarian government to detain and interrogate political dissidents, real or imagined. See Rozas-Krause, Valentina. "Interrupted stadium: Broken promises of modernity in the national stadium of Chile." *Shift Journal* 8 (2015): 1-18.

<sup>dxvii</sup> See Rozas-Krause, Valentina. "Interrupted stadium: Broken promises of modernity in the national stadium of Chile." *Shift Journal* 8 (2015): 1-18. For the entire *Encuentro* itself on video, see "Acto Estadio Nacional, 12 de marzo de 1990 (Completo)." YouTube, 18 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/y sklziDI0II>.

- dxviii Jara, Víctor. "Te Recuerdo, Amanda." La Población. EMI Chile: Santiago, (1972). [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), 3 August, 2022. <https://www.cancioneros.com/letras/cancion/5448/te-recuerdo-amanda-victor-jara>.
- dxix "Acto Estadio Nacional, 12 de Marzo de 1990 (Completo)." YouTube, 18 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/ysklziDIOII>. This instrumental version of "Te recuerdo, Amanda" appears between 04:38 and 08:01.
- dxix "Acto Estadio Nacional, 12 de Marzo de 1990 (Completo)." The *Cueca de los Detenidos desaparecidos* can be heard between 08:01 and 10:25.
- dxix "Acto Estadio Nacional, 12 de Marzo de 1990 (Completo)." "Gracias a la vida" begins at 01:17:50 and lasts to the end of the video.
- dxixii Two of the most famous performances Umbral broadcast during authoritarianism were the *Encuentro del canto* popular discussed previously in this work, and the *Encuentro payadores* (Street Poets Gathering), which featured dissident standup comics. See Acevedo, Raúl. "Encuentro de Canto Popular en el Estadio Santa Laura – Radio Umbral – 15 enero 1988." YouTube, 29/11/2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dR67RVisLE>; and "Radio Umbral Encuentro Payadores." YouTube, 22 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/ic7gUZdJauA>.
- dxixiii Bresnahan, Rosalind. "Radio and the democratic movement in Chile 1973–1990: Independent and grass roots voices during the Pinochet dictatorship," 161-181. 171-2.
- dxixiv "Cassette, historia de la música Chilena: Quinto capítulo – folk." YouTube, 29 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/5algPzCfo1Q>. From 17:17:32 to 17:54.  
"Y cuando vinieron los cambios, cuando se suponía que todo iba a florecer, que ya podíamos cantar libres, que podíamos tener espacios musicales, vino la bofetada tremenda de la democracia negociada, y todos aquellos pocos medios que habíamos logrado levantar durante la dictadura desaparecieron. O sea, no sólo no tuvimos nuevos medios, sino que los pocos que teníamos se desaparecieron."
- dxixv García, Manuel. "El viejo comunista." Pánico. Alerce, Santiago de Chile: 2006. YouTube, 2 July, 2022. <https://youtu.be/Ind8fPjQ1pA>.  
*Un viejo que fuera comunista  
se sienta a fumar la tarde entera.  
Mientras buena lluvia cae afuera.  
con voz desnuda, el viejo piensa;  
por qué coinciden en su ventana  
palomas grises con la pena que fumara.  
Torna sus ojos a un día lejos,  
cuando un libro, un beso, una muchacha, un pensamiento.  
Cree que ya nada lo sorprende  
que se curó de espanto, desgastó el llanto.*
- dxixvi García, Manuel. "El viejo comunista." Pánico. Alerce, Santiago de Chile: 2006. YouTube, 2 July, 2022. <https://youtu.be/Ind8fPjQ1pA>.  
*Recordó canciones que cantaba  
y conversaciones con amigos hasta el alba.  
Recordó la esquina de su casa  
cuando dijo adiós y vio a su madre que lloraba.  
Y ahora en sus ojos también llueve,  
pues le sorprende que aún le duelen  
los años,  
la vida,  
su amor.*
- dxixvii Varas Alarcón, Paulina. "Coordinadoras Culturales: Formaciones Transversales En Chile Durante La Dictadura." Cuadernos De Música, Artes Visuales Y Artes Escénicas 14, no. 2 (2019): 55-74; Muñoz Tamayo, Víctor. "'Chile Es Bandera Y Juventud'. Efebolatría Y Gremialismo Durante La Primera Etapa De La Dictadura De Pinochet (1973-1979)." Historia Crítica (Bogotá, Colombia), no. 54 (2014): 195-219.
- dxixviii Benítez, Luciano, Yanko González, and Daniela Senn. "Punkis and New Waves in a Dictatorship: Rearticulation and Resistance of Youth Cultures in Chile /Punkis Y New Waves En Dictadura: Rearticulacion Y Resistencia De Las Culturas Juveniles En Chile /Punkis E New Waves Na Ditadura: Rearticulacao E Resistencia Das Culturas Juvenis No Chile." Revista Latinoamericana De Ciencias Sociales, Niñez Y Juventud 14, no. 1 (2016): 191-203.
- dxixix Bruey, Alison. Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grass-Roots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018.

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<sup>dx</sup> For the original take on urban tribes, consult Watters, Ethan. *Urban Tribes: Are Friends the New Family?* 1st U.S. ed. New York: Bloomsbury: Distributed to the Trade by Holtzbrinck Publishers, 2003; Matus Madrid, Christian. "Tribus urbanas: entre ritos y consumos. El caso de la Discoteque Blondie." *Última década* 8, no. 13 (2000): 97-120; Molina, Juan Carlos. "Juventud y tribus urbanas." *Última década* 8, no. 13 (2000): 121-140; Silva, Juan Claudio. "Juventud y tribus urbanas: en busca de la identidad." *Última década* 10, no. 17 (2002): 117-130; Zorzuri Cortés, Raúl. "Notas para una aproximación teórica a nuevas culturas juveniles: las tribus urbanas." *Última década* 8, no. 13 (2000): 81-96; and Canales Cerón, Manuel. "La conversación juvenil sobre los valores: El caso de las Tribus Urbanas." *Última década* 17, no. 30 (2009): 145-166.

<sup>dx</sup> Watters, Ethan. *Urban Tribes: Are Friends the New Family?* 1st U.S. ed. New York: Bloomsbury: Distributed to the Trade by Holtzbrinck Publishers, 2003.

<sup>dx</sup> Matus Madrid, Christian. "Tribus urbanas: entre ritos y consumos. El caso de la discoteque Blondie." *Última década* 8, no. 13 (2000): 97-120.

<sup>dx</sup> "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Segundo Capítulo – Electrónica." YouTube, 23 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/eQciK8SzdM>.

<sup>dx</sup> Bruey, Alison, "And the Joy?" in Bruey, Alison. *Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grassroots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile*. Critical Human Rights Ser. 2018. 207-212.

<sup>dx</sup> "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Segundo Capítulo – Electrónica." YouTube, 23 June, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/eQciK8SzdM>. *La Background fue súper importante. Para la música electrónica fue... fue la universidad.*

<sup>dx</sup> "Cassette, Historia de la Música Chilena – Cuarto Capítulo: Pop." YouTube, 24 June, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/279P9pgtRRA>. From 06:45 to 07:12. "*Latinoamérica tenía ese sello de la dictadura y del canto ... cómo se diría . . . el canto político, politizado, el poncho y el charango y esas cosas así .. pesado. Y de pronto en Argentina y en Chile y en México y en otros países, se rompe ese esquema y se puede pasar a hacer una música divertida, para bailar, con colores, sin una pretensión política.*"

<sup>dx</sup> Johnson, Gaye Theresa. *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race, and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California, 2013. See pages X-XX and Chapter Two: "Race, Displacement, and Sonic Reclamation in Los Angeles." (48-84).

<sup>dx</sup> Simon Frith makes a similar claim in global comparative perspective. For him, pop music is an excellent tool for youth to express their alienation from political systems with which they disagree, because of its expressions of happiness, love, and freedom. See Frith, Simon. *Performing Rights: On the Value of Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

<sup>dx</sup> Pop musicians made this point several different times for a documentary on Chilean music history released in 2016. See "Cassette, Historia de la Música Chilena – Cuarto Capítulo: Pop." YouTube, 24 June, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/279P9pgtRRA>.

<sup>dx</sup> "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Primer Capítulo Punk." YouTube, 23 June, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/uGcGjzwbBbQ>; "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Tercer Capítulo – Metal." YouTube, 24 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/eZCFbPY70qw>; "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Quinto Capítulo – folk." YouTube, 29 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/5algPzCfo1Q>; and "Cassette, historia de la Música Chilena: Sexto Capítulo – Hip hop." YouTube, 29 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/aLEoWX-azVQ>.

<sup>dx</sup> Fiskales Ad Hok. (1995), "El circo," Traga, Santiago (Chile): Culebra Discos.

<sup>dx</sup> Several primary sources speak to the frustrations of Christian Democratic rule in the early 1990s. On the importance of the credit-card economy and the difficulties many Chileans faced as a result, see Moulián, Tomás. "The Credit-Card Citizen." In Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, eds. *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. (547-553). For a description of the aspirations of Christian Democratic economic policy, see Alejandro Foxley, "Growth With Equity." in Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, eds. *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. (575-580). For some of the contradictions of Christian Democratic politics and economics, see Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, "So Conservative and Yet So Modern? The Politics of Concertación." In Hutchison, Elizabeth Quay, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, eds. *The Chile reader: History, culture, politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. (581-584).

<sup>dx</sup> Fiskales Ad Hok. (1995), "El circo," Traga, Santiago (Chile): Culebra Discos.

*Un nuevo circo llega a la ciudad*

*Democratacristiano es el mandamás.*

*Políticos payazos se rien al gozar*

*¡Y no tenemos plata para entrar ay yai yai!*

Un raro y sonriente mandamás  
 La bandera de seis colores llegará  
 Si la carpa es nuestra patria, Por qué estamos acá?  
 Mirando prietos sin poder entrar ay ay ay!  
 Quememos este circo, también el que vendrá,  
 Sabemos que ninguno ayudará.  
 Quememos este circo, también el mandamás, sabemos que nadie salvará ay yai yai  
 Seis años este circo durará  
 Seis años en que nada cambiará  
 Los payazos ganando, y nosotros mirando,  
 ¡Y no tenemos plata para entrar ay yai ai!  
 Quememos este circo, también el que vendrá,  
 Sabemos que ninguno ayudará.  
 Quememos este circo, también el mandamás  
 ¡Sabemos que nadie salvará ai yai yai!

<sup>dxliv</sup> Los Peores de Chile. (1997), “*Cerdo por liebre*,” Trece mordiscos de amor, Santiago (Chile): BMG Chile. Some references in this song may be unclear to those not accustomed to Chilean Spanish. The title of the song, literally translated, means “pigs for hares.” An idiomatic English translation might be “out of the frying pan, into the fire.” References to “exchanging boots for cassocks” would seem to refer to the transition between the boots of soldiers, and the cassocks of the Christian Democratic government, aligned with the Catholic Church.

<sup>dxlv</sup> Los Peores de Chile. (1997), “*Cerdo por liebre*,” Trece mordiscos de amor, Santiago (Chile): BMG Chile.

*Tres cerditos están bailando*  
*Borrachos del poder se lo están tomando*  
*Muchos arcoiris muchas alegrías*  
*Todo iba a cambiar tú te lo creías*  
*Cambiamos las botas por las sotanas pero ahora no pasa nada, no pasa nada.*  
*Tendrás trabajo hasta embrutecer*  
*Si no lo haces trabajo lo harán en vender*  
*Te saldrás cayo serás un chino*  
*Serás un dragón serás un cretino*  
*Cambiamos las botas por las sotanas, pero ahora no pasa nada. ¡No pasa nada!*  
*Hay por dios, esto está peor*  
*Juro por dios que no entiendo nada.*

<sup>dxlvi</sup> Mattern, 25-36.

<sup>dxlvii</sup> Mattern, 25-3 and especially 33-6.

<sup>dxlviii</sup> Sofia Donoso, “Outsider” and “Insider” Strategies: Lessons from Chile’s Student Movement, 1990-Present,” in *Social Movements in Chile*, ed. Donoso, Sofia, and Marisa Von Bülow (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2017), 65-97. See especially 5-7.

<sup>dxlix</sup> Daniella Bush describes the *Thriller por la educación* and its impact on Chilean politics in Bush, Daniella Wittern, “Their Dissidence Remains: Lessons from the 2011 Chilean Student Movement,” in *Sustainable Tools for Precarious Times* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019), 69-93..

<sup>dl</sup> See Bush, 9-72.

<sup>dli</sup> See Bush, 69-93, and “Thriller por la educación – por una educación pública, Gratuita y de Calidad.” YouTube, 10 July, 2022. [https://youtu.be/iJAmHgUvd\\_c](https://youtu.be/iJAmHgUvd_c).

<sup>dlii</sup> “Thriller por la educación – por una educación pública, Gratuita y de Calidad,” and Bush, 69-93. Specifically see pages 70-1, and 7.

<sup>dliii</sup> On my fieldwork in Santiago, I could distinctly hear thousands of people chanting *no son treinta pesos, son treinta años* (it’s not thirty pesos, it’s thirty years)! These chants, and the political context around them, are described in Abufom, Pablo, “It’s Not About Thirty Pesos, It’s About Thirty Years,” *Jacobin Magazine* 21 (October, 2019). <https://jacobin.com/2019/10/chile-protests-pinera-repression>.

<sup>dliiv</sup> These negotiations and the constitutional drafting process which followed them are described in Ramos, Santiago, “Will a Plebiscite Bring Reform in Chile? Thirty Pesos, Thirty Years,” *Commonweal Magazine*. <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/thirty-pesos-thirty-years>.



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<sup>dlv</sup> I was undertaking field research in Chile during the *estallido social*, living extremely near to *La Moneda*, the Chilean presidential palace and other government buildings. Given the multitudinous crowds at the time, I experienced these protests very vividly and immediately.

<sup>dlvi</sup> See Abufom, and Ramos.

<sup>dlvii</sup> Margaret Power, “From the Scare Campaign to the Beginnings of the Anti-Allende Womens’ Movement,” in *Right-wing women in Chile: Feminine power and the struggle against Allende, 1964-1973* (Penn State Press, 2010), 126-168.

<sup>dlviii</sup> Cari Tusing, WhatsApp Conversation. 21 October, 2019. Thanks to Cari Tusing for sending me video and audio footage of a *cacerolazo* which took place in the middle-class *Nuñoa* neighborhood of Santiago..

<sup>dlxix</sup> Tijoux, Ana, “#Cacerolazo,” YouTube, July 30, 2022. <https://youtu.be/V2596TA4dzY>.

<sup>dlx</sup> This is a difficult to translate pun in Chilean Spanish. The presidential palace is often called *La Moneda* (the mint), because of its use as a mint during the Spanish colonial period. Therefore, stating that “the money” is ours” also has an unexpressed double meaning: the presidential palace belongs to the people.

<sup>dlxi</sup> Camilo Catrillanca was a member of the indigenous Mapuche people, who was murdered by *Carabineros de Chile*, the national police force.

<sup>dlxii</sup> Macarena Valdés was a sex worker and street theater performer who was burned alive after being gang raped in early 2019. The acronym AFP stands for *Administrador de Fondos de Pensiones (Pension Fund Administrators)*, private companies who handle the retirement savings of most Chileans. Social security is nearly exclusively privatized in Chile.

<sup>dlxiii</sup> The *guanaco* is also the Qechua word for llama, which is used to refer to the car the *Carabineros* use to transport water cannons. A common chant at protests in Chile goes *¡Ay por dios! Qué calor! El guanaco, por favor!* (Oh my God! What heat! Send the guanaco, pretty please!

<sup>dlxiv</sup> Tijoux.

[Intro: Spoken]

*En doscientos metros, gire a la derecha y corre, conchetumadre, que vienen los paco!!*

[Chorus: Ana Tijoux]

*Cacerolazo, cacerolazo, cacerolazo*

*Cace, cace, cacerolazo*

*Cacerolazo, cacerolazo*

*Cace, cace, cace!*

[Verse: Ana Tijoux]

*Quema, despierta, Renuncia Piñera*

*Por la Alameda, es nuestra La Moneda*

*Cuchara de palo frente a tus balazo'*

*¿Y al toque de queda? ¡Cacerolazo!*

*No son treinta peso', son treinta año'*

*La constitución, y los perdonazo'*

*Con puño y cuchara frente al aparato*

*Y a todo el Estado, ¡cacerolazo!*

*Escucha, vecino, aumenta la bencina*

*¡Y la barricada dale gasolina!*

*Con tapa, con olla, frente a los payaso'*

*Llegó la revuelta, y el cacerolazo!*

[Chorus: Ana Tijoux]

*Cacerolazo, cacerolazo, cacerolazo*

*Cace, cace, cacerolazo*

*Cacerolazo, cacerolazo*

*¡Cace, cace, cace!*

[Puente: Ana Tijoux]

*Camilo Catrillanca (cace!)*

*Macarena Valdé' (cace!)*

*No má' AFP (cace!)*

*Abajo el TPP (cacerolazo)*

*Por la educación (cace)*

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*Y por la salud (cace)  
Ni la razón ni la fuerza  
No más esclavitud  
[Chorus: Ana Tijoux]  
Cacerolazo, cacerolazo, cacerolazo  
Cace, cace, cacerolazo  
Cacerolazo, cacerolazo  
Cace, cace, cace!*

*[Verso 2]  
Escucha de lejos la cacerola  
Si la olla suena es que no estamos piola  
Metemos la cuchara frente al guanaco  
No tenemos miedo, ¡cacerolazo!  
No estamos en guerra, estamos alerta  
Vivita, guachita, Chile despierta  
Cuchara de palo frente a tus balazos  
Y al toque de queda, ¡cacerolazo!  
No somos alienígenas ni extraterrestres  
No cachai na', es el pueblo rebelde  
Sacamos las ollas y nos mataron  
A los asesinos ¡cacerolazo!*

*[Chorus: Ana Tijoux]  
Cacerolazo, cacerolazo, cacerolazo  
Cace, cace, cacerolazo  
Cacerolazo, cacerolazo  
Cace, cace, cace!  
[Puente]  
¿Cómo se dice? Lo que viene es alienígena  
Lo que viene es...*

*[Verso 3]  
¡A-SE-SI-NO!  
Nos quitaron tanto que quitaron el miedo  
Apunta, dispara, asesino del pueblo  
Si no hay justicia, no hay paz para el Gobierno  
Ahora tú dime quién es el violento (¡cacerolazo!)  
¡A-SE-SI-NO!*

*[Outro]  
(Lo más importante es) ¡Cacerolazo!  
(¿Cómo se dice?) ¡Cacerolazo!  
(Lo más importante es la cabeza fría)  
(La cabeza fría)  
No hay cabeza fría, hay cabeza vendí'a  
(Muy, muy, muy fría)*

*No hay cabeza fría, hay cabeza vendí'a  
(Muy grave)  
No hay cabeza fría, hay cabeza vendí'a  
(Se viene...)  
No hay cabeza fría... (Muy grave)  
No hay cabeza fría, ¡revuelta!.. (Muy grave)  
(Disminuir nuestros privilegios)  
(Compartir con los demás) ¡Cacerolazo!*

---

*Revuelta, ¡cacerolazo!*  
*(Disminuir nuestros privilegios)*  
*(Compartir con los demás)*

*Revuelta, ¡Cacerolazo!*  
*Revuelta, (¿Cómo se dice?) ¡Cacerolazo!*  
*Revuelta, ¡Cacerolazo!, ¡cace, cace, cace!*  
*(¿Cómo se dice?) ¡Cacerolazo!*

*Revuelta, ¡Cacerolazo!*  
*Revuelta, (¿Cómo se dice?) ¡Cacerolazo!*  
*Revuelta, ¡Cacerolazo!, ¡cace, cace, cace!*  
*(¿Cómo se dice?) ¡Cacerolazo!*

<sup>dlxv</sup> Steadman, Otilia, "An Opera Singer Sang in Protest from Her Window During a Curfew in Chile," *Buzzfeed News*. Accessed 9 November, 2019. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ellievhall/chile-singer-protest-curfew-soprano-santiago-derecho-vivir>.

<sup>dlxvi</sup> Steadman.

<sup>dlxvii</sup> Músicx de Chile, Et al. "El derecho de vivir en paz," *El derecho de vivir en paz* (2020).

<https://g.co/kgs/dQGyFm>.

<sup>dlxxiii</sup> Músicx de Chile, Et al.

*Con respeto y dignidad*  
*Un nuevo pacto social*  
*Un nuevo pacto social*  
*dignidad y educación*  
*que no haya desigualdad*  
*la lucha es una explosión*  
*que funde todo el clamor*  
*El derecho de vivir en paz.*

<sup>dlxix</sup> Fairley, Jan, "Annotated bibliography of Latin American Popular Music with particular reference to Chile and to nueva canción," *Popular music* 5 (1985),305-56. See page 307.

<sup>dlxx</sup> Valero, Luis Ramón Pérez, "Poéticas políticas y sonoras: pasado, presente y resignificación de la música popular en las manifestaciones públicas de Chile en 2019," *Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas* vol. 17, no. 1 (2022): 278-293. Especially pages 282-4.

<sup>dlxxi</sup> Valero, 278-293. 284.

<sup>dlxxii</sup> Ortiz, Sebastián Aravena, "El retrato intervenido en la gráfica callejera como resistencia política. El caso del Estallido Social de Santiago de Chile de 2019," *15 Encuentro Latinoamericano de Diseño, Buenos Aires*, 11-12. [www.sebaaravena.cl](http://www.sebaaravena.cl).

<sup>dlxxiii</sup> Laferte, Norma Moncerrat Bustamante, and Jean Carlos Santiago Pérez. "Plata ta tá," [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com), 17 July, 2022.

<https://www.facebook.com/sharer/sharer.php?u=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cancioneros.com%2Fletras%2Fcancion%2F2167068%2Fplata-ta-ta-mon-laferte>.

<sup>dlxxiv</sup> Laferte and Santiago Pérez.

*Saca la tela, ven con cautela*  
*I así el cerebro se te descongela*  
*La cacerola, sácala, abuela*  
*Vamos comiendo arroz con habichuela.*

<sup>dlxxv</sup> Laferte and Santiago Pérez.

*Esta generación tiene la revolución*  
*Con el celular tiene más poder que Donald Trump.*  
*De Ecatepec a Nueva York*  
*Toda la gente quiere darle al flow.*  
*Aunque nos quedemos cojos, aunque nos arrancan los ojos*  
*Le entré al reggaetón y hasta el culo lo nuevo*  
*P'a así mandarte el mensaje de nuevo.*

<sup>dlxxvi</sup> Anwandter, Alex, "Paco vampiro." YouTube. Alex Anwandter. <https://youtu.be/tdtpGRR-8wU>.

*Un país con olor a lacrimógena*

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*Ya van treinta años y no se va*  
*Llega siempre un enemigo*  
*Viene siempre en su camión*  
*Tiene cara de vampiro*  
*Yo le canto su canción (dice)*  
 Chorus: Alex Anwandter  
*Paco vampiro, Paco vampiro*  
*Tienes sed de sangre*  
*Paco vampiro, hasta tu mamá dice conchetumadre*  
*Ya no seas traicionero*  
*No te olvides de quién soy*  
*Que las balas se devuelven*  
*Si me diste, yo te doy*  
 Post-Chorus: Alex Anwandter  
*VBalas*  
*Sangre*  
*Canto*  
*Sangre*  
 Verse 2: Alex Anwandter  
*Un país con olor a lacrimógena*  
*Y el sabor amargo que no se va*  
*Queda siempre en la boca*  
*Y te hace recordar*  
*Que nos queda más batalla*  
*Y tenemos que pelear*  
*Porque mandan a su amigo*  
*El que viene en su furgón*  
*Tiene cara de vampiro*  
*Le cantamos su canción (dice)*  
 Chorus:  
*Paco vampiro, Paco vampiro*  
*Tienes sed de sangre*  
*Paco vampiro, hasta tu mamá dice conchetumadre*  
*Ya no seas traicionero*  
*Y admite la verdad*  
*Que la sangre que derramas*  
*Es tu hijo y tu mamá, y son tus*  
*Balas*  
*Sangre*  
*Llanto*  
*Sangre*  
 (Ana, diles)  
 Outro: Ana Tijoux.  
*¿Y cómo pides paz mientras torturas?*  
*¿Cómo pides paz mientras tú matas?*  
*¿Cómo pides paz mientras matas?*  
*Hay que ser muy carreraja para pedir paz si no hay justicia.*  
<sup>dlxxvii</sup> The group puts its own names in all capital letters.  
<sup>dlxxviii</sup> “La Letra de ‘El Violador Eres Tú’, el Himno Feminista que se Extiende por el Mundo.” *El País* (7 December, 2019) [https://elpais.com/sociedad/2019/12/07/actualidad/1575750878\\_441385.html](https://elpais.com/sociedad/2019/12/07/actualidad/1575750878_441385.html).  
<sup>dlxxix</sup> “La Letra de ‘El violador eres tú’, el Himno Feminista que se Extiende por el Mundo.” As the cited article demonstrates, the song in question goes by two names, often used interchangeably. The original title of the song was “*Un violador en tu camino*” (A Rapist in Your Path), but ever since the *estallido social*, the song is increasingly referred to as “*El violador eres tú*” (The Rapist is You).  
<sup>dlxxx</sup> “La Letra de ‘El violador eres tú’, el Himno Feminista que se Extiende por el Mundo.”  
*El patriarcado es un juez*

---

*que nos juzga por nacer,  
y nuestro castigo  
es la violencia que no ves.*

*El patriarcado es un juez  
que nos juzga por nacer,  
y nuestro castigo  
es la violencia que ya ves.*

*Es feminicidio.  
Impunidad para mi asesino.  
Es la desaparición.  
Es la violación.*

*Y la culpa no era mía, ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía.  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía.  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía.  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía.*

*El violador eras tú.  
El violador eres tú.*

*Son los pacos,  
los jueces,  
el Estado,  
el presidente.*

*El Estado opresor es un macho violador.  
El Estado opresor es un macho violador.*

*El violador eras tú.  
El violador eres tú.*

*Duerme tranquila, niña inocente,  
sin preocuparte del bandolero,  
que por tu sueño dulce y sonriente  
vela tu amante carabiniere.*

*El violador eres tú.  
El violador eres tú.  
El violador eres tú.  
El violador eres tú.*

<sup>dlxxxix</sup> The word “*Apruebo*” has two meanings in Spanish. (1); approval or approbation; and (2); the first-person singular conjugation of the verb *aprobar*, to approve. *Apruebo* therefore means both “approbation” and “I approve,” a pun which many artists and musicians have used over the course of these debates.

<sup>dlxxxii</sup> Chile’s 1925 constitution, interrupted by the military coup, was fairly progressive for its era. It guaranteed civil and political rights relatively early, implemented universal male suffrage before most other Latin American countries, and instituted a solidary welfare state, one of the first of its kind in the world. To legitimate its own power, the authoritarian government implemented a new constitution in 1980, drafted in almost total secrecy by reactionary law professors from the Pontifical Catholic University. The most prominent feature of this new constitution is the replacement of the solidary welfare state with an intense brand of neoliberalism, very much inspired by the writings of Milton Friedman among others. Under the 1980 constitution, the state is officially designated a subsidiary state, meaning that the state intervenes only when the private sector is unable to solve a given problem. Carlos Huneeus discusses the constitution at length in two chapters of his work on military rule. See Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime*, 179-224.

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dlxxxiii Hiner, Hillary. “El apruebo feminista: ‘por primera vez la élite retrógrada y fundamentalista del barrio alto fue minoría’.” *El Mostrador*, 17 August, 2022. <https://www.elmostrador.cl/braga/2022/07/15/el-apruebo-feminista-por-primera-vez-la-elite-retrograda-y-fundamentalista-propia-del-barrio-alto-fue-minoria/>.

dlxxxiv The story of how I received this song seems to be typical of its transmission through Chilean society. I am part of *El Grupo Multiverso* (the Multiverse Group), a secular-humanist philosophy discussion club headed by the poet and philosopher Luis Weinstein. We all received the message from a group member on April 25, 2020, what was to have been the day of the plebiscite. See Parra, Javiera, “*En un día como hoy*.” WhatsApp. Grupo Multiverso: (Fernando Arias sender). April 25, 2020.

*En un día como hoy, yo habría salido muy contenta de mi casa,  
Habría tomado la locomoción, para llegar a mi local de votación.  
En un día como hoy, el sol anunciaría el comienzo de otra historia,  
Una que abraza y comprende la memoria, y que construye con mente y corazón.  
En un día como hoy, yo habría estado orgullosa de mi pueblo,  
Que con solo lápiz gritaría al viento las ganas de crear un mundo nuevo.  
Con un apruebo!*

dlxxxv Gustavo Gatica is a law student at the *Universidad de Chile* (University of Chile), who was blinded in both eyes after being shot in the face with rubber bullets in October, 2019. His blinding, and the fact that he continued to attend protests both from his hospital bed and after his recovery, made him a symbol of the *estallido* social.

dlxxxvi References to “Don Gastón” in Chilean Spanish are not unlike references to “John Doe” or “John Q. Public” in North American English.

dlxxxvii Grupo Los Treinta Pesos Presenta la Cueca del Apruebo. YouTube., 21 August, 2022. [https://youtu.be/u\\_Fra4a8io4](https://youtu.be/u_Fra4a8io4).

*Los que estaban dormidos,  
Los políticos podridos de la corrupta institución  
Ya escuchan la canción que resuena a todo grito  
Por un nuevo plebiscito y una nueva constitución.  
¡A los estudiantes de Chile!  
Que vivan, que vivan los estudiantes.  
Destapa, destaparon el engaño  
Destapa, destaparon el engaño.  
No solo, no solo los 30 pesos,  
Sino que, sino que los 30 años.  
Que vivan, que vivan los estudiantes  
Y Gustavo Gatica, lo hizo presente.  
Al pueblo doy mis ojos p’a que despierte.  
Y Gustavo Gatica lo hizo presente.  
Pa que despierte sí, y Don Gastón  
Le pide al pueblo, más corazón.  
Por la constituyente, ¡viva la gente!*

dlxxxviii Anonymous, “Cueca de Balmaceda (Popular Chilena).” [www.cancioneros.com](http://www.cancioneros.com). Accessed November 25, 2020. <https://www.cancioneros.com/nc/332/0/cueca-de-balmaceda-popular-chilena>; Jordan González, Laura, “The Chilean New Song’s Cueca Larga.” in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Villa, Pablo (New York: Lexington Books, 2014), 71-96; Rojas Sotoconil, Araucaria, “Las cuecas como representaciones estético-políticas de chilenidad en Santiago entre 1979 y 1989,” *Revista musical chilena* vol. 63, no. 212 (2009): 51-76; Rodríguez Fernández, Mario, “Nicanor Parra: la cueca sola de “el hombre imaginario,”” *Revista Chilena De Literatura* 91 (2015): 25-34; Babic, Karolina S., *Todavía Bailamos La Cueca Sola: From Local Protest Practice against Chile’s Dictatorship to (trans) national Memory Icon* (2014).

dlxxxix Sting. Ft. Ruben Blades. “They Dance Alone.” On *Nothing Like the Sun*. (October 13, 1987). A&M Records. [www.genius.com](http://www.genius.com), 7 May, 2022. <https://genius.com/Sting-they-dance-alone-lyrics>; and “Acto Estadio Nacional, 12 de marzo de 1990 (Completo).” YouTube, 18 June, 2022. <https://youtu.be/ysklziDI0II>. (Between 08:01 and 10:25).

dxci Pavés, Héctor, “*Cueca larga por una nueva Constitución*,” YouTube, 21 August, 2022. <https://youtu.be/qRy-PdBKH7Y>.

dxci Pavés.

*El arte popular se hace presente en esta nueva constitución.  
P’a que nadie le falte y nadie le sobre. ¡Aprobamos!*

---

*Aprobemos por todas partes, esta Chile en construcción.  
 Cantemos la cueca larga, por una nueva constitución.  
 P'a despertar la consciencia del pueblo trabajador  
 Y vote por el apruebo que costó al pueblo tanto dolor.  
 Por tanto dolor ay sí, no olvide la educación,  
 De calidad y gratuita, aprueba la nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, La salud y la nación,  
 Por derecho de estar sano, aprueba nueva constitución  
 Constitución ay sí, viviendas hechas de cartón,  
 Por la casita digna, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, trabajo es la gran cuestión,  
 Por un salario digno, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, pensiones son de dolor  
 P'a que los viejos viajen, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, la mujer de libre acción,  
 Por igualdad de trato, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, no importa tu condición  
 Por respeto al humano, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, medio ambiente y tradición,  
 Por el agua y la tierra, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, cultura la creación,  
 Por artistas de Chile, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, pasiones de mi nación,  
 Por respeto a los seres, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, libertad de la expresión,  
 Por verdad y justicia, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, le digo con emoción,  
 Por la vida del pueblo, aprueba nueva constitución.  
 Constitución ay sí, canté nuevas verdades,  
 Si usted sigue porfiando, lamento será muy grande.  
 Por este nuevo cambio de amor, aprueba nueva constitución.*

<sup>dxcii</sup> A YouTube search of “Una Constitución para Chile” will show individual episodes, and all episodes have a link in the episode description to a playlist where one can access the entire twenty-four episode series.

<sup>dxciiii</sup> “Capítulo IV: Estado Plurinacional | Una Constitución para Chile.” Bio Bio, February 06, 2022.

<https://youtu.be/8HkrPYwRE-g>. “Capítulo XIX: Derecho a la Propiedad | Una Constitución para Chile.” Bio Bio. Accessed February 06, 2023. <https://youtu.be/cUK30gpB6hM>. And “Capítulo XX: Salud en la Constitución | Una Constitución para Chile.” Bio Bio, February 06, 2023. <https://youtu.be/c0zXH3W7z3A>.

<sup>dxciiv</sup> These debates around the need, or lack thereof, for reforms to the constitutional text could sometimes get quite heated. For a good example, see “Manuela Royo y Fernando Atria debates sobre acuerdo oficialista para reformas constitucionales,” YouTube, 24 August, 2022. [https://youtu.be/gUWHZd4\\_jos](https://youtu.be/gUWHZd4_jos).

<sup>dxciiv</sup> Barradit, Jorge, “¿Recuerdas como fueron estos días?” Facebook Watch, 21 August, 2022.

<https://fb.watch/exMB6gUkvo/>.

*Apruebo el texto que recibo,  
 Y apruebo así como se hizo.  
 Escritos quedarán los sueños  
 Del pueblo que cambió el camino.  
 Apruebo el canto de la calle,  
 Apruebo el sueño de una madre.  
 Y el viento suave que nos llega  
 Trae la nueva primavera  
 Apruebo con firme consciencia,  
 Apruebo que ahora comienza  
 El Chile que todos soñamos  
 Entre mar y cordillera.  
 Ven conmigo ven, así cantaba el poeta  
 Ven conmigo ven, y vamos todos con él.*

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*Ven conmigo, ven, la dignidad será puesta  
Ven conmigo ven, abramos todas las puertas.*

*Apruebo el rumbo que tomamos,*

*Apruebo con plena alegría*

*Te invito ser la melodía*

*Y el árbol de la sabia nueva*

*Apruebo con toda la fuerza*

*Apruebo que todo florezca.*

*Y abrí la luz del nuevo día*

*Que espera nuestra patria entera.*

*Apruebo dar pie a la esperanza*

*Y apruebo como tú apruebas*

*La tierra nos pide el agua*

*Pa hacer brotar la primavera.*

*Ven conmigo ven así cantaba el poeta*

*Ven conmigo ven, y vamos todos con él*

*Ven conmigo ven, la dignidad será nuestra*

*Ven conmigo ven, la dignidad será nuestra*

*Ven conmigo ven, y abramos todas las puertas.*

*Si quieres que este año la primavera llegue el 4 de septiembre, yo ¡apruebo!*

<sup>dxcevi</sup> Feministas por el Apruebo. "Canción del apruebo." *WhatsApp*. (Jadwiga Pieper-Mooney, sender): July 18, 2022.

*Por fin tenemos, por fin podemos, por fin a la de Pinochet diremos chao chao chao.*

*Por fin tenemos, por fin podemos, y vamos todas a aprobar.*

*Solo por hombres, y en dictadura, a la vieja constitución diremos chao chao chao*

*Esta es de todos, y todas juntas, y en septiembre a aprobar.*

*Huevear el agua, huevear el bosque, huevear al suelo y demás diremos chao chao chao*

*La paritaria, y de los derechos, la iremos todas a aprobar.*

*Oye vecino, oye vecina, para que en septiembre no lo olvides dile chao chao chao*

*Oye vecino, oye vecina, te militamos a aprobar.*

*Por sus abusos, y su locura, a la vieja de Pinochet diremos chao chao chao*

*Pero a la nueva, de todo Chile, iremos todas a aprobar.*

*Solo por hombres y en dictadura, a la vieja constitución diremos chao chao chao*

*Esta es de todos, y todas juntas, e iremos todas a aprobar.*

*La paritaria, de los derechos, iremos todas a aprobar.*

<sup>dxcevi</sup> Constable and Valenzuela.

<sup>dxcevi</sup> For a standard scholarly interpretation of the transition to democracy which ends in the early 2000s, see Rector, John L. *The history of Chile*, ed. Rector, John L. (Greenwood Press, 2019), 225-282. Other scholars argue that the democratic transition has lasted considerably longer if, indeed, it has ended at all. See Sehnbruch, Kirsten, and Peter Siavelis, *Democratic Chile : The Politics and Policies of a Historic Coalition, 1990-2010* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014); Dávila, Jerry, *Dictatorship in South America. Viewpoints/puntos De Vista* (2013), and Heiss, Claudia, and Patricio Navia, "You Win Some, You Lose Some: Constitutional Reforms in Chile's Transition to Democracy," *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 49, no. 3 (2007): 163-90.

<sup>dxceix</sup> Carlos Huneeus wrote an early analysis on the 1980 constitution which is considered a standard text in the field. See Carlos Huneeus, "The Organization of Political Power." In Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime* 179-224, 431-438. See also Piscopo, Jennifer M., and Peter M. Siavelis, "Chile's constitutional moment," *Current History* vol. 120, no. 823 (2021): 43-49, and Heiss and Navia, 163-90.



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