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Music and Chile's Democratic Crisis: Song and the Formation of Political Identities,
1940-1973

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor
of Philosophy

in

History

by

Jedrek Putta Mularski

Committee in charge:

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Professor Nancy Guy
Professor Michael Hanson
Professor Christine Hunefeldt
Professor Daniel Widener

2012

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2012

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TIMELINE OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS IN CHILE

-1887-1883:

- War of the Pacific

-1937-1941:

- Popular Front Era

-1964:

- Election of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva as President

-1970:

- Popular Unity Coalition candidate Salvador Allende elected President.
- Congress ratifies Allende's election after right-wing radicals attempt to assassinate General Schneider, the constitutionalist head of the Chilean army.

-1970-1971:

- Chilean government accelerates Agrarian Reform programs and begins nationalizations in key industries, including the textile industry, the banking industry, and the mining industry.
- Left-wing radicals assassinate Edmundo Pérez Zújovic, former Christian Democrat Party minister.
- March of the Empty Pots, a protest of the Allende government by Conservative women, takes place.

-1972

- August: Popular Unity's opponents create C.O.D.E., a coalition of center and right wing parties (namely the Christian Democrats and the National Party) in opposition to Popular Unity.
- September: Camioneros (truck drivers) strike begins, preventing the transportation of goods within Chile and leading to increasing shortages of food and other necessities.
- November: Allende integrates CUT Workers Union representatives into his cabinet and names the Constitutionalist military General, Carlos Prats, as his Minister of the Interior.

-1973:

- March: Popular Unity opposition fails to gain enough Congressional seats in the March Parliamentary Elections to be able to impeach Allende prior to the end his six-year term.
- June: Military officers attempt to overthrow Allende, but the coup fails to gain traction and is thwarted.
- August: Camioneros strike again.
- August: Senate President, Eduardo Frei, declares the government unconstitutional.
- August: Allende places Augusto Pinochet, who he believes to be a constitutionalist, in command of Chile's army.
- September: A right-wing military coup overthrows Allende and begins an eighteen-year dictatorship in Chile.

LIST OF KEY TERMS

- Allende, Salvador: Democratically-elected, Socialist President of Chile from 1970-1973.
- Bombo: Andean or Argentine bass drum.
- Charango: Tiny, high-pitched, armadillo-shell guitar common in the Andean altiplano.
- Christian Democrat Party (DC): Centrist political party of Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalva; Christian Democrat Party leaders played a central role in ratifying Salvador Allende's 1970 election, but ultimately turned against Allende and helped to unseat him.
- Cuarto: A four-stringed Venezuelan guitar that is similar in appearance to a ukulele.
- Cueca: Folk song and dance popular in rural Chile; a government decree officially named the *cueca* as Chile's national dance in 1979.
- Frei Montalva, Eduardo: Christian Democrat President of Chile from 1964-1970; as President, Frei initiated limited social and economic reforms as part of his "Revolution in Liberty".
- Huaso: A rural Chilean; from the second quarter the twentieth century, the term has been most commonly associated with central Chilean ranchers and rural landowners.
- Música típica: Stylized versions of rural folk music coming principally from Chile's Central Valley. *Música típica* is most commonly associated with *huaso* imagery and traditions.
- Neo-Folklore: An off-shoot of *música típica* that emerged in the mid-1960s. Particularly popular among the urban middle and upper-middle class, neo-folklore blended elements of *música típica* with pop aesthetics.
- Nueva Canción: Musical movement that drew on diverse folk influences from across and beyond Chile. *Nueva canción* became strongly associated with the Popular Unity movement in Chile.
- Peñas: Musical cafes that became popular in Chile during the mid and late 1960s; these cafes played a vital role in the early development of the *nueva canción* movement.
- Pinochet, Augusto: Chilean general who presided over Chile's eighteen-year, right-wing military dictatorship (1973-1990)
- Popular Unity (UP): Coalition of left-wing political parties, including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the MAPU Party, which nominated Salvador Allende as its presidential candidate in 1970.
- Quena: A long bamboo flute common in the Andean altiplano.
- Tiple: A Colombian guitar with either twelve or ten strings.
- Tonada: Type of folkloric music of Arab-Andalusian tradition found in rural Chile, especially in Chile's Central Valley.
- War of the Pacific (1879-1883): War in which Chile fought against Bolivia and Peru. As a result of Chile's victory, Chile extended its northern border to

encompass a large tract of mineral-rich land that both shrunk Peru's southern territories and cut off Bolivia from access to the Pacific Ocean.

- Zampoña: An Andean pan-flute traditionally made of reeds and common in the altiplano.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Music and Chile's Democratic Crisis: Song and the Formation of Political Identities,
1940-1973

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego, 2012

Professor Michael Monteón, Chair

This dissertation examines political polarization during the Cold War and contributes to a deeper understanding of how societies descend from relative political stability and democratic process into widespread political violence. Although political structures, class conflict, and U.S.-Soviet competition fostered class-based divisions that set in motion a powerful process of political polarization in Chile, an explanation of political emotions is needed to elucidate why political conflict escalated to such extreme levels. This research explores, through an investigation of Chilean folk and popular music, the hypothesis that the Cold War comprised both political and emotionally-charged cultural fronts; while rightists embraced a national identity rooted in Chile's central valley *huaso* traditions, leftists embraced an identity that drew on traditions from Chile's outlying regions and other Latin American countries. By combining text-based

analysis of lyrics and musical properties with analysis of print media and oral histories, this research utilizes music as a lens by which to reveal the historical development of national and transnational perspectives and identities that shaped social relationships and political interaction among rightists, leftists, and youth.

Introduction: Explaining Víctor Jara

There were fanatic idealists...disposed to destroy the enemy if necessary...But Víctor Jara was an urban nightingale that knew how to pull music out from the periphery, and to write one of the most beautiful poems of love in our language: "I remember you, Amanda,/ in the wet street,/ running to the factory/ where Manuel was working./ The wide smile,/ the rain in your hair/ nothing mattered/ you were going to be with him/ ...with him, with him.../ Five minutes only, life is eternal in five minutes..." Who is able to order the killing of somebody who is capable of creating a love song like that?¹

-Cristián Warnken, *El Mercurio*, 2009

Chileans awoke on the morning of September 11, 1973 to the news that Chile's military was attempting to seize power from the country's democratically-elected, socialist president, Salvador Allende. Barricaded inside La Moneda, Chile's presidential palace, Allende utilized his network of government-friendly radio stations one last time in an effort to inspire his supporters and to bid them what was likely to be a final farewell. The military soon cut off transmissions from any radio stations it did not control, while Allende and a close circle of his advisors and palace guards refused to surrender. As the morning progressed, the airforce bombed the palace and soldiers ultimately lay siege to La Moneda. By mid-afternoon, Allende was dead and the military controlled the government.

¹ "Yo maté a Víctor Jara," *El Mercurio*, 28 May 2009. The English lyrics are a translation of Víctor Jara's original Spanish version: "Te recuerdo, Amanda,/ la calle mojada,/ corriendo a la fábrica/ donde trabajaba Manuel./ La sonrisa ancha,/ la lluvia en el pelo/ no importaba nada/ ibas a encontrarte con él/ ...con él, con él.../ Son cinco minutos, la vida es eternal en cinco minutos..."

After its assault on La Moneda, the military moved quickly to eliminate other areas and institutions it deemed to be key sources of support for Allende's Popular Unity government. One such area of priority was the State Technical University in Santiago (UTE). Despite resistance from segments of the student body and from some of the UTE faculty, the military eventually took the university by force and detained the majority of those inside. Among the many members of the faculty that the military detained was Víctor Jara, Director of Theater at the UTE and one of the emblematic faces of the folk-based *nueva canción* song movement.

Recognizing Jara, military officers isolated him from other detainees as a high-profile prisoner at the Estadio Chile. Testimonies by other prisoners assert that military personnel beat and tortured Jara repeatedly during his incarceration, and at several junctures the soldiers expressed extraordinary disdain for the artist and his music. According to a reconstruction of these events by Jara's wife Joan, one guard, upon recognizing Víctor Jara as "that fucking singer", hit him over the head and then proceeded to kick him in the stomach and ribs. In another encounter witnessed by detainees, a different guard mimicked the playing of a guitar and then quickly drew his finger across his throat while stating, "Don't let him move from here. This one is reserved for me!"²

² The details provided in this reconstruction are taken from Joan Jara's synthesis of conversations that she conducted with Estadio Chile prisoners and from court testimonies given by various witnesses. Chilean courts have heard several cases regarding Jara's death, and variations do exist in the testimonies regarding the details of events in Estadio Chile. Based on available information and corroboration among various sources, I believe this reconstruction to be an accurate account of events, although some of the

During the next two days, military guards subjected Jara to particularly severe treatment and at least two “private interrogations” from which detainees noted that Jara returned with severe wounds on his face and hands. Ultimately, as witnesses later recounted to Jara’s wife, these sessions came to an end after one particularly notorious officer still known only as “The Prince” beat Jara furiously, “shouting at him, on the verge of hysteria, [and] losing control of himself, ‘Sing now, if you can, you bastard!’” As Jara attempted to respond defiantly in song, guards dragged him down to the bowels of the stadium, where a commanding officer led conscripts in one last session of torture that culminated the subjection of Jara to a fatal round of Russian roulette. Subsequently, the group of soldiers pumped at least thirty more bullets into Jara’s already lifeless body, and the military disposed of the corpse anonymously in a roadside ditch.

Two days later, a morgue worker secretly informed Joan Jara that he had recognized a terribly mutilated body as that of her husband. Joan Jara clandestinely visited the morgue and identified her husband’s remains:

His eyes were wide open and they seemed still to look ahead with intensity and defiance, in spite of a wound on his head and terrible bruises on his cheek. His clothes were torn, trousers round his ankles, sweater rucked up under his armpits, his blue underpants hanging in tatters round his hips as through cut by a knife or bayonet...his chest riddled with holes and a gaping wound in his abdomen. His hands seemed to be hanging from his arms at a strange angle as though his wrists were broken.³

specific details may vary. For further information, see the court cases of José Paredes (2009), Dimter Bianchi (2006), Mario Manriquez (2004). Also see Joan Jara’s book *Victor: An Unfinished Song* and the Centro de Investigación e Información Periodística report on the detainment and death of Víctor Jara.

³ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 234. Various court testimonies assert that military officers placed particular emphasis on Jara’s face

While Chilean Nationalists rejoiced in the demise of Allende's Popular Unity government, leftists faced repression, exile, and imprisonment. Chile, a country which many people traditionally regarded as one of the most stable in its region, had descended against the backdrop of the Cold War into a state of extreme polarization that divided families and pitted neighbors and countrymen against one another to the point where many believed repression, violence, imprisonment, and even murder of political opponents to be justified. By no means was Víctor Jara the only victim of extreme abuse and violence—the Pinochet regime tortured and/or killed thousands of Chileans in the aftermath of the coup, and although the numbers of incidents pale in comparison, extremists on the left also carried out acts of violence against the Nationalists and other anti-Allende parties and movements; however, the case of Víctor Jara is particularly important because of what it reveals about the mindset of Chileans during this period and about the nature of violence and political conflict in general.

As many scholars have noted, competing political ideologies and U.S. and Soviet competition over spheres of influence fostered an environment in which tensions flared between supporters of communist and anti-communist political parties. In Chile, the economic hardships and shortages of goods that affected the daily lives of Chileans under Allende further amplified these tensions, as Allende's supporters and opponents each blamed the other for the escalating economic problems and social turmoil. Indeed,

and hands when they tortured him. Autopsy reports completed in 2009 confirmed that in addition to at least thirty bullet wounds to Jara's cranium, thorax, abdomen, legs, and arms, he also sustained numerous fractures throughout his body as a result of dramatic beatings.

Chile's political structures, its class conflict, and the influence of U.S.-Soviet competition fostered class-based divisions in Chilean society that had set in motion a powerful process of political polarization. This polarization contributed to the violence of the early 1970s, the 1973 military coup, and the eighteen-year military dictatorship in which the government exiled, tortured, and killed thousands of its own citizens. However, these political and economic factors in themselves stop short of explaining the military's treatment of Víctor Jara. Jara was a musician, pacifist, and artist who, although he did compose and perform many songs in support of the Popular Unity government, neither developed nor implemented the political and economic reforms to which Popular Unity's opposition so vehemently objected. Nonetheless, the military paid special attention to Jara in the hours immediately after the coup, indicating that it considered him to be more than simply an artist who supported Popular Unity or even more than a leftist "subversive". In the eyes of the military, Jara was an influential and integral component of the Popular Unity government, and the military deemed him to be an especially high-profile and dangerous prisoner who necessitated classification as an important target during the first hours of the coup. The decision to conduct the most violent elements of Jara's torture in private and to dispose of his body discretely in a roadside ditch would seem to indicate that the military initially was most concerned with methodically eradicating what it considered to be the most serious threats to a new, conservative regime; however, the vindictive and venomous nature of the persecution to which guards subjected Jara was more indicative of an impassioned, emotional outburst than a contrived extermination of an insurgent or an effort to make a public, political statement.

The case of Víctor Jara presents two important questions that competing visions of economic and political systems are not in themselves sufficient to explain. First, why did the military consider a pacifist minstrel to be a threat on par with the most prominent left-wing political leaders and activists? Second, why did military personnel treat Jara in such a vicious and vindictive manner instead of simply killing him? The answers to both questions stem from the role that emotion plays in human behavior, and more specifically, how individuals develop the types of bonds and affinities that fuel emotionally driven behavior and how popular modes of expression such as music serve as sites where the emotion and conflicts of a society are reflected and amplified. The following exploration of these concepts reveals that emotion is a critical factor in shaping how individuals act politically, and that in order to understand political polarization, violence, and the torture and death of Jara and many others, it is necessary to accept and explore the impact of emotion, cultural identities, and music as important components of politics.

Emotion and Identity

Many Western political theorists have proposed that individuals make political decisions according to strict cost-benefit analysis; scholars who employ this type of analysis have generally ignored the role that emotion plays in decision-making processes. As Drew Westen has noted:

The founding fathers, many of the great seventeenth and eighteenth century philosophers whose ideas shaped their thinking (and ultimately the

U.S. Constitution), and two hundred years of political scientists, economists, and cognitive scientists have held to some version of a dispassionate vision of the mind. According to this view, people make decisions by weighing the available evidence and reaching conclusions that make the most sense of the data, as long as they have a minimum of time and interest. Many have argued that this is the way the mind works. The vast majority have argued that this is the way it should work if people are behaving rationally.⁴

In instances where such scholars have considered the role of emotion in political behavior, they traditionally have relegated it to nothing more than either a fleeting, momentary response fueled by an environment or crowd, or a Freudian-esque personality conflict that generates emotions among immature or flawed people in isolation of any environmental stimuli.⁵ Such assertions are not without basis, as one need not look far to find instances in which populations vote “rationally” and “objectively” with their pocketbooks, particularly during times of economic difficulty. However, an over dependence on cost-benefit models to explain the “rational” process of political decision-making overlooks the critical role that emotion plays in human experiences and the deeper links that bind emotion to “rational” cognitions, thereby shaping political behavior.

In recent years, culturalists have started to push against the idea that proper decision-making processes must be devoid of influences that traditionally have been viewed as fundamentally “irrational”. For example, Clifford Geertz asserted:

⁴ Drew Westen, *The Political Brain* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), 25.

⁵ Goodwin, Jeff, et al., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 4.

We seem to be in need of a new variety of politics, a politics which does not regard ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, or regional assertiveness as so much irrationality, archaic and ingenerate, to be suppressed or transcended, a madness decried or a darkness ignored, but, like any other social problem—inequality say, or the abuse of power—sees it as a reality to be faced, somehow dealt with, modulated, brought to terms.⁶

Only during the past few years has innovative research conducted by neuroscientists and psychologists indicated that the human brain has evolved a cognitive function that links emotion and logic in political decision-making processes. In *Descartes' Error* (1994), Antonio Damasio re-examined the case of Phineas Gage, who suffered brain damage in an 1848 railroad construction accident. The trauma inflicted on Gage's brain destroyed his ability to experience feelings, but it did not cause any significant loss in the cognitive instruments usually considered necessary and sufficient for rational behavior. Gage maintained "the requisite knowledge, attention, and memory; his language was flawless; he could perform calculations; he could tackle the logic of an abstract problem."⁷ Nonetheless, he lost his capacity to reason and make rational choices after the accident. Analyzing the case of Phineas Gage along with similar contemporary cases, Damasio concluded that emotion and feeling are indispensable components of human reason and that emotion, feeling, and biological regulation all are necessary for reasoning to occur. In effect, while this neural connection between emotion and decision-making processes would enable humans to respond emphatically and rapidly to both dangerous and

⁶ Clifford Geertz, *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 245

⁷ Antonio Damasio, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and Feeling in the Brain* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2003), xii.

opportunistic situations, the emotions central to our decision-making process would also affect “rational” thought.

Following a similar theoretical arc, John T. Jost, Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway (2003) analyzed existing empirical investigations and theories pertaining to the psychological basis of conservative and right-wing ideologies. They concluded that the embrace of conservative belief systems develops largely due to motivational concerns having to do with the psychological management of uncertainty and fear. Their research argued that the avoidance of uncertainty helped to explain resistance to change, one core dimension of conservative thought; concerns with fear and threat helped to explain a second core dimension of conservatism: endorsement of inequality. Although these two “core dimensions” of conservatism are conceptually distinguishable, they concluded that they are psychologically interrelated because of the relationship between uncertainty and threat.⁸ Building upon this trajectory, Drew Westen’s *The Political Brain* (2007) explored the role of emotion in contemporary, political behavior in the United States. Utilizing real-time brain scans in conjunction with participant interviews, Westen found that the act of making political decisions activated most strongly those neural circuits and sectors of the brain involved in regulating emotion, particularly in instances in which subjects were confronted with unpleasant or challenging information about their existing political positions. When faced with a challenge to an individual’s political opinions or allegiances, the emotional

⁸ J.T. Jost, J. Glaser, A.W. Kruglanski, and F.J. Sulloway, “Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition,” *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 129, No. 3 (2003), 339-375.

sectors of the brain formulated that individual's response, and the neural circuits normally associated with reasoning became active only subsequently, as subjects then attempted to rationalize their emotionally based conclusions.

This line of research has revealed two important components of political behavior: emotion and political behavior are irrevocably intertwined, and once an individual becomes attached to a particular political group, candidate, or ideology, that individual develops a physiological disposition to process and to respond emotionally to any situation that threatens or contradicts that individual's political choice. Cognitive scientists such as Westen have applied these concepts to contemporary American politics and provided a new vision for constructing successful political campaigns.

The implications of the cognitive link between emotion and politics extend beyond the American democratic process. This research can also be applied to other political systems, and both scholars and policy makers must pay closer attention to the emotional component of political behavior when analyzing events abroad or creating foreign policy. If the political brain is inherently emotional, emotion must not only be a critical factor in dictating how individuals cast ballots in elections; it must also be a fundamental factor in the development of political conflict and violence. Moreover, any significant political polarization would be a particularly dangerous development because once individuals align themselves with a particular position or affinity, it is physiologically difficult for those individuals to view issues, incidents, or individuals in an objective or less emotional manner. Consideration for the role that emotion plays in political behavior, and the process in which the brain's emotional sectors fuel human

responses to information that confronts existing political allegiances, are crucial to understanding how political polarization and violence occur; however, just as fundamental to explaining these processes is the manner in which individuals initially establish such political allegiances.

Community and Identity

Arguing for a “new variety of politics”, cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz wrote:

The development of such a politics, which will vary from place to place as much as the situations it faces do, depends on a number of things. It depends on finding out the springs of identity-based differentiation and discord in this case or that. It depends on developing a less simplistically demonizing, blankly negative attitude toward it as a relic of savagery or some earlier stage of human existence. It depends on adapting the principles of liberalism and social democracy...But perhaps most important...it depends on our gaining a better understanding of what culture, the frames of meaning within which people live and form their convictions, their selves, and their solidarities, comes to an ordering force in human affairs. And this, once more, means a critique of conceptions which reduce matters to uniformity, to homogeneity, to like-mindedness...No more than countries can the identities that color them, Muslim or Buddhist, French or Persian, Latin or Sinitic...Black or White, be grasped as seamless entities, unbroken wholes.⁹

Geertz’s commentary raises two significant points. He asserted that it is important to consider the sources of identity-based differentiation and discord. This point is critical to the manner in which politics functions and the manner in which political conflict

⁹ Clifford Geertz, *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*, 246.

develops, as it lays out the structure into which Westen's findings fit. In effect, it is a question rooted in the way that people form ties to communities or organizations, a process that occurs when people identify with shared experiences, beliefs, histories, or objectives. Through these bonds, individuals develop a sense of belonging and identity with a community they choose, which, as Benedict Anderson has noted, "in all cases other than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined...Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined."¹⁰ Whether imagined or real, the development of an affiliation with a community causes individuals to identify with that community and to acquire a sense of personal identity as a member. Furthermore, the development of a personal identity and a link to a specific community often forges intensely strong allegiances. To quote Anderson once again, the ties between individuals and their nation foster a "fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings."¹¹ Combining the previously cited cognitive science research with Anderson's observations about fraternity, a more complete picture of political behavior and conflict begins to appear: the bonds and identities that individuals form as a result of shared experiences, beliefs, histories, or objectives mark their allegiances to a specific community, and the brain is cognitively structured to respond emotionally to any threat against that community and its identity.

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

While Anderson's theory of imagined communities explains the force of nationalism in contemporary human history, the full significance of this theory is realized only in conjunction with Geertz's second point that societies cannot "be grasped as seamless entities, unbroken wholes." Although the imagined communities that forge a sense of national identity among individuals have played a monumental role in shaping the history of the past few centuries, identity does not revolve solely around national communities. As Arjun Appadurai has noted:

...forms of electronic capitalism can have similar, and even more powerful effects, for they do not work only at the level of the nation-state. Collective experiences of the mass media, especially film and video, can create sodalities of worship and charisma... Similar sodalities can form around sport and internationalism... They are communities in themselves but always potentially communities for themselves capable of moving from shared imagination to collective action... These sodalities are often transnational, even post-national, and they frequently operate beyond the boundaries of the nation.¹²

Such alternative communities do exist and do possess the potential to conflict with or undercut allegiance to a national community. Identity is not a zero-sum equation; rather, every individual belongs to multiple communities (imagined or otherwise). Individuals' identities as members of one community may take precedence over their identities as members of others, and the identity that takes precedence fluctuates according to the circumstances and environment of a particular moment. In some instances, the predominant community and the identity it fosters may serve as an umbrella, under which

¹² Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 8.

other community identities may co-exist or even re-enforce that predominant one; in other instances, community identities may conflict with one another. In other words, within national identities, both transnational and sub-national identities exist, and these alternative forms of identification sometimes overshadow the bonds of national communities and foster friction among countrymen.

In the years leading up to 1973, three important processes increasingly affected Chile: advances in communication technologies facilitated a rapid growth in the production and dissemination of sounds and images across Chile; the Cold War and the Cuban Revolution generated intense fear and excitement among Chileans; and the social, cultural, and political “opening” of Chilean society accelerated. In this environment, Chilean society polarized increasingly, as two specific developments occurred. First, the beliefs and opinions of many Chileans shifted away from the political center and towards the right and left of the political spectrum. Based on Westen’s assertion that individuals who develop a political affiliation are particularly biased and emotional in their political behavior, this trend meant that Chileans were becoming more deeply entrenched in their political stances. Indeed, as individuals shifted further from the center of the political spectrum, they became more aggressive in their support or rejection of the general trajectory of Popular Unity’s “revolution”, felt less empathy towards those on the opposing side of the political spectrum, and became less inclined to make any compromises with those whom they increasingly viewed as attempting to destroy their vision of themselves and their primary community. Second, support or opposition for the

trajectory of Popular Unity's "revolution" emerged as the predominant means by which Chileans classified each other.

These two developments increasingly divided Chileans as "leftists", or those who supported the general trajectory of the "revolution", and "nationalists" or "conservatives", or those who opposed the left; however, significant variations and important distinctions among Chileans on both sides of this basic issue remained, as those on the left and on the right ranged, albeit decreasingly so, from moderate to radical in their political opinions. Leftists supported the implementation, to varying degrees and at varying speeds, of a socialist-based economy, while nationalists and Christian Democrats rejected to various degrees these economic changes. The divisions between political factions were more complex and deeply embedded than a basic economic orientation alone. As several scholars have asserted, various social cleavages played a fundamental role in shaping the character of the Chilean political system. For example, Timothy Scully has argued that three basic social cleavages during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—religious, urban class, and rural class conflicts—became politicized at three historically distinctive points in time and that these fundamental social cleavages translated into concrete political party alternatives.¹³ Additionally, as Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Ana Melnick have shown, Chilean political parties represent characteristic subcultures and friendship-based egalitarian networks that guarantee their continuity by social class and religious convictions. These political parties are horizontally structured

¹³ Timothy Scully, "Reconstituting Party Politics in Chile" in *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 101.

social networks that express common political ideologies and preferred lifestyles, forms of entertainment, the schools and universities to which members send their children, and occupations.¹⁴

In the context of Chilean “political culture”, as described by Lomnitz and Melnick, divisions between political communities occurred along various lines. In addition to the previously noted divisions among the left and the right over Chile’s economic orientation, leftists also held to varying degrees a sense of transnational identity, while those on the right felt a sense of national identity that those transnational sensibilities threatened to subvert, even though they too had an international outlook as part of an anti-communist set of communities in Latin America with strong ties to the United States. Thus, politics held significance beyond arguments over governing structures and economic systems. It was also an arena in which individuals from opposing political communities fought to promote and defend their respective senses of identity, as well as the symbols, artifacts, and traditions that reflected and reinforced them. Shared senses of cultural identity intertwined with and strengthened the bonds that individuals developed within political communities on the right and left. As factions became more deeply entrenched in their increasingly distinctive sense of self and the expressions and rituals that created and re-created their identities, Chileans became further isolated into separate political communities. This process fueled in individuals a

¹⁴ Larissa Adler Lomnitz, “Social Networks and Political Parties in Chile,” *REDES*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Sept-Nov 2002). Also see: Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Ana Melnick. *Chile’s Political Culture and Parties: An Anthropological Investigation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000).

greater sense of difference between their own community and opposition communities, whom, they believed, threatened their way of life and their sense of identity.

Methodology and General Findings:

The principle objective of this investigation is to explain how a society can polarize to a point where communities within a single country inflict passionate acts of violence upon one another. While scholars have written a great deal about the growing divergence of those political communities that championed opposing economic systems and governing structures, few have noted a third major fissure that also represented a stark division between Chilean political parties. Independent of those lyrics that specifically promoted Allende or his social and economic reforms, Víctor Jara and others like him attempted to redefine Chilean identity by creating a new canon of music and popular culture that drew heavily on sounds and imagery from outlying regions of Chile and from across Latin America. In response, the military ultimately tortured and killed Jara, banned *nueva canción* music, and promoted an alternative pantheon of national symbols rooted in Chile's Central Valley and its *huaso* (cowboy) culture. These actions indicate that the Chilean right maintained a concrete and distinct vision of *Chilenidad* ("Chileanness"), which it believed to be central to its own sense of identity, and that the right believed that Jara and the left had subverted the symbols and traditions of this Chilean, nation-based identity. Nationalists viewed Jara as a political agent because, beyond his stance on economic reforms, Jara represented a particular cultural sensibility that was an integral part of the differences that existed between those on the left and those

on the right. This investigation traces the development of this divide between competing cultural identities in order to reveal a more complete explanation for the violence that occurred in Chile. While the development and the expression of competing notions of cultural identity occurred through a wide range of symbols, artifacts, and traditions, from the visual arts to the celebration of particular holidays, this investigation primarily utilizes music as a lens by which to explore this phenomenon. The decision to focus on music stems not only from the nearly universal access and exposure that Chileans had to this expressive medium through radio, live performance, and records, but also from music's unique capacity both to reflect and shape society.

Most people have experienced how a song with a slow tempo or composed in a minor key often calms or saddens them, while a song with a fast tempo or composed in a major key often excites them. As Raymond Williams noted in 1961, music can transmit the re-creation of an experience in an audience not merely as an abstraction, but as an actual physical effect on the human organism—on heart rate, respiratory rate, and neurochemistry—that is a physical experience as real as any other.¹⁵ The basis of this idea was not new, but dated back to Ancient Greece, where, for example, Aristotle argued that “men are inclined to be mournful and solemn when they listen to that which is called Mixo-Lydian; but they are in a more relaxed frame of mind when they listen to others, for example the looser modes. A particularly equable feeling, midway between these, is produced, I think, only by the Dorian mode, while the Phrygian puts men into a frenzy of

¹⁵ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

excitement.”¹⁶ Recent behavioral science research has supported these observations, demonstrating that certain musical properties inherently affect our bodies in particular ways. For example, music cognition specialist David Huron has argued that the human body has evolved to conserve energy, and that humans only enter into heightened states of arousal when absolutely necessary, because such excited states increase metabolic consumption. In the same manner that a barking dog might cause the brain to anticipate the need to fight off a dog attack and accordingly trigger a heightened state of arousal, music stimulates the same cognitive pathways because the brain responds to music by anticipating musical progressions, a process that creates an emotional response when a song gives, thwarts, or denies the brain’s expectations.¹⁷ When a composer understands how to manipulate these processes, as Paul Hindemith noted, “by experience and clever distribution of this material, moreover with frequent references to those musical progressions that evoke the uncomplicated feeling-images of sadness or gaiety in an unambiguous form, he can reach a fairly close approximation of unanimity of all listeners’ reactions.”¹⁸ Of course, Hindemith also acknowledged that a composer “can never be absolutely sure of the emotional effect of his music on the listener when using complex material”, a critical caveat because in reality, the effect that music has on individuals and the meanings that individuals derive from a song are only partially the

¹⁶ From Aristotle’s *The Politics*, Book VIII, section V, 466, translated by T.A. Sinclair. (cit. Anthony Storr, *Music and the Mind* (New York: Free Press, 1992).)

¹⁷ David Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

¹⁸ Paul Hindemith, *A Composer’s World: Horizons and Limitations* (New York: Schott, 2000), 43.

result of inherent physiological responses. Musicologists traditionally have followed the concept of “absolute music”, the idea that music is autonomous and self-contained, functioning independently of social context or meanings, but this mode of analysis does not provide a complete understanding of music and its role in society.

Music, on a general level, often exhibits tremendous power as well as an extensive capacity to evoke political fervor and action; however, the manner in which music intensifies emotions and behavior stems most significantly from music’s function as an interactive medium that is shaped by the social and political context in which music is disseminated. For example, as Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison have demonstrated, social movements often appropriate established songs and infuse new meaning into them, thereby making and remaking cultural traditions through songs such as “We Shall Overcome”, which Eyerman and Jamison note, “began as a spiritual, was picked up by the labor movement and, through contact between labor movement activists and civil rights activists at the Highland Center, was transformed into the anthem of the civil rights movement and since then has found new ‘uses’ in many other movements around the world.”¹⁹ Moreover, music with a social and political impact is not limited strictly to overtly political music, such as the hymns of the Civil Rights Movement or Viet Nam era protest rock; music that has no overt or intended political message also often acquires a powerful social and political meaning. As Reebee Garafalo has noted, the seemingly benign music of Paul Simon’s *Graceland* album became immersed in a firestorm of

¹⁹ Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-2.

political turmoil when placed within the context of South Africa's transition out of Apartheid and the lifting of cultural sanctions against the country.²⁰ Despite the stated support for Simon's 1992 tour by the South African government, the African National Congress, and the Inkatha Freedom Party, Simon's music evolved a political meaning significant enough to provoke the Anzanian National Liberation Army to bomb the offices of his tour promoter and sound company. Such upwelling of political emotion over seemingly apolitical music demonstrates that audiences and political contexts may determine the meaning of a song as much as the artist and music themselves. Clearly, composers alone do not develop and dictate the meaning embedded in a song; rather, each listener and his or her particular musical background and sensibilities often play a more significant role in defining the meaning of a song: whereas many South Africans interpreted Simon's music to signify the gradual crumbling of Apartheid, the reconnection of South Africa with the world, or even a simple cross-cultural exchange, others interpreted it as a political message that the previously enacted Apartheid reforms were sufficient in themselves.

The act of creating, performing, listening, and re-creating music, in itself, serves to foster and/or reinforce a strong imagined community and a common sense of identity based on shared experiences among performers and listeners; the community and its associated identity in turn help also to shape the meaning that a song acquires. Theodor Adorno argued that people often interpret music as speaking to them on an individual level. He asserted that individuals internalize music, either in the first person or second

²⁰ Reebee Garafalo, ed., *Rockin' the Boat* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

person, as a personal discourse among artists and listeners.²¹ In this sense, listeners identify with an artist and one another, believing that they all share a personal bond or identity. Moreover, the act of participating in musical dissemination, as a performer or as one of many listeners, is essentially a shared experience or ritual in which similar bonds form among all who engage in this act. Contrary to Adorno's belief that popular music is a form of mass cultural consumption that is inherently passive and mindless, popular music can bring about popular mobilization when individuals choose to embrace specific types of popular music, and as shared experiences among fans of a certain artist or style either foster or further increase a sense of shared identity among them. Moreover, the fact that some popular music is successful and other would-be popular music is not indicates that popular music is not a monolithic block of identical songs, but a hodgepodge of variations and genres. Frequently, certain demographics or communities tend to embrace specific groups or styles, while other demographics or communities tend to embrace others, and different segments of society, including social movements or political factions, either tie themselves to or solidify around specific music. In this way, such music becomes an important part of the group identity, affecting how members experience, conceptualize, and relate to the world around them. Of course, if such processes occur and foster strong bonds among musicians, fans, and fan communities, similar processes are likely to exist for those who reject a composer's identity or discourse. In the same way that one listener might embrace a relationship with the artist

²¹ Theodor Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976).

and affiliate with the ideas or identity expressed in a song, a non-conformist who vehemently opposes the ideas and identity expressed in a song might internalize those elements and consider the composer to be attacking the listener's ideas and identity directly and personally. These types of interactions potentially deepen in the listener a sense of distaste and counter-identity in response to the impression that the singer is attempting to impose his or her opposing ideas and identity upon the listener.

During a 2003 concert in London, for example, Texan Natalie Maines, lead singer of the Dixie Chicks, expressed her dislike for President George W. Bush by proclaiming, "Just so you know, we're ashamed that the President of the United States is from Texas."²² Maines' comments and her refusal to retract them set off a firestorm of anger against the Dixie Chicks, who over the previous half decade had emerged as arguably country music's most popular musicians: they had topped popular and country music charts on numerous occasions, collected Grammy Awards for Best Country Album on three consecutive releases, and reached RIAA Diamond status (10 million albums sold) on two of their three albums. In a matter of weeks, however, the group and its music became a magnet for conservative rage. Right-wing pundits assailed the group for being anti-American, country music stations refused to play Dixie Chicks songs, and the group's commercial sales dropped precipitously. As a Programming Director from a Kansas City radio station noted, the response among focus groups to all of the Dixie Chicks music transformed suddenly: "It's not the music, because we're playing them the

²² Andrea Sachs, "Chicks in the Line of Fire," *Time Magazine*, 21 May 2006.

hits they used to love. It's something visceral. I've never seen anything like it."²³ Even more striking was the cascade of hate mail and death threats sent to the group by fans who Maines suggested had previously "thought about us in a certain way—that we were Republican and pro-war."²⁴ With that perception destroyed, the Dixie Chicks and their music acquired a new significance among the largely conservative base of country music fans that generated intense rage towards the musicians. Taken aback and angered by the severity and personal nature of this reaction, the Dixie Chicks further fueled passionate animosity towards them by releasing "Not Ready to Make Nice", a response to their critics that at least one radio programmer interpreted as "a four-minute fuck you to the format and our listeners."²⁵ In the song, Maines expressed both criticism and disbelief at the venomous fury cast towards her and her music: "It's a sad, sad story/ When a mother will teach her/ Daughter that she ought/ To hate a perfect stranger/ How in the world/ Can the words that I said/ Send somebody so over the edge/ That they'd send me a letter/ Saying that I better/ Shut up and sing/ Or my life will be over?"

Further explanation for diverse interpretations of the same musical work requires a rejection of the idea that popular music is one-dimensional and its creators dictate its meaning. Each person has a unique set of life experiences and there correspondingly exists an infinite number of ways in which individuals make sense of the world around them. Claude Levi-Strauss proposed that societies develop different totemic structures that classify relationally and link various objects or concepts in unique manners that

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

develop according to the role of those entities within each society. As he noted, “the delimitation of concepts is different in every language, and, as the author of the article ‘nom’ in the *Encyclopédie* correctly observed in the eighteenth century, the use of more or less abstract terms is a function not of greater or lesser intellectual capacity, but of differences in the interests—in their intensity and attention to detail—of particular social groups within the national society.”²⁶ Essentially, each society and each individual within that society develops particular priorities and endures unique experiences that affect the taxonomy by which they order and relate the objects they encounter and, by extension, the signals—signs, sounds, and images—used to represent those objects. Taking Levi-Strauss’ assertions one step further, the human brain categorizes and links sensory experiences with the physical and sensations they have evoked. On the most basic level, a person who touches a hot stove or eats something that he or she dislikes vividly remembers to avoid that unpleasant sensation in the future, because the mind links that sensory perception to a memory of the previous event or encounter. On a more complex level, memories tied to sensory perceptions not only recall the physical sensations linked to those sensory perceptions, but they also can recall and re-create corresponding emotional sensations.

As memories allow people to relive moments, the recollection of an experience often incorporates the emotions that experience evoked. For example, the smell of apple pie might immediately induce pleasurable emotions, generated by fond memories of

²⁶ Calude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 2.

grandma's kitchen that the cognitive link between the distinctive scent and the memories conjures. Music, as an auditory, sensory perception, operates in much the same fashion. Distinctive melodies, rhythms, lyrics, and beats stir up memories of the contexts with which a person associates them, and thereby shape the meaning a person will draw from a song. In this manner, music can operate as a form of language independent of lyrics or spoken word, as musical sounds or patterns become strongly associated with specific meanings or representations.²⁷ Musical sounds or patterns, if linked with a particularly positive or negative experience, become deeply entrenched in the mind, facilitating strong emotional links between the sound and past experiences, and thereby can recreate pleasant or unpleasant sensations when an individual encounters them in the future. Thus, the significance of any given sound or song is often, in a Pavlovian sense, largely a social construction and may vary from individual to individual based on the past experiences that each person has had with the music: as certain sounds cause some people to feel happiness, hope, or solidarity because of the memories those people link to those sounds, the same sounds may cause others to feel sadness, angst, or rage, depending on the personal experience a given individual connects to the music. In this sense, music can trigger or amplify a variety of emotions.

The preceding characteristics make music an especially revealing lens through which to understand the mentality and behavior of Chileans during the period of polarization that occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Most directly, the songs of

²⁷ Theodore Adorno expressed a similar idea, observing that within the classical German canon, social tensions can shape compositions of tonal repertory.

that era serve as unmediated historical texts that represent the perspectives of Chile's musicians. Beyond the mentality of musicians themselves, Chile's music also provides insight into other segments of society. As Howard Becker has argued, "By acting or failing to act [in response to a work of music], the government indicates that it does or does not think a particular work politically important or dangerous."²⁸ Indeed, the decisions by political parties to promote, ignore, or attack specific songs or styles of music indicate that those parties found elements of a song or style of music to be compatible or incompatible with their vision for society. Similarly, the embrace or rejection of certain songs and styles by sectors of the public indicates that certain groups of people also found a song or a style of music to be compatible or incompatible with their vision of themselves and their society. Of course, while musical texts provide a strong baseline for analyzing the content and meaning expressed by the composer of a song, it is a more complex task to uncover exactly who embraced or rejected a song, what meaning those individuals derived from that song, and why those individuals liked or disliked that song.

In order to establish the public's interpretation of and response to various forms of music, this investigation relies on a combination of reports on music and concerts in various periodicals and oral histories. The use of oral histories inevitably raises questions of historical accuracy, as nearly forty year-old memories might shift or fade over time. However, cognitive science research has revealed that human memories, particularly those that have not been accessed frequently, do not necessarily fade or disappear with

²⁸ Howard Becker, *Art Worlds*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 185.

time or with age. Most human memories remain fully intact in the neuronal networks of the brain, even though the brain's frontal lobes, which help it to catalogue, store, and access memories, gradually decrease in volume with age and make it more difficult for an individual to locate and access the particular neuronal pathway where a memory exists. The brain, in other words, effectively and accurately preserves memories of experiences over long periods of time, although it may lose the capacity to relocate specific memories that it has stored. In such instances, an individual's free recall of a specific event may not be intact; however, in most cases, that individual's brain simply needs a "hint" or a "trigger", such as an associated image, sensation, or sound, to help it to locate the original, intact memory.²⁹

Although human memories generally remain stored in neuronal networks over the course of a lifetime, cognitive scientists have also revealed that each time the human brain recalls a particular memory, present context may alter future recollections of that memory.³⁰ Memories are not like books, which we pull off storage shelves and later replace on the storage shelves without any alteration; rather, they are more like computer documents that can be pulled out of storage, altered according to current perceptions and conditions, and then resaved to replace the previous draft. The process of recalling a

²⁹ For further explanation of memory process, see: Jonah Lehrer, *Proust Was a Neuroscientist* (and related interview on National Public Radio: "Scientists Changing Theories about Memory" (June 4, 2008)); Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers*; Alan S. Brown, "A Review of the Tip-of-the-Tongue Experience".

³⁰ In addition to the previously cited sources on memory, also see Shirley Wang's summary of recent research conducted by Roger Pitman and Alain Brunet: "Can You Alter Your Memory?" *The Wall Street Journal*, 16 March 2010, D1.

memory, thereby, may make future recollections of that memory different from those that preceded it, meaning that the more an individual recalls a memory, the more that individual's current memory will have shifted away from the original memory.

Similarly, those memories that an individual rarely recalls will remain most unchanged. Given the widespread musical censorship during the Dictatorship period in Chile, many of the sounds presented to interviewees during oral interviews for this investigation were sounds that the interviewees had heard rarely or not at all since the early 1970s, a trend that over ninety percent of interviewees noted in response to multiple songs. This trend indicates that the associations that interviewees made between the sounds they heard and the memories they attached to those sounds are less likely to have shifted to a significant degree since the early 1970s than memories and experiences they have revisited more frequently.

Although the variables involved with oral histories can make their use as primary source documents complex, the findings of contemporary cognitive scientists have demonstrated the remarkable ability of the human brain to preserve intricate data from the course of a lifetime effectively and intact, particularly when the data pertains to experiences that an individual has not often recalled. In many instances, including that of post-Allende Chile, where the military government waged an aggressive campaign to destroy all materials involved with the production and dissemination of what it considered to be "subversive music", oral histories provide one of the few remaining

sources on a subject and cannot be ignored.³¹ Recent works on Chile by historians such as Florencia Mallon (Mallon, 2002) and Margaret Power (Power, 2002) have utilized oral histories as a means to elucidate the periodical and archival accounts of the historical events upon which they base their works. This investigation utilizes a similar approach that supplements findings based on archival research with oral interviews that survey Chileans from various socio-economic classes, political orientations, ages, and geographical locations, thereby corroborating diverse samples of oral accounts with document-based evidence, to the greatest extent possible.

The combination of document-based sources with oral histories reveals that musical preferences towards Chile's folk-based musical genres corresponded with political preferences. The vast majority of all Chileans claimed that "música folklórica" (folkloric music) was among their favorite styles of music during the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, in asserting this preference, individuals who leaned towards the right of the political spectrum defined "música folklórica" as one particular style of folk-based popular music rooted in Central Valley traditions, while individuals who leaned towards the left defined it as another particular style of folk-based popular music rooted in traditions from across Chile and Latin America.³² Within the predominant distinction of

³¹ As discussed later in this dissertation, the military government attacked any radio stations or recording facilities it considered to be tied to Popular Unity and the *nueva canción* movement. While Chilean radio stations generally did not preserve play-lists during the Allende era, the military would have destroyed any play-lists, catalogues, or musical collections it found when it raided and destroyed all radio stations and recording facilities it considered to be aligned with the political left.

³² Because Chileans defined "folklore" in distinct manners, this investigation refers to all forms of so-called "música folklórica" as "folk-based music". This label acknowledges

left versus right, just as the political opinions of individuals on the right and the left side of the political spectrum varied from moderate to extreme, so too did the preferred music within these groups. Chileans on the far right (for example, those who sympathized with the Patria y Libertad segment of the right) recalled that they felt an extreme emotional connection to the *música típica* and *neo-folclore* styles of music rooted in Chile's Central Valley *huaso* traditions and to the "true Chileans" who sang and listened to this music. They also associated this music with national pride, memories of their family, "traditional" or "Catholic" values, and the "peacefulness" and "beauty" of Chile's Central Valley countryside. Chileans on the far left (for example, those who sympathized with the MIR segment of the left) recalled that they felt profound feelings of disdain and resentment towards *música típica* and *neo-folclore* music and the "right-wing *momias*" whom they associated with it. They also associated *música típica* and *neo-folclore* with conservative politicians, with the exploitation of rural laborers by *patrones*, with the social and political status quos, and with an elite class that removed itself from the

that both the music dubbed by rightists and the music dubbed by leftists as "*música folklórica*" did in fact stem from folk traditions. However, the distinction of such music as being "folk-based" as opposed to "folk" or "folkloric" signifies that it differed from the rural, folkloric traditions upon which it based itself. The most prominent of these differences generally occurred as "folklorists" commodified folkloric music, altered its mediation format and physical location, and/or rearranged it to fit cosmopolitan aesthetic standards or new socio-political objectives. Or, put more broadly (and borrowing from Fernando Ríos' discussion of indigenous music from the Andes), this investigation uses the term "folkloric" to refer to music that generally is not part of an aesthetic system that cosmopolitan cultural ethos, including both modernist-capitalism and modernist-socialism, govern; "folk-based", in contrast, refers to music that draws upon "folkloric" music, but which *is* generally part of an aesthetic system that cosmopolitan cultural ethos govern. (For further discussion of this topic, see: Fernando Ríos, "La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción," *Latin American Music Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2008), 145-181.)

realities of Chilean life. Chileans on the far left also recalled that they felt an extreme, emotional connection to the *nueva canción* style of music rooted in folk traditions from across Chile and Latin America and to those “compañeros” and “real” people, who they believed sang and listened to this music. They also associated this music with workers’ rights, social and political change, a feeling of kinship with the citizens of other Latin American countries, feelings of hope for the future, and popular mobilization. Chileans on the far right recalled that they felt profound feelings of disdain and resentment towards *nueva canción* and those “communists” and “subversives” whom they associated with this music. They also associated *nueva canción* with economic difficulties, long lines to obtain basic household goods, communist rallies, violence, and the intrusion of “foreign” influences into Chile. Generally speaking, the further an individual’s political affiliation lay from the political center, the more passionately they recalled embracing one of these styles and rejecting the other, with the lone exception being some older leftists who recalled that they enjoyed certain *música típica* and *neo-folclore* songs because these songs reminded them of their youth. Those individuals positioned closer to the political center preferred songs with lyrics that did not make any overt political statements either for or against the Popular Unity government; however, those positioned on the center-right (for example, moderate Christian Democrats) recalled that they identified primarily with *música típica* and *neo-folclore* music, while those positioned on the center-left (progressive Christian Democrats, for example) recalled that they identified more strongly with *nueva canción* music. While these more moderate individuals recalled that they maintained clear musical preferences, they did not embrace or reject particular

sounds, musicians, and fans with the same level of passion as their more radical counterparts.³³

As previously noted, despite the increasing polarization that occurred prior to 1973 and separated Chileans generally into a right and a left, Chilean society remained more complex than two uniform categories. In addition to differences among the right and among the left, an additional segment of society emerged to become a third socio-political pole; a significant number of Chile's youth increasingly enraged both the political right and left by assertively refraining from any stance in regards to political platforms or candidates and by embracing a hippie-influenced identity that rejected those sounds, images, and traditions tied to right and to the left. Nonetheless, despite the variations that existed among Chilean political sensibilities during the Allende era, three distinct trends existed. Both moderates and radicals on each side of the political spectrum shared a preference in folk-based popular music for styles rooted in Central Valley traditions or for styles rooted in traditions from across Chile and Latin America. As the Allende presidency progressed, the frequency and popularity of Chilean songs containing overtly political lyrics increased on both the left and the right. Finally, against the backdrop of the Cold War, Chileans polarized along political lines, and emotion played a central role in determining how Chileans viewed one another and how they behaved.

³³ In certain instances, these individuals noted the "beauty" of songs they identified as "not political", even if the songs were rooted in a folkloric style with which they did not generally identify.

Emotion and those factors that fueled it are critical to any explanation for Chile's transition from a country generally viewed as one of the region's most stable to one in which families divided and neighbors and countrymen turned against one another. These phenomena developed out of a long trajectory in which Chilean senses of identity formed and shifted, and in which Chileans developed bonds to particular beliefs and traditions and the communities that shared them. Accordingly, in order to explain what occurred in 1973, this investigation traces the gradual, long-term process by which tensions emerged along side the political, economic, and cultural "opening" of society. This gradual process began during the late nineteenth century, and Chapter II of this dissertation explores how and why middle and upper-class Chileans became concerned about Chile's "social problem", or the potential for class warfare, during this period. Chapter II argues that conservative elites, who aspired to maintain their European-based identity, believed that Chile should remedy its "social problem" with a combination of Christian charity and European assimilation. In contrast, an emerging sector of middle-class, reformist liberals advocated social and political reform as a means to foster social stability. These reformists rejected the conservative elite's European identity, and they instead promoted and internalized a creole identity rooted in a romantic image of the Central Valley *huaso*.

Chapter III analyzes the process by which conservative elites subsequently adopted the *huaso* identity as well by the second quarter of the twentieth century. Conservatives promoted their new identity by forming *Ligas Patrióticas* (Patriot Leagues) and undertaking "Chileanization" campaigns; such efforts were particularly

prevalent in northern Chile, where labor discontent flourished among mine-workers. Reflecting and furthering the spread of *huaso* identity, *música típica* musicians, who dressed in crisp, embroidered *huaso* suits and recorded stylized versions of Central Valley *cuecas* and *tonadas*, circulated widely. At the same time, early leftist leaders protested the “Chileanization” campaigns, and progressive intellectuals argued that *huaso* musicians were “inauthentic” representations of rural Chile.

Between 1960 and 1968, the momentum for progressive reform in Chile increased, and Chapter IV argues that against this backdrop, Chileans began to embrace divergent, folk-based, musical styles that reflected distinct notions of self and nation. It analyzes *música típica* songs and their relationship to conservatism, as well as the development of an alternative folk-based, musical style among progressive musicians and the competing notion of identity embedded within it. Most critically, this chapter asserts that this second style, which would ultimately give birth to *nueva canción* music, drew on folkloric influences not just from Chile’s Central Valley, but also from the country’s outlying regions.

Chapter V examines how the alternative folkloric movement of the early 1960s evolved into the *nueva canción* movement. This chapter argues that the development of *nueva canción* music fostered social interactions and created a music-based community among middle-class leftists and working-class leaders who would form the Popular Unity party. Furthermore, the music increasingly evoked a pan-Latin American identity that

became central to the Popular Unity movement, whereas *música típica* remained both fundamentally tied to Central Valley traditions and extremely popular among conservatives.

Chapter VI argues that although leftists increasingly embraced only *nueva canción* and rightists increasingly embraced only *música típica*, some variations existed according to an individual's age and hometown. It also asserts that in the midst of rising political tensions between the right and the left, a countercultural *hippie* movement emerged that claimed to reject all political parties and their identities in favor of “apoliticism”, transnational *hippie* identity, and psychedelic rock. Chapter VI then analyzes how the shifting character of *nueva canción* music paralleled and reflected political developments, as well as how Allende's government promoted *nueva canción* as the “official” music of the state. The opposition, which owned the vast majority of non-state controlled media, countered this effort with a campaign to delegitimize *nueva canción* and promote *música típica*. Chapter VI contends that, ultimately, the divide between *nueva canción* and *música típica* further segmented society and served to exacerbate emotional divisions between rightists and leftists.

Chapter VII argues that *nueva canción* played a crucial role in the left's efforts to prevent a coup. Leftists utilized *nueva canción* to organize and inspire displays of “poder popular” (“popular power”), and Allende sent *nueva canción* artists abroad as “cultural ambassadors” to export Chile's cultural revolution and build international

support for his government. As Chilean society reached a boiling point in 1973, *nueva canción* and *música típica* concerts and festivals acquired even greater political significance; emotional outbursts and physical violence among musical audiences contributed to the growing polarization that inhibited rational political discussion and further disintegrated democratic process. In this manner, the long process by which competing cultural identities united and divided Chileans culminated in a moment at which these identities and the music tied to them fueled emotions that contributed to a violent polarization of the populace and led to the brutal torture and murder of a pacifist musician.

Chapter I: Social Inequality and the Rise of Middle-Class Creolism (Late 19th Century-1910s)

In 1847, Andrés Bello published *Gramática de la lengua castellana, destinada al uso de los americanos*. Bello argued for an approach to linguistics in the Americas that would allow the Spanish language to evolve and acquire local character, but not so far that it might break a linguistic continuity with its European roots. On the one hand, Bello's arguments stemmed from a practical fear that the divergence of Spanish into local dialects would lead eventually to the type of linguistic divisions that separated European nations. On the other hand, Bello's arguments also stemmed from a deeper, ongoing struggle among the creole elite of Spanish America, as they attempted to locate and adopt a sense of self-identity that reflected and advanced the region's evolving social, political, and economic trajectory.¹

Prior to independence, the colonial elite of Spanish America faced difficult decisions regarding the images and practices by which they defined themselves. Traditionally, this group had looked to European society as a source of social, cultural, and intellectual influence. But as much as the creole elite modeled their identity as distinctly European, they could not ignore the reality that, as Elinor Melville has noted, “the center of gravity of their world was located in America. America was where their wealth was generated, and where their families—often drawn from local populations—were located. *America was home.*”²

¹ Andrés Bello, *Gramática de la lengua castellana, destinada al uso de los americanos*, 10th edition (Paris: R. Roger and F. Chervoviz, 1907).

² Elinor G. K. Melville, “Land Use and the Transformation of the Environment” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America, Volume I*, ed. Victor Bulmer-Thomas,

This reality became even more evident after independence, and both conservatives and liberals among the upper classes recognized that the construction of new and lasting nations hinged on their capacity to establish a sense of common history, identity, and way of life among creole, Indian, and African members of society. While creole liberals came to embrace more thoroughly the integration of rural, Indian, and African customs into their own predominantly European-influenced customs by the late nineteenth century, creole conservatives were slower to accept even refined forms of non-European practices. More-so than their liberal counterparts, Conservative creole elites desired the preservation of the traditional socio-economic order and clung dearly to those elements of their cultural lives that they believed too fundamental to compromise, particularly Christianity, European cosmopolitanism, and the nuclear family structure. Thus, while the combination of European and local came to forge a new, distinctive identity for liberal members of the creole elite and their developing nations, conservatives generally remained resistant to such changes.³

By the twentieth century, as liberal creoles considered their own well-being and that of their young republics, many decided that improving the plight of the lower classes and better incorporating those populations into the nation would provide social stability, reduce class tensions, and fuel economic development. This underlying belief not only

John H. Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortés Conde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 111.

³ Leslie Bethell, ed., *A Cultural History of Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Also see: Julio Pinto Vallejos and Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, *¿Chilenos todos?: la construcción social de la nación (1810-1840)* (Santiago: LOM 2009).

applied to issues of economic and political inequity, but it also appeared in expressions of identity and nationalism. Reflecting the positivist notion that social engineering could eliminate undesirable characteristics from a population, intellectuals and artists drew upon folk customs by adopting specific elements of those practices and recasting them in a more “refined” form that met the elite’s cosmopolitan standards. For example, within the realm of music, similar to the manner in which European composers such as Mikhail Glinka, Mily Balakirev, Antonín Dvorák, and subsequently Béla Bartók integrated folk rhythms and melodies into salon and symphonic compositions as expressions of nationalism, composers in the Americas such as Ignacio Cervantes (Cuba), Francisco Hargreaves (Argentina), and subsequently Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brazil) and Pedro Humberto-Allende (Chile) fused folk elements into “high” art to convey a new sense of their respective national identities.⁴

During the first half of the twentieth century in Latin America, the stylized integration of certain folk practices and imagery gradually became part of the national identities that both liberals and conservatives across the region would come to accept; however, this integration of such practices and imagery occurred most strongly and most rapidly in locations where a significant middle-class developed. Not only were the middle classes intermediary sectors whose contact with both the elite and the lower

⁴ For example, see: Gerard Béhague, *The Beginnings of Musical Nationalism in Brazil* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1971); Gerard Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: the Search for Brazil’s Musical Soul* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1994); Alejo Carpentier, *Music in Cuba, 1523-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947); Carol E. Robertson, *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

classes directly exposed them to traditions, practices, and beliefs held by those at the top and bottom of society, but they also embraced more strongly the belief that limited and symbolic concessions to and integration of the under-classes was the best means by which both to dismantle traditional socio-economic structures that impeded their own economic growth and by which to avoid class warfare and social upheaval from below. As the twentieth century progressed, the concept of reform, both structurally symbolically, would increasingly divide national populations.

Chile's Social Question

Along with Chilean independence came the question of how the creole elite would maintain order and develop their new state. The creole elite as a whole wanted to maintain social order and protect their socio-economic position, while simultaneously growing the Chilean economy. Economically, this meant that they generally embraced a philosophy of selective economic liberalism, drawing on liberal economic doctrine when it suited their needs. Elites promoted a free market of labor that prevented workers associations and any significant labor protections, while at the same time often demanding government-sponsored protections, subsidies, and business associations to assist their own business interests and to modernize urban Chile. In practical terms, this system translated into extended macro-economic growth, based heavily upon an export-driven economy with revenue derived predominantly from copper, agricultural products, and subsequently nitrates, coupled with harsh labor conditions and limited opportunity

for the working classes. On one hand, for example, copper production expanded from 8,000 to 10,000 kilos between 1851 and 1856, and it expanded again to 35,000 kilos by 1860.⁵ In addition, agricultural exports, led by wheat, flour, and barley, quintupled between 1844 and 1860.⁶ On the other hand, the poor, as Curtis Wilgus has described, “still lived in the same miserable huts, wore the same scanty garb, and ate the same restricted list of foods, if they dined at all, as their forbearers ate one or two generations earlier.”⁷ In effect, the Chilean economic strategy greatly benefited the major creole economic groups, including landowners, local and foreign merchants, and mine owners, through foreign credit and the exportation of largely unrefined, raw materials. This system allowed the elite to live extravagant lifestyles and have access to European luxury goods, modernize Chile’s principal cities, construct railways, and maintain their socio-economic position. At the same time, this strategy and the pattern of inflation, government debt, and foreign dependency that accompanied it created a level of socio-economic inequality that would become increasingly problematic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁸

While the creole elite shared a common desire to preserve their socio-economic position, they disagreed over how best to achieve these objectives. Liberals advocated a

⁵ Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 151.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Argentina, Brazil, and Chile Since Independence* (Washington D.C.: The George Washington University Press, 1935). Also see: Salazar Vergara, Gabriel, *Labradores, peones y proletarios: formación y crisis de la sociedad popular chilena del siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985).

⁸ Ibid.

weaker, secular state with a political system, at least for the elite, based on European civil libertarianism. Their conservative counterparts desired a stronger, more authoritarian state, supported by established social hierarchies and a strong relationship with the Catholic Church.⁹ The conservative Portalian State (named after its progenitor, Diego Portales) held power from 1830 until the 1860s, when it began to appease its liberal opponents by including them in the government. Liberals gained power in the 1870s, but retained the 1833 Constitution and its provisions for strong presidential authority. However, in 1891, a civil war erupted and Congressional rebels defeated President José Manuel Blamaceda and altered the Constitution to give greater power to the legislature. This constitutional shift ushered in a period known as the Parliamentary Republic, which lasted until a military coup disrupted it in 1924. In 1925, Chile ratified a new Constitution that returned greater authority to the president and permanently separated Church and State. Although none of these regimes were either fully free or inclusive, from the 1860s onwards, a greater percentage of male Chileans acquired the franchise, and as Simon Collier has noted, “in political terms it must also be recognized that the Conservative system did, in the end, adapt sufficiently well for the country to move into an altogether more liberal (and Liberal) phase.”¹⁰ At the same time, for all the rhetoric of the nineteenth century and three, short civil wars, government in Chile remained something “*entre caballeros*”, or among gentlemen.

⁹ Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865: Politics and Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 60.

While an underlying level of homogeneity and relative consistency defined Chilean politics through the first quarter of the twentieth century, demographic changes and new ideological influences posed an increasing threat to the status quo. By the late nineteenth century, labor flows from the countryside into mining areas and into the slowly industrializing cities moved at an ever-increasing pace. Santiago, for example, ballooned from 270,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 700,000 in 1930, when over half the total population resided in the capital and in the nearby port of Valparaíso.¹¹ This dramatic influx of labor often outpaced the rate of urban and industrial development, leaving an extensive and increasingly concentrated working-class that suffered poor working and living conditions. Influenced in part by the European labor movement, a Chilean labor movement started to emerge during this period, albeit often in segmented fashion, with urban laborers organizing and taking initiative against a repressive state that had avoided promulgating any legal protections for workers.¹² Additionally, a growing number of rural strikes occurred after the turn of the century, further unsettling elites, who depended in large part on the hacienda system as a means of controlling rural voting and preserving their political power. In response to these developments, the liberal elite proved to be no less repressive than conservatives when it came to dealing with labor organizing and strikes, and both political factions had a hand in unleashing a series of bloody massacres upon mobilized workers during the first decades of the twentieth century. These episodes

¹¹ Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, 232-233.

¹² Michael Monteón, *Chile and the Great Depression* (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies Press, 1998); Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

brought the issue of wealth disparity and class conflict to the forefront of Chilean political life, and Chileans struggled with the question of how to deal with the country's growing "social question".

Wealth Distribution and Middle-Class Liberals in Chile

Despite their shortcomings, the economic policies of successive regimes in the nineteenth century did foster the development of a Chilean urban middle-class, which by the early twentieth century had grown large enough to assert political objectives that remained autonomous of the conservative-liberal oligarchy. Similar to Chilean elites, the middle-class grew concerned over Chile's social question and the fear that class warfare might ensue if Chile did not address the growing discontent among the working-class. However, whereas the elite, particularly the conservative elite, demonstrated a steady fear of enhancing political participation by non-elite sectors, the middle-class promoted a more reformist liberal agenda based on an alternative nationalism that included (if only symbolically) the poor and disenfranchised. Although reform-minded intellectuals such as Víctor Arellano, Francisco Béze, Marcos de la Barra, Don Pascal Guerra, and Alejandro Bustamante contemplated the social question and published late nineteenth century works that advocated socio-economic reform, this reformist liberalism by and large did not imply dramatic social transformation.

Representing this political orientation, Arturo Alessandri Palma, an upper-middle-class lawyer, waged a presidential campaign in 1920 that attacked the oligarchy and

promised to address Chile's "social question" by extending Chile's public sector and by improving conditions for the working classes, a task that the government would fund largely through its copper and nitrate revenues. Alessandri's legislative agenda met stiff resistance from a Congress that conservative politicians continued to control, and when workers became frustrated with the lack of actual change that Alessandri's presidency brought to their lives and attempted to take matters into their own hands, Alessandri's government repressed them violently. In 1925, Alessandri's government promulgated a new Constitution that, among other reforms, returned greater executive power to the president by reducing Congress' power to stall presidential initiatives and appointments; it also permanently separated Church and state, an action that eliminated the most prominent divisions between Conservative and Liberal elites and drew them closer together as a socio-economic class. In addition to making the differences among the Conservative and Liberal elite even narrower, the Alessandri presidency and the enactment of the 1925 Constitution demonstrated that the middle-class generally sought little more than their own political voice, the unraveling of the oligarchy, the reduction of foreign capital's influence over Chile's economy, and a channel through which to continue the liberal platform of order and progress.¹³ In sum, the middle-class denounced

¹³ Leslie Bethell, ed., *Chile Since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Also see: Michael Monteón, *Chile and the Great Depression*; Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Julio Pinto Vallejos and Varónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, *¿Revolución proletaria o querida chusma?: socialismo y Alessandrismo en la pugna por la politización pampina (1911-1932)* (Santiago: LOM, 2001).

the elite politically, yet it generally lacked any real commitment to pursuing significant reforms for the benefit of the working-class.

Reflecting these economic and political perspectives, middle-class liberal reformers began to turn in the late nineteenth century towards a more inclusive sense of self and nation that blended folkloric traditions with European influences. This shift meant that three cultural strata developed and paralleled the socio-economic distinctions between the upper, middle, and lower-classes. Whereas the conservative oligarchy frequented European operas and orchestral performances in late nineteenth century Santiago, the lower classes generally enjoyed forms of popular song that included *décimas*, *cantadas*, and other *poesía popular*. Between these two groups, the middle-class predominantly embraced forms of cultural expression rooted in high (aristocratic and European) culture, but increasingly utilized components of low (rural, Chilean based, and popular) culture. In both the popular song favored by the lower-classes and the *zarzuelas* (musical theater songs) favored by the middle-class, these two segments of society asserted an identity that was independent from that of the urban, conservative elites. As Bernardo Subercaseaux has noted, the *zarzuela* in particular contained three important components that represented the emerging middle-class' self-image: a new vision of the urban public that included the middle and popular-classes and potentially excluded only the rural illiterate; a (musical) language that was simple, accessible, and

often influenced by popular traditions; and a business opportunity in which entrepreneurs saw commercial potential.¹⁴

The increasing appearance in urban society of the image of the *huaso* and of *huaso* customs similarly demonstrated this shifting sense of identity among middle-class Chileans. Traditionally, Chileans defined the figure of the *huaso* as an inhabitant of rural, central and central-southern Chile. Although often identified with a class of rural cowboys and farm laborers situated below the *patrón* and just above the *inquilino* (service tenant), the term *huaso* applied to these other rural classes as well. The *Museo Histórico Nacional*'s collection of *huaso* photos includes images ranging from rural aristocrats to humble ranch hands, all of whom dressed in *huaso* suits and are distinguishable only by the quality of those suits and the saddles on their horses.¹⁵ More specifically, Alberto Cardemil defined the *huaso* as “*hacienda owner, peasant laborer, shepherd, cultivator, cattleman, breeder, horse breaker, horse groomer, cattle trader, horse trainer, rural postman, tenant farmer, squatter, muleteer, seasonal worker, rancher, horseman, caretaker of the hacienda, service-tenant, overseer, administrator, warden, cowboy, peon on horseback, seed gatherer, wagoneer, servant, assistant, braider, saddle maker, saddler, spur maker, bridle maker, shoemaker, solitary horseman,*

¹⁴ Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile: Tomo II* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1997, 73-74), 189-190.

¹⁵ Museo Histórico Nacional, Colección fotografía, Huasos: Fb. 5891-5906, Fc. 4831, 621.5. (cit. María Rosaria Stabili, *El sentimiento aristocrático* (Santiago: Andres Bello, 2003).)

and many times *contrabandista* at the service of the haciendas.”¹⁶ The symbolic character of the *huaso* also included various rural practices and images, including horses, rodeos, rural landscapes, distinctive speech patterns, and music, particularly the *cueca* and the *tonada*.

The *cueca* was a form of folk song and dance with creole, African, and Andalusian-Arab influences. It developed originally as the *zamacueca* in Peru and subsequently became most associated with Chile. Musically, Chilean *cuecas* generally maintained a formal unitary scheme with a quick tempo, 3/4 and/or 6/8 time signatures, and a structure based on *coplas*, *seguidillas*, and *pareados* (two-line stanzas of seven and five syllable lines).¹⁷ However, various regions of Chile developed distinct variations of this *cueca*. For example, brass bands or panpipe ensembles performed one style of lyric-less *cueca* in Chile’s north, while musicians in central-southern Chile performed *cuecas* with guitars and accordions and sang in a chain of *seguidillas* (seven-line stanzas of five and seven syllables in a 5-7-5-7-7-5-7 arrangement).¹⁸ Nonetheless, the *cuecas* of the rural Central Valley would remain the most common and popular styles. One or more

¹⁶ Alberto Cardemil, *El Huaso Chileno* (Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 2000), 61. This quotation is an approximate translation of the following Chilean terms in Cardemil’s text: “*hacendado, labrador, pastor, cultivador, ganadero, criador, amansador, arreglador, corredor de vacas, petisero, hijuelero, colono, ocupante, arriero, veraneador, puestero, baqueano, cuidador de hacienda, inquilino, capataz, deministrador, mayordomo, vaquero, peón de a caballo, piñonero, carretero, sota, arrenquín, trenzador, monturero, talabartero, espuelero, freno, botero, jinete solitario, and many times contrabandista* at the service of the haciendas.”

¹⁷ Juan Pablo González, “Chile” in Dale Olsen, ed., *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 2: South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean* (New York: Garland, 1998), 368-369.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

guitars generally performed these *cuecas*, often accompanied by hand-clapping and a *cueca* dance that simulated a courtship, with a male partner pursuing his female counterpart around a circle, as both twirled handkerchiefs. Increasingly during the first half of the twentieth century, musicians and dancers would wear *huaso* suits and dresses as they sang and dance to these *cuecas*. The *tonada* was another Chilean folk style with Andalusian-Arab origins. Traditionally, one or two female voices sang *tonadas* with the accompaniment of guitars and/or harps. *Tonadas* generally were festive songs, but varied in their purpose by location and context. Similar to the *cueca*, *tonadas* possessed a rich rhythm, which the alternation and superposition of 3/4 and 6/8 meters helped to establish. Unlike the *cueca*, *tonadas* did not adhere to strict compositional rules; rather, lyrics, meter, and other compositional characteristics tended to vary among *tonadas*.¹⁹ Accordingly, sub-sets of the *tonada* existed, including *villancico*, *parabién*, *esquinazo*, and *tonada de velorio*, each of which corresponded specifically to a type of *tonada* performed at Christmas, marriages, serenades, and wakes, respectively.²⁰

As a prototypical Chilean identity, the *huaso* coexisted by the late nineteenth century with the *roto*, a less prevalent figure popularized as the working-class, front-line soldiers who had played a critical role in Chile's victory in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). While the definition of the *roto* ranged from a member of the urban lower-class,

¹⁹ Samuel Claro Vadés, Carmen Peña Fuenzalida and María Isabel Quevedo Cifuentes, *Cueca chilena o tradicional*, (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1994). For additional descriptions of *cueca* and *tonada* characteristics, also see: Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005).

²⁰ Juan Pablo González, "Chile", 367-368.

specifically, to any Chilean not among the social and political elite, the *roto* remained a secondary figure in Chilean society. The *huaso* and his associated traditions, in contrast, became the central character in *criollismo* and represented a slowly diminishing urban-rural divide that had existed in Chile through the late nineteenth century.

In 1885, Mateo Martínez Quevedo published *Don Lucas Gomes, o sea el huaso en Santiago*. This work, which became immensely popular on stage in Santiago during the 1890s and incorporated into its performance a *zamacueca* (an early form of *cueca* music and dance, which despite its popularity among the urban working classes, remained primarily identified with rural Chile at this time), told the story of a country *huaso* visiting his brother in the capital; during the visit, the family of Don Lucas' brother attempts to refine Don Lucas' rural naivety and bucolic practices. The publication and subsequent popularity of *Don Lucas Gomes, o sea un huaso en Santiago* demonstrates how middle-class liberals were beginning to explore Chile's folk and rural traditions as part of their country's cultural landscape. This trend was a dramatic reorientation from earlier decades, when, as indicated by José Joaquín Vallejo's cultural observations from the mid-nineteenth century, urban Chileans looked exclusively to Europe for their sense of identity, and rural Chileans looked to Santiago for their sense of identity:

The Muslim has to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his life and visit the Holy Places of his religion and traditions... The elegant citizen of Santiago who hasn't gone to Paris to study elegance at the source, to see in real life the fashionable types who come to us here in the form of lithographs, should abandon all hope of achieving celebrity in his career... Just as indispensable as these visits is the one we provincials have to make to the capital of the Republic. Anyone who has failed to render

this homage, unless there's been some powerful obstacle to doing so, is regarded as a poor wretch, like the one of those automatons who have the sad distinction of never experiencing the joys of music or any of beauty's more divine impressions.²¹

Nonetheless, despite the increasing interest in rural Chile that the staging of *Don Lucas Gomes, o sea un huaso en Santiago*, fostered and exhibited, Mateo Martínez Quevedo's depiction of the Don Lucas Gomes cast the *huaso* as a bucolic, country bumpkin, indicating that even as liberal middle-class perspectives shifted, that which was of rural or Chilean origin remained second-rate.

Although nineteenth century liberals gave limited value to Chile's folk and indigenous traditions, this perspective began to change rapidly after the turn of the century. In 1904, Nicolás Palacios published *Raza chilena*, arguing that Chileans developed out of a mixing of the conquistadors' nobility with the strength and valiance of the Araucanian Indians, a combination that had created a superior race. Extremely controversial at its time of publication, *Raza Chilena* defended the Araucanian Indians for their character and for their aptitude as warriors, a stance that represented a dramatic transition towards a new sense of national identity with roots not just in Europe, but also in certain elements of Chile's non-European traditions. Moreover, Palacios saw in the Araucanian Indian and in the Chilean *roto*, the basis for a potentially strong and industrious, modern working class.²²

²¹ José Joaquín Vallejo, *Sketches of Life in Chile, 1841-1851* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 102.

²² Nicolás Palacios, *Raza chilena* (Santiago: Editorial Andujar, 199-).

In the wake of *Raza chilena*, other liberal intellectuals, such as Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun and Alejandro Venegas, published works that similarly expressed and promoted new concepts of *chilenidad* (chileanness). In his 1909 publication, *La conquista de Chile en el siglo XX*, Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun argued for more nationalist economic policies: “It is necessary that we adopt a politics of chileanization of our riches if we do not want the Chilean race to become an inferior race, a slave race, at the service of other races that would control our land and riches.”²³ The basis of Tancredo Pinochet LeBrun’s nationalist, economic perspective also appeared in his sense of cultural nationalism, as he condemned Chileans, and the conservative oligarchy in particular, for their European-based orientation and consumerism:

We illuminate ourselves with Bougies of Paris o Bougies of Bruxelles, manufactured in Santiago. We light these candles with Safety Matches from a Swedish Patent, manufactured en Talca. Our women clean and soften their pink skin with Savón Fin de Paris, produced in Chile. From the leafy cherries of the Chilean orchards they make Syrup Extra-Fin for commercial sale, and from our almond orchards, Orgeat Superieur Qualité. We buy shoes from an American Shoe Factory, situated on Avenida del Rosario. We write with Castle Ink Copping Fluid (London, Paris, Berlin), produced on the shores of the Mapocho. We consume Refined Table Salt from the Chilean salting houses (that are the best in the world).²⁴

Such notions of nationalism became the basis for the *criollismo* movement, which blossomed over the coming years and fostered a dramatic reorientation in the cultural lives of Chileans.

²³ Tancredo Pinochet LeBrun, *La conquista de Chile en el siglo XX* (Santiago: La ilustración, 1909), 236.

²⁴ “Mala característica nacional,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 17 June 1910.

While the works of Nicolás Palacios, Tancredo Pincochet Le-Brun, and Alejandro Venegas lay out in specific terms the basic values and tenants of *criollismo*, the application and expression of *criollista* philosophy occurred in diverse spheres. In 1909, Rodolfo Lenz, a German linguist and folklorist who moved to Chile in 1890 to study the influence of Araucanian language on Chilean Spanish, and who subsequently studied *lira popular*, founded the *Sociedad del Folklore Chileno* (Society of Chilean Folklore) along with his two Chilean protégés, Ramón Laval, and Julio Vicuña Cifuentes. The *Sociedad del Folklore Chileno* soon merged with the *Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, as Laval and Vicuña Cifuentes produced an array of works that explored language, poetry, music, myths, and romances primarily from rural areas between La Serena and Concepción (central and central-southern Chile). The work of these early folklorists not only elevated the study of Chilean folk customs as a legitimate academic pursuit, but it also expanded the body of folk influences upon which other *criollistas* could draw.

Intellectuals such as Mariano Latorre and Alfredo Lobos expressed *criollista* philosophy through their writing and art, respectively, but it was Alberto Humberto Allende who revolutionized Chilean music through compositions that utilized and evoked rural Chile and its traditions. The son of a writer, Humberto Allende began studying music in the mid 1890s at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música de Santiago*, where he became a Professor of Violin in 1905 and of Harmony and Composition in 1908. While his classical training in Chile and in Europe defined Humberto Allende's early compositions, it was his incorporation of the folk *cuecas* and *tonadas* that he heard as a

child at working-class *fondas* and *ramadas* near his Santiago home that marked his later work and transformed the trajectory of Chilean music.²⁵ In 1913, he published *Escenas campesinas chilenas*, a symphonic work that he composed as a representation of rural Chile. In subsequent years, Humberto Allende composed other works in a similar vein, such as *La voz de las calles* (1920), a symphonic poem about the calls of Santiago street vendors, and *12 Tonadas de carácter popular chileno* (1921-1922), which further established the *tonada* genre in urban Chile, where it had been appearing slowly since the final years of the nineteenth century. Additionally, Humberto Allende marked a significant turn among Chilean composers and audiences towards a more widespread acceptance of folk elements in symphonic music. Prior to the second decade of the twentieth century, folk-based music composed primarily by European composers visiting or living in Chile circulated on a limited level in Santiago salons and *tertulias*; however, Humberto Allende elevated and integrated Chilean folk rhythms and melodies in his symphonic compositions, generating among those who listened to his music a sense that the compositions were “saturated with elements evoking countryside” and filled with a sensation of “freshness and optimism, which contains all the aroma of our campos.”²⁶

While Humberto Allende broke sharply from previous symphonic music by turning to rural Chile as a source of inspiration, he did so in a very particular manner. Discussing the use of folk sounds in Chilean music, *criollista* composer Alfonso Leng

²⁵ Pedro Nuñez, “Pedro Humberto Allende: apuntes para una semblanza,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, No. 13 (July 1945), 16.

²⁶ Alfonso Leng, “Humberto Allende,” *Marsyas*, Año 1, No. 8 (Oct 1927), 279-283.

stated in 1927, “an art based exclusively in popular folklore represents only one part of the nation...[but] it is undeniable that popular folklore is a source of inspiration...[and] our specific popular psychology is represented in the folklore of tonadas and cuecas.”²⁷

Further elaborating on these comments and on his warning that over-dependence on folkloric influences would inhibit the composition of high-quality, innovative music, Leng wrote:

This is not the case with Humberto Allende. His art, far from adopting directly the popular turns, is inspired only in its essential spirit, in its most profound aspects. In this sense, an enormous field has been discovered, that explodes with a polished technique put to the service of a great talent and a refined taste.²⁸

Leng’s comments express two important points. First, he asserted that it was the *tonada* and the *cueca* that best represented the folk-based component of Chilean identity. Indeed, the *tonadas* and *cuecas* of the Central Valley were, particularly through the 1920s, the primary source from which *criollistas* drew their conceptions of Chilean folkloric traditions and formulated their image of *chilenidad*. Second, Leng’s commentary expresses the important caveat that although *criollista* composers sought to incorporate folk influences and imagery from rural Chile into their music, the degree to which they included these elements remained limited. In effect, although *criollismo* was an artistic movement, it intertwined with political liberalism as the cultural expression of

²⁷ Alfonso Leng, “Sobre el arte musical chileno,” *Marsyas*, Año 1, No. 4 (1927), 117-119.

²⁸ Alfonso Leng, “Humberto Allende,” *Marsyas* año 1 no. 8 (1927), 279-283.

the quintessential liberal perspective and became an important component of what it meant to be a liberal. In fact, *criollistas* often conjoined their endeavors with the liberal political effort, utilizing their works to promote a distinctively Chilean identity that more openly embraced elements of rural and/or lower-class lifestyle, although these actions did not mean that they wanted the popular-classes to gain political influence.

Criollista intellectuals and artists integrated and expressed folk traditions as part of their changing sense of Chilean identity, yet this trend was not limited to the artistic sector. Rather, liberal officials and the liberal middle class in general also influenced, expressed, and embraced this shifting notion of *chilenidad*. For example, liberal presidential candidate Arturo Alessandri utilized a personalized version of the song “Cielito lindo” as part of his 1920 campaign (“Cielito lindo”, a Mexican tune written in the late nineteenth century, became tremendously popular among the Chilean middle and popular classes and represented a rejection of the wholesale assimilation of European cultural products). Eighteen years later, the shifting notion of *chilenidad* had reached the point where the campaign of Popular Front candidate Pedro Aguirre Cerda utilized an adaptation of another Mexican song, Jorge Negrete’s “Que será lo que tiene”, in conjunction with a series of *cuecas* dedicated to Aguirre Cerda.²⁹ Although *cuecas* and *tonadas* had long been popular in the rural areas of the central and southern-central Chile, and although the *cueca* in particular maintained popularity among the lower-class of

²⁹ Caludio Rolle, “Del cielito lindo a gana la gente: música popular, campañas electorales y uso político de la música en Chile”, Actas del IV Congreso Latinoamericano IASPM, Mexico 2002, <<http://www.hist.puc.cl/iaspm/mexico/indice.html>>.

Chile's larger cities (many of whom were immigrants from rural Chile), refined forms of these folk songs and dances became increasingly popular at urban, middle-class celebrations in the twentieth century.³⁰ As a 1922 article in the popular culture magazine *Zig Zag* noted, variations of the *cueca* had become trendy throughout the urban working class and into segments of the middle class:

The girls of the middle class, the employees of the “centro”, the “federal” workers, they replace it [cueca] today with those unqualified choreographic contortions that are like epilepsy, imported from “yanquilandia”, romps of dark drinks and delirium, which establish themselves in the innumerable dancehalls scattered across the city.³¹

Yet, in his evaluation of the various forms of *cueca*, the author asserted a strong personal preference for the *cueca* in a more traditional, refined, and presumably rural form. He bluntly rejected the sexy gyrations and rhythmic stomps, one assumes of jazz, coming from the United States—a nation then replacing Britain as Chile's major foreign investor and the major market for its mineral exports. Additionally, his idealization of a sound linked to pastoral imagery and the glorification of national military heroes evokes the type of strong, emotional link that many urban Chileans increasingly felt between patriotism, Chilean identity, and the *cueca*:

³⁰ See: Pedro Nuñez's “Pedro Humberto Allende: apuntes para una semblanza” in *Revista musical chilena* (July 1941); Antonio Acevedo Hernandez's “Un dieciocho hace sesenta años” in *En viaje* (No. 263, September 1955); “Connemoración del aniversario” in *El Diario Ilustrado* (19 September 1919); and “La celebración del aniversario” in *El Diario Ilustrado* (20 September 1919).

³¹ Gavroche, “La Danza Nuestra,” *Zig Zag* (9 September 1922), 20-22.

...the native dance, the zamacueca, will rise from the chords of the guitar and will envelope with its graceful turns, like a snake, the eternal couple. It is the apex of the national, the genuinely national; if one could say, the chemically pure national...It is the patriotic oration, with the roto as its subject, and motto, flag, dance and drink as attributes...It has undulated to fit itself to the course of our political vicissitudes, glossing our international troubles, singing our victories in battle. It has always been, in the manner of the chanson of the boulevard the crystallization of our present. It has spoken of Vicuña Mackenna, of Balmaceda, heroes of our battles of ideas, of Baquedano, and of the “valiant Prat”, esteemed figures in our military history.³²

As such sentiments increased, particularly among liberals, many Chileans began not only expressing *criollista*-based conceptions of identity by observing, listening to, or engaging in the hybridized, creole rituals, but they also started to promote actively those practices and symbols that they now associated with *chilenidad*. For example, education specialists began to encourage increasingly nationalist curriculum in Chilean schools, a program that included changes in art education to the objective of enabling students, as reformer Carlos Humeres Solar argued, “to define the esthetic concepts that inspire the modern world; to contribute to increased knowledge of the great cultures of the past; and to stimulate the formation of a national art based on our own values.”³³ As such examples illustrate, the liberal establishment of more inclusive image of society, both politically and culturally, promoted a new concept of what it meant to be Chilean; as liberals became increasingly attached to this newfound sense of national identity, they

³² Ibid.

³³ Carlos Humeres Solar, *Revista de Arte* (1928). (cit. Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile: Tomo IV.*)

actively sought to advance the traditions they associated with it, an effort that would eventually alter the way that the entire country viewed itself.

Conservatism in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Chile

In the same year that Nicolás Palacios published *Raza chilena*, conservative Luis Orrego Luco asserted that the conservative Portalian regime had “appreciated the historical conditions of one race, inherited from two-hundred years as a colony...and it understood the prematurity of a liberalism, which tried to skip over the customs, the ideas, the traditions, and the mode of being, to implant a system of heavily democratic government in a country where very few [Chileans] knew how to read and almost nobody understood the basic notion of rights.”³⁴ Conservatives remained skeptical about the application of liberal principles and the prospect of bringing about limited economic and political reforms to reduce Chile’s social problem, and they therefore tried to preserve more strongly elements of the traditional social and economic structures as well as the quality of life that they associated with those systems. As major landowners, they also had little interest in popular education, which they believed, correctly, would help spread radical ideas. Despite this orientation, conservatives also became concerned about the potential problems presented by a vast disparity of wealth between Chile’s elite and its working poor. Unlike liberals, however, they conceptualized this inequity not as the product of imperfections in an antiquated socio-economic system in need of some degree

³⁴ Luis Orrego Luco, *Chile contemporáneo* (1904). (cit. Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile: Tomo IV.*)

of reform, but strictly as a product of debilitating social behavior and of characteristics among the lower classes that limited the capacity of the masses to act independently as productive members of society. Accordingly, just as liberals embraced an image of self and nation that reflected their socio-economic and political orientation, so too did the conservatives. As one headlining speaker at the 1918 Conservative Party Convention asserted, the roots of the Chilean nation lay in “a great base of conservatism. It is something of education, a great deal of national character; but what is certain is that we are...attached to our customs, to our home and to our traditions. This is what I call the base of conservatism and in this we place our hope for a tranquil future.”³⁵ Indeed, the nineteenth and early twentieth century conservative elites of urban Chile remained resistant to change in their beliefs, practices, and cultural traditions, and they drew their notion of identity primarily from two sources: Catholicism and high European culture.

Like liberals, conservatives became increasingly concerned about Chile’s social problem in the early twentieth century; however, conservatives proposed alternative means by which to alleviate social discontent among the working-class. They argued that in the cities and in rural areas, it must be “the obligation of the patrón to provide his employees and workers [with] housing that was cheap, salubrious, and apt for maintaining the morality of the home.”³⁶ At the same time, in an effort to “officially define the democratic concept of the [conservative] party” and end accusations that it was “an oligarchic party”, the official Conservative Party platform also declared: “democratic

³⁵ “Notas políticas,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 1 October 1918.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

doctrines constitute the Conservative Party's sense of being...as the defending party of the Catholic Church...It is simply democratic, and true democracy is Christian by excellence...democracy born or derived from liberal confessions, is simply anti-Christian; it is not democracy, it is socialism."³⁷ In effect, conservative socio-economic perspectives intertwined directly with a sense of Christian morality and identity that centered on "faith in Christ, love for your mother, pride in the race, thirst for knowledge, and the burning enthusiasm for beauty and work."³⁸ Conservatives believed that Chile's socio-economic problem would be alleviated most effectively through Christian-based "cultural" campaigns and beneficence organizations, as opposed to alterations in Chile's social or economic structures. As conservative intellectual Juan Enrique Concha stated, the social question was a "psychological, moral, and religious question to which a solution will be found, the world willing, only in the teaching of Christ, practiced by the individual and respected and supported by the State and by laws."³⁹ Monseñor Rafael Edwards reflected this belief more specifically in his musings on the causes of Chile's social question:

The question of the price of goods constitutes, without a doubt, one of the factors, and is not one of the least considerable, of the discontent of our working classes; but, if one looks closely, this discontent also stems from more profound causes, more serious ones that have their roots in the

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ R. Dávila Silva, 26 July 1928, 132. (cit. Stabili, *El sentimiento aristocrático*.)

³⁹ James O. Morris, *Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus: A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Labor Relations System in Chile* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 123. (Patrick Barr-Melej also utilizes this quotation in his book, *Reforming Chile*.)

peoples' own habits. In this way my personal conviction is that this crisis, as much a moral one as a material one, which is borne by the working class, comes from the bad state that dominates the constitution of the family...[the] father does not perform his duty to allot the product of his labor to the maintenance of his home.⁴⁰

The Monseñor proceeded to articulate that a solution to the Chilean social problem might be found through “a continuous and patient labor of education, of charity, of Christian social action without self-interest.”⁴¹

As these statements indicate, conservatives continued to advocate a society based on the persistence of Chile's social hierarchy, but they also wanted the advantages of modernity; somehow, both objectives needed to be reconciled. They believed that because Chile had developed social and economic structures that were fundamentally sound, the future of the country hinged on the universal adoption by the lower classes of Christian-based values and work ethic, as well as social practices more in line with the conservative concept of European cosmopolitanism. To this end, as Elvira Santa Cruz's statement at the *Primer Congreso Nacional de Gotas de Leche* in 1920 illustrates, conservative elites held strong sentiments of Christian beneficence and elite paternalism:

The poor are the small children of humanity. They do not understand the cause of these irritating inequalities of fortune, they rebel against their wretched luck...life is sad for them from birth until death because neither the light of reason nor the light of the sun often reaches them. We cannot forget that in Chile, civilization lies in the superior classes.⁴²

⁴⁰ “En favor de las clases populares,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 1 August 1918.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² E. Santa Cruz, *La caridad privada y las Gotas de Leche, 1er Congreso de las Gotas de Leche*, Santiago, 1920. (cit. Stabili, *El sentimiento aristocrático*.)

Additionally, conservatives believed that cultural education projects and Christian beneficence organizations, such as the Patronato de la Infancia (Children's Foundation), were sufficient to provide solutions to Chile's social problem. In 1918, the conservative periodical *El Diario Ilustrado* argued:

The Patronato de la Infancia gathers the donations for the kind poor person, and the generous rich, of the employee and the financier, for the children and mothers whom they do not know but who they know suffer from poverty and pain. The parents and husbands of those children and women speak up in their lairs against the society that helps them in these ways, against those who have and give, against those who work and produce...but many workers with healthy souls, when they give their modest offerings, have understood the falsehood of the black picture of the society that is exhibited in the assemblies and meetings in which the red evangelism is preached. They see that this charity that the rich practice sustains the beneficence houses, they [the rich] are the knot that unites and binds those that worked with insistence yesterday and prospered with those that work today and will prosper tomorrow.⁴³

Conservatives rejected the notion of material reform as a means to rectify the Chilean social problem, but they also argued that the parties responsible for social tensions and economic inequality were those lazy and ungrateful people who lashed out unfairly against the industrious and "generous" Chileans who "work and produce" and who "have and give".

Catholicism served as one primary influence on conservative perspectives and identity, but conservative perspectives and identity also drew heavily on high, European culture, which had been anxious about the rise of labor radicalism since the early

⁴³ "Trabaja y holganza," *El Diario Ilustrado*, 1 August 1918.

nineteenth century. While Palacios and other *criollistas* searched within Chile's folk and indigenous traditions for elements that might be rescued, stylized, and incorporated into a national identity, their conservative counterparts remained, at least through the start of the twentieth century, fixated strictly on Europe as a model for Chilean social, economic, and cultural development. As *El Diario Ilustrado* editorialized bluntly in 1907, "...it is rare that [*rotos*] are not drunks, thieves and prone to knife fights...clearly, they are not the best element to inspire a good image of Chile."⁴⁴ Although conservative elites may have viewed Chile as the center of their world and themselves as Chileans, they also remained infatuated with European and (to a lesser degree) North American society, believing the practices and values emanating from those cultures to be essential to maintaining social order, generating wealth, and solidifying a sophisticated self-image.

Conservatives also believed that a strong-handed, paternalistic state was necessary in order to achieve "order and progress" in a nation where locally-derived work ethics, social behaviors, and even racial characteristics had created a populace with little value; in their minds, only European influence could redeem this situation. As rural workers migrated into Chile's cities and came into greater contact with the urban elite, conservatives turned even more to European models for thinking about social change. As Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun observed, the conservative concept of patriotism oriented itself away from Chile and towards Europe. In doing so, he argued, conservatives had

⁴⁴ "Delincuencia," *El Diario Ilustrado*, 10 January 1907.

facilitated a loss of “respect and love for all that is national, whether they are men, customs, traditions, language, land or flag.”⁴⁵

Conservative assimilation and expression of their European-based sense of identity also existed in Chile’s musical landscape, as conservative musicians communicated their sense of self through their musical compositions. In contrast to *criollista* composers, who integrated some rural, folkloric elements into their compositions, conservative composers drew almost exclusively on European influences. The conservative *Conservatorio Nacional* remained rooted in European romanticism, much to the dismay of the *criollismo*-influenced *Sociedad de Bach*, whose members constantly cast sharp criticism at the *Conservatorio*. For example, in *Marsyas*, the publication of the *Sociedad de Bach*, composer Domingo Santa Cruz asserted:

There exists in the [National] Conservatory a true misoneism: they do not know, nor receive, nor study the works that each year will determine the progression of the art; they only play modern works on rare occasion and only for general productions of dubious taste... [Also, there] is an anti-national spirit in the Conservatory... the Directors of the establishment, who rarely theorize, affirm in all tones, that art in Chile does not exist and will not exist, because there is no “basic material” in the Chilean.⁴⁶

A review of a 1918 concert at the Teatro Municipal under the direction of Enrique Soro, Director of the *Conservatorio Nacional* from 1919-1928, further demonstrates how

⁴⁵ Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun, *La conquista de Chile en el siglo XX*, 66.

⁴⁶ Domingo Santa Cruz, “Por qué el Conservatorio no ha llenado su función cultural,” *Marsyas*, Año 1, No. 3 (May 1927), 102.

criollistas also criticized specific performances and compositions that they viewed as particularly “antiquated”:

Enrique Soro has not consulted for his new work the architectural beauty a concert requires; on the contrary, a monotonous manner where it evokes a certain retrograde spirit, disorientation in the imaginative movements, shapeless facture and narrow phraseology...his new compositions still speak to us as from the antiquated aspects of seventeenth century romanticism.⁴⁷

While many *criollistas* may have viewed Soro’s work in a deeply critical light, more conservative segments of society defended Soro and his more traditional, European-influenced music. Despite the aforementioned criticism of Soro’s concert, much of the audience from that same concert also “applauded frenetically the various numbers in the program.”⁴⁸ Another editorial similarly illustrated the stark division that existed between conservative and *criollista* perspectives: “Soro’s music is filled with animation and life, with young blood yet not disenchanted, with all the spirit of an exuberant temperament...nowhere in [Soro’s new work] is there even a moment of languor, a single disillusionment...”⁴⁹ In response to other similar attacks, conservatives defended their affinity for more traditional, European music by citing its superior quality. For example, a more general, conservative defense of Soro and his music, argued against what it considered to be the *criollista*’s blind infatuation with creating new, hybrid forms of

⁴⁷ “El concierto Soro,” *El Mercurio*, 12 May 1918.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ “El concierto es lo mayor para piano y orquesta, de Enrique Soro,” *El Mercurio*, 10 May 1918.

music: “Soro is very capable of using the modern chords, but his tastes lead him to treat innovation with reservation, to view innovations as not necessarily good just because they are new.”⁵⁰

As was the case with the relationship between liberals and *criollista* music, conservatives embraced and supported the music with which they identified. At the same time, both groups disparaged the music with which they did not identify. *Criollistas*, in addition to harshly criticizing the European orientation of Enrique Soro and the *Conservatorio Nacional*, also attacked the music and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, another cornerstone of conservative traditions and identity. As Carlos Humeres wrote in *Marsyas*:

The Sociedad Bach...has not succeeded, in spite of its example and its repeated protests, in getting ecclesiastical authorities to remedy the unwarranted abandonment that it finds in the refined religious music...The ecclesiastical routine is a particularly invincible negative force, on account of the dogmatic attributes of infallibility and eternity...In the big festivals, with lamentable criteria, it [the Church] substitutes for sublime productions of genuine religious art, inept pastiches of Griesbacher, Haller, Perossi, or Ravanello, or those that we do not even want to mention, whose styles vary from the scholastic dryness of a counterpoint exercise to the lyrical fits of a Puccini or a Verdi.....How is it possible that the Church neglects things of such spiritual importance, and yet is so prodigious in constructing expensive and unnecessary temples...?⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Instituto Pedagógico*, August 1918. (cit. Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile: Tomo IV.*)

⁵¹ Carlos Humeres Solar, “La semana santa y la música,” *Marsyas*, Año 1, No. 2 (April 1927), 54-55.

In a similar vein, conservatives rejected music that they judged to be too rooted in local, folk traditions, including the early *zamacueca*, which Bishop Vicuña prohibited and referred to as a “thing of sin” upon its arrival in Chile.⁵² Conservatives similarly shunned the *zarzuelas* and their “dubious morality”, as demonstrated by an 1889 critique of the performances: “with few exceptions, the *zarzuela* is not fitting of a refined mold, but is more fitting of a *bufón*. It is an amorphous genre, neither opera nor drama...and it is not the remedy we are looking for, for our ailing society.”⁵³ At the same time, conservatives attended and actively supported foreign opera and European symphonies, and these styles of music remained the predominant forms presented in Santiago’s concert halls and in conservative salons through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In essence, the meaning of conservatism and liberalism included not only divergent perspectives on socio-economic reform as a means to alleviate Chile’s social problem, but it also included distinctive notions of identity that reflected and further entrenched those socio-economic opinions. This phenomenon would continue into the mid-twentieth century; however, as demographic, economic, and political conditions changed, so too did the specific notions of identity that these political factions held.

⁵² William David Tompkins, *The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1981), 68.

⁵³ “Algo sobre el teatro nacional,” 1889. (cit. Subercaseaux, *Historia de las ideas y de la cultura en Chile: Tomo II.*)

Chapter II: Changing Notions of Chilenidad (1910s-1950s)

The combination of a declining nitrate industry in Chile's far north and a growing urban industrial sector further increased immigration into Chile's principal cities by the 1920s. Between 1930 and 1952, 54,000 northerners migrated to Santiago, contributing to a transition in which the majority of Chileans resided in cities of more than 200,000 by the late 1930s.¹ Santiago itself expanded from a half a million people in the 1920s to over two million people by the early 1960s.² The increased rate of urban migration augmented significantly the size of the urban working-class, and it brought Chileans from urban and rural backgrounds into greater proximity.³ Whereas the majority of middle-class reformists continued to follow a "middle of the road" philosophy that eschewed both the more conservative elite and radical revolutionary ideologies, a significant number of middle-class reformers pushed further left. They believed that only more radical social reforms would alleviate Chile's social problem and prevent class conflict, and they correspondingly developed a conception of Chilean identity that drew more heavily on working class traditions. These more radical reformers, who in many instances assumed leadership positions among working-class constituencies, began to gain traction within Chile's political system in the late 1910s and emerged as a significant political force in the early 1930s.⁴ Most critically, they promoted greater social and

¹ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 292

² *Ibid.*, 291.

³ Richard J. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile, 1891-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

⁴ Jaime Massardo, *La formación del imaginario político de Luis Emilio Recabarren: contribución al estudio crítico de la cultural política de las clases subalternas de la sociedad chilena* (Santiago: LOM, 2008).

economic intervention by the state on the behalf of the middle and working classes, an orientation that often placed them at odds with the degree of reform that conservatives or middle-class liberals were willing to accept.

In 1927, General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo forced his way into the presidency. Responding to the increased organization of the working classes, Ibáñez implemented a system of populist authoritarianism that sought to modernize Chile, while simultaneously eliminating radicalism and forcing working-class interests under the umbrella of the state. Drawing heavily upon the state's increased revenue from a booming nitrate sector in the late 1920s, Ibáñez initially oversaw a national economic resurgence, a massive public works campaign, and an expansion of Chilean industry. At the same time, he attempted to quell working-class radicalism by combining heavy-handed repression of labor organizations and political opponents with a re-organization of labor into state-sponsored syndicates and the passing a Labor Code and other social reforms that Alessandri had failed to enact. In effect, Ibáñez sought to address Chile's social question and prevent class warfare by acknowledging the state's role in mediating the conflict between labor and capitalists, making limited concessions to a working-class that he attempted to incorporate under the state, and repressing any who did not accept his approach or authority. However, Ibáñez' ability to expand the public sector and promote Chilean business interests with protective tariffs, two actions that generated significant middle-class support, ultimately collapsed with a decline in nitrate profits, the government's unsustainable foreign borrowing, and the onset of the Depression. In response, the

middle-class turned against Ibáñez, joining the elite and driving him from power in 1931.⁵

A period of political tumult followed the fall of Ibáñez. At the apex of this politically chaotic phase, six separate governments held power within one, one-hundred-and-one day span. This turmoil ultimately fostered a strong, overarching desire among both the elite and the reformist middle-class for a return to political normalcy. The elite, which had now experienced an extended period of political instability and fearfully perceived a rise in working-class radicalism, no longer viewed issues of religion and executive power as among their up-most concerns. The middle class, similarly, had become most concerned with maintaining its current socio-economic position in the face of economic hardships and their perception of increased working class radicalism. Accordingly, the middle-class turned its attention away from its previous fixation on breaking-down the political power of the elite. In late 1932, Chile elected Arturo Alessandri Palma for a second time. While the Socialist Party claimed what it viewed as a moral victory in 1932, when its candidate, Marmaduke Grove, finished second with 18 percent of the vote, 54 percent of Chileans cast their vote for Alessandri and his campaign platform of moderate, populist reform.⁶ These results marked two important

⁵ George Strawbridge, *Ibáñez and Alessandri: The Authoritarian Right and Democratic Left in Twentieth-Century Chile* (Buffalo: Council on International Studies: 1971). Also see: Michael Monteón, *Chile and the Great Depression*; Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952*; Julio Vallejos Pinto and Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, *Revolución proletaria o querida chusma?: socialismo y Alessandrismo en la pugna por la politización pampina (1911-1932)*.

⁶ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 226.

trends in Chilean politics: the continued solidification of the labor movement behind progressive, middle-class reformers, and a general leftward shift in political orientations.

Similar to Chilean governments of the past, Alessandri's government repressed militant, politically radical, and non-sanctioned labor activism as it saw fit; however, it also provided political space for the institutionalized Socialist, Communist, and Radical parties to operate within the political system. Alessandri and many of those who supported him tolerated the electoral left as a means to stave-off the rise of a more radical, revolutionary left that might choose to operate outside the constrained order of the Chilean political arena and fuel violent class warfare. One immediate product of this policy was the ascension of the Popular Front, an alliance of the Communist, Socialist, and Radical parties, in the aftermath of Alessandri's second presidency. The Popular Front set aside political differences among its allied parties in an effort to overcome the electoral power of the Liberal and the Conservative Parties. Drawing support from segments of the middle and urban working-class, each of whom viewed cooperation within the coalition as an avenue to address their own Depression era objectives, this progressive coalition achieved a substantial Popular Front bloc in Congress, and Popular Front presidential candidate Pedro Aguirre Cerda won the 1938 election by a slim margin. Once in power, however, the Popular Front fractured due to internal divisions among and within its parties over ideology, policy, and tactics.⁷ Despite the shortcomings of the Popular Front, its electoral success initiated a political era in which

⁷ Herring, Hubert Clinton, *Chile en la presidencia de Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda* (Buenos Aires: Editorial F. de Aguirre, 1971). Also see: Tomás Moulian, *Fracturas: de Pedro Aguirre Cerda a Salvador Allende (1938-1973)* (Santiago: LOM 2006).

the Left, consisting of the Socialist and Communist Parties, became a part of political coalitions.

The 1932 election also demonstrated a general leftward shift in Chilean politics. While Marmaduke Grove's second place finish reinforced the fact that the Socialists had become a significant party in Chilean politics, the extensive support for Alessandri demonstrated that a majority of Chileans were now opening to the idea of reformism. Although Alessandri garnered significant support from urban labor and nitrate and copper miners for his second candidacy, he was no longer the rhetorical firebrand he had been in 1920. His rhetoric shifted away from aggressive attacks on the elite and towards an emphasis on national unity, and his actions as president emphasized political stability, constitutionalism, and fiscal conservatism. Under Alessandri's policies, landowners and industrialists increased their wealth, while working-class complaints met the strong hand of government repression. Nonetheless, Alessandri still aspired to implement the 1925 Constitution and remained a proponent of moderate, populist reformism, traits that had contributed to conservatives' distaste for him only a decade earlier. However, by 1932, the conservative elites who had detested Alessandri in 1920 now found reason, at the very least, to accept him as a president whose overarching priorities did not necessarily conflict with their own. While Alessandri's own shift towards more elite-friendly policies contributed to this change, so too did shifting political orientations among the elite. As Paul Drake has argued, "The upper classes and the Right, out of necessity and choice, became more adaptable from World War I to 1932"; or, in the more precise words of a former conservative, "The Right, in our country, has one great virtue, and that

is that it promptly absorbs experiences and succeeds in grasping the form of events to introduce itself into them.”⁸ Many elites began to see value in the idea of accepting limited change as a means to prevent demands for more radical change, and they accordingly accepted certain limited economic, political, and social reforms. At the same time, their attempts to maintain power through less direct methods also manifest themselves in an increasing embrace of a national identity rooted in *criollismo*. For the elite, their acceptance of this vision of Chile linked them to the rhetoric of middle-class reformism and emphasized national unity, social stability, and their own nostalgia for the Chile of the past.

Conservatism and Chilenidad

The traveler, under the aroma in which the [country] family makes a tertulia each night, hears the stories the owner of the house tells in his warm and exalted voice. He speaks of mountain souls, of the passions that illuminate the unlimited spirits, of the avaricious land; of the fear and tight pain of the earth. In the orchard, an invisible owl sings to the moon. But his song is not like the owl of the city, ominous and sneaky. Smoking cigarettes, the traveler drinks the mild breeze of his last night in the country, and with emotion he contemplates the stupendous sky that is unknown to the cosmopolitan man.⁹

-Published in the conservative newspaper *El Diario Ilustrado*, 1931

Through the late eighteenth century and into the early years of the nineteenth century, conservatives remained fixated on Europe as a source of national development

⁸ Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile: 1932-52*, 114.

⁹ Alberto Romero, “Sensaciones del campo,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 15 March 1931.

and identity. However, by the second quarter of the twentieth century, the elite had started to accept the limited reformism that was altering Chile's political environment. Paralleling these developments, the influence of *criollismo* slowly spread, and conservatives began to adopt some rural images and traditions as part of their changing notion of *Chilenidad*. The first two decades of the twentieth century were an era in which middle-class liberal *criollistas* solidified and embraced a more inclusive, rural-based sense of nationalism and identity, while conservatives remained predominantly attached to their European-based sense of identity. For example, during Chile's September 18th centenary celebrations in Santiago in 1910, the official program of government-sponsored expressions of nationalism reflected the basic tenants of nineteenth century conservative identities: Christianity, European practices, and a strong state. The events began with a parade for veterans of the War of the Pacific, an artillery salute, and a military procession. Following these tributes, celebrations included a *Te deum* service in the Metropolitan Cathedral, a performance by a five-thousand member children's choir, a "gala" at the Municipal Theater, and a "Garden Party" for diplomats with orchestral music and international anthems at Cerro Santa Lucía. Unlike conservative elites, the middle and lower classes primarily attended popular celebrations that centered on *fondas*, a variety of popular games and competitions, *zarzuelas*, and *cuecas*.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Programa Oficial: Fiestas Patrias en Santiago*. Also see coverage in *Revista Selecta*, *El Diario Ilustrado*, and *El Mercurio* editions before and after the 1910 Centennial Celebrations.

Although military parades, *Te Deum* services at the Metropolitan Cathedral, garden parties at Santa Lucia, and smaller, private salon celebrations with orchestral music remained hallmarks of conservative, upper-class Independence Day celebrations, over the subsequent decade, a slow transition also occurred. By 1919, an increasing number of references, announcements, and advertisements pertaining to *cuecas* and *huasos* had begun to appear in the pages of the conservative newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado*. Additionally, coverage of *Fiestas Patrias* (Independence Day celebrations) in conservative periodicals incorporated public festivities in Parque Cousiño, where revelers danced *cuecas* and received a visit from the President.¹¹ Moreover, salons near the park now advertised themselves to conservatives as locations where individuals might take in the Parque Cousiño festivities, but also retire to a more refined setting with orchestral music afterwards. In effect, the conservative notion of nationalism and Chilean identity had started a gradual shift, much as the *criollismo* movement had already generated among middle-class liberals, towards a sense of *chilenidad* that incorporated select versions of rural, Central Valley-based images, practices, and traditions.

The romanticized image of the *huaso* and the folk traditions of central Chile emerged as key sources for the new notions of *chilenidad* that had already become popular among *criollistas* and were now slowly gaining influence as part of conservative notions of self-identity. This trend mirrored a similar trend that had occurred across the Andes in Argentina, then the most prosperous nation in Latin America, where the *gaucho* (Argentine cowboy) had become a symbol of Argentine national character. As Richard

¹¹ “La celebración del aniversario,” *Diario Ilustrado*, 20 September 1919.

Slatta has noted, the Argentine elite resurrected and rehabilitated the *gaucho*, who having been “maligned as a barbarian and outlaw a few decades earlier, took on the virtues of obedience, patriotism, honesty, and trustworthiness—attributes rarely attached to him before. The ruling elite manipulated the gaucho as a symbolic weapon against a new and more dangerous foe, the urban immigrant masses.”¹² In Chile, despite the growing predominance of the *huaso* and central Chilean folk traditions as fundamental to notions of national identity among the inhabitants of central Chile, the climates and traditions of the country varied significantly across its geographical space and other regions did not necessarily attach themselves so seamlessly to the Central Valley’s conceptions of Chilean identity. In the north of Chile, where the government had acquired a significant tract of Peruvian territories during the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), the Chilean government undertook a particularly intense “chileanization” campaign.

Up until 1918, the Chilean government encouraged immigration as a means to increase the size of its small skilled labor force and to populate undeveloped areas. As Michael Monteón has explained, the nitrate boom in the late nineteenth century created a demand for labor in northern Chile that the British capitalists who dominated the nitrate sector met through the use of *enganche*, a system in which nitrate producers and northern merchants recruited a combination of day laborers and peons from central Chile, Peru, and Bolivia to the nitrate zones in mass.¹³ Laborers and labor organizers in the north

¹² Richard Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 197.

¹³ Michael Monteón, “The Enganche in the Chilean Nitrate Sector, 1880-1930,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Summer 1979), 66-79.

were concerned that immigration would create an over-supply of labor, and this concern fostered tensions among a working class of diverse nationalities. Nonetheless, these tensions did not ultimately prevent Peruvian, Bolivian, and Chilean workers in northern Chile from striking together in many instances. In the eyes of the Chilean elite, the immigration of foreign labor and the increasing mobilization of labor in the north went hand in hand; the elite attributed the rise of subversive ideas among the northern labor force to foreign populations and foreign-inspired rabble-rousers. At the same time, particularly strong political tensions stemming from the War of the Pacific remained between Chile and Peru, and these tensions flared during the early twentieth century. In response to the combination of the ongoing Chilean-Peruvian conflict and what Chilean elites believed to be foreign-derived, subversive, destabilizing influences, the upper-class took an increasingly nationalistic approach in their efforts to govern and stabilize the north. The elite began to turn against their country's longstanding policy of open immigration; politicians increasingly utilized Peru and Peruvians as convenient scapegoats for Chile's social and economic difficulties; and the government intensified its effort to "chileanize" northern regions as a means to drive a wedge between workers inside and outside of Chile, to emphasize national unity over class divisions, and to eliminate the threat that the government perceived to its authority from "non-Chilean" (meaning not of the Central Valley) practices and identities. In doing so, the government mandated the adoption of cultural expressions that represented its central Chile-based notion of *chilenidad*. Such cultural symbols and expressions included the Chilean flag, a pantheon of heroes from Chilean independence and the War of the Pacific, the Chilean

national anthem (which celebrated Chile's defeat of Peru in the War of the Pacific), the *cueca* dance of Chile's Central Valley, and the *huaso*.¹⁴ Moreover, the government defined both overt symbols of Peruvian allegiance, as well as any other practices that did not adhere to this conception of *chilenidad*, as Peruvian, and therefore inherently anti-Chilean. Accordingly, Chilean officials banned the celebration of Peruvian fiestas patrias, the flying of the Peruvian flag, and the singing of the Peruvian national anthem within Chile's borders. They also expelled all Peruvian priests from northern Chile, closed Peruvian schools and social clubs, prohibited "Peruvians" from gathering publicly, and replaced Peruvian newspapers with Chilean periodicals that published pro-Chile propaganda.¹⁵

Although the chileanization campaign caused thousands of refugees to emigrate from northern Chile to Peru or Bolivia, it achieved only partial success among those who remained in Chile: those populations that remained in Chile often played Chilean anthems on local "Peruvian" or "Bolivian" instruments, celebrated Peruvian holidays, and performed and embraced the same altiplanic music they had practiced prior to the chileanization efforts.¹⁶ Among other distinctions, most variants of the altiplanic music

¹⁴ Alberto Díaz Araya and Rodrigo Ruz Zagal, "Cuando se agitaron las banderas," in Gálvez Vásquez, Macarena, et al., *Tarapacá: un desierto de historias* (Iquique: Taller de Investigaciones Culturales, 2003), 62. Also note that the "*cueca*" in the context of *chileanization* meant the Central Valley version of the *cueca*, as opposed to the various regional styles that existed in other areas of Chile.

¹⁵ Raúl Palacios Rodríguez, *La chilenización de Tacna y Arica: 1883-1929* (Lima: Editorial Arica, 1974).

¹⁶ See: Alberto Díaz Araya, "De acordes andinos al ritmo chileno: los músicos aymaras durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX en el área rural de Arica", *Revista Percepción*, Vol. 3-4 (2000), 83-98. Also, note that on March 31, 1921, Lima's *La Voz del Sur*

that these populations continued to play possessed characteristics that distinguished this Andean or altiplanic-derived “Peruvian” and “Bolivian” music clearly from Central Valley-derived, “Chilean” folk-based music, including the use of *quena* flutes, panpipes, *charango* guitars, and/or brass and woodwind-based *orquesta típica* ensembles; the use of structural arrangements that utilized a *fuga* closing section, which presented a contrasting theme in a faster tempo at the end of songs; the use of Quechua and Aymara words in the lyrics; and a connection to local religious festivals and community celebrations specific to the altiplano.¹⁷ Even Andean, *zamacueca*-derived *bailecitos*, which shared the most commonalities with “Chilean” music, were distinct from the “Chilean” *cueca*, as the lyrics and instrumentation varied, and *bailecitos* accented beats two and three, whereas “Chilean” *cuecas* stressed the “and of two” and the three.¹⁸ However, the chileanization campaign solidified among other segments of the Chilean population a sense of nationalism that became more clearly defined in opposition to a

newspaper estimated that the Chileanization campaign in northern Chile caused roughly eighteen-thousand Peruvians to flee northward into Peru. (cit. Sergio González Miranda, *El dios cautivo*.)

¹⁷ For further discussion of what this dissertation will refer to as “Andean” musical styles, see Díaz Arraya’s “De acordes andinos al ritmo chileno: los músicos aymaras durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX en el área rural de Arica”, sections on Bolivia and Peru in Dale Olsen’s *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 2: South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, Thomas Turino’s *Moving Away from Silence and Music in the Andes: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture*, Raúl Romero’s *Debating the Past: Music, Memory and Identity in the Andes*, Zoila Mendoza’s *Creating Our Own: Folklore, Performance, and Identity in Cuzco, Peru*, and Fernando Ríos’ “La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción”.

¹⁸ Fernando Ríos, “La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción,” *Latin American Music Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2008), 176.

northern Andean popular class of Peruvian and Bolivian origin that many Chileans viewed as “dirty as the Indians that they are.”¹⁹ Identifying *chilenidad* according to a particular set of traditions and images from Santiago and the Central Valley, the chileanization movement in the north expanded and intensified during the second decade of the twentieth century. Chilean nationalists in these regions formed *Ligas Patrióticas* (Patriot Leagues) that, in the midst of a fervor of extreme nationalism, concern for national defense, fear of working class radicalism, and xenophobia, sought to eliminate anything nationalists perceived as not “Chilean”. The *Ligas Patrióticas* began in 1911 in Iquique, where the large population of Peruvian and Bolivian workers in conjunction with competition over mining jobs had created particularly strong tensions among Chileans and foreigners; however, the *Ligas Patrióticas* expanded quickly and new chapters established themselves throughout the north and progressed southwards to Santiago and Valparaíso. The Iquique publication, *El Roto*, which affiliated itself with the *Ligas Patrióticas*, expressed in 1920 the general sentiment of the *Ligas Patrióticas* and proclaimed the magazine’s mission to be part of a “heroic campaign, against this pernicious element, the conspirator that still lives in our midst: the Peruvians.”²⁰ In pursuit of this objective, the *Ligas Patrióticas* inflicted intimidation, destruction of property, and physical violence upon those whom they viewed as not “Chilean”. This campaign targeted both the previously noted types of cultural symbols and expressions, which the *Ligas Patrióticas* perceived as demonstrations Peruvian nationalism, as well as

¹⁹ Alberto Díaz Arraya, “De acordes andinos al ritmo chileno: los músicos aymaras durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX en el área rural de Arica”, 79.

²⁰ “Nuestro propósito”, *El Roto*, 2 August 1920.

efforts at labor organizing, which also contradicted several fundamental beliefs then held by both Chilean liberals and conservatives: a criollista conception of national pride, the growth of order and progress, and the romanticized, nationalist images of industrious and patriotic *huasos* and *rotos*.²¹ Among the few voices of dissent against the crusade to chileanize the north were Luis Emilio Recabarren and his followers, who, as Michael Monteón has noted, contended that “the struggle for workers rights was international and should be directed against employers rather than immigrants”; they accused the *Ligas Patrióticas* and their anti-Peruvian nationalism of being an effort to divide the working classes.²²

The sense of a Peruvian threat in the north made chileanization efforts in that region particularly dramatic and volatile; however, efforts to chileanize the country in a *criollista* and predominantly Central Valley-based image of *chilenidad* also occurred in other regions and forms. For example, beginning in the 1930s, Chilean authorities ordered police to arrest anyone performing the *cueca urbana* (urban *cueca*), a *cueca* popular among the working-classes of Santiago and Valparaíso during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that authorities considered to be particularly “voluptuous” and even “violent”.²³ Although, similar to the results of *chileanization* efforts in the north,

²¹ For further explanation of the Ligas Patrióticas, see Sergio González Miranda’s *El dios cautivo*.

²² Michael Monteón, *The Enganche in the Chilean Nitrate Sector, 1880-1930*, 75. For Recabarren’s specific commentary on the anti-Peruvian campaigns, see the May and June 1911 editions of *El Grito Popular*.

²³ See: González and Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*, 395-397. Also see commentaries by Andrés Bello and Joaquín Edwards Bello regarding

this endeavor did not eliminate the *cueca urbana*, it did serve to reduce its presence and to facilitate a greater space for the rural-based *cuecas* of the Central Valley that more refined social sectors considered to be “Chilean”. Additionally, educational reformers began to push a more “Chilean” based curriculum in the arts. By the early 1920s, Chilean reformers had joined with those from other Latin American countries in asserting that “all the artists of America, painters, musicians, poets, etc., [should] realize works that are essentially American...[and] all the countries of America [should] establish in the primary schools an artistic teaching that responds as much as possible to the spirit [of this proclamation]...through laws or private initiatives.”²⁴ As the implementation of such Chilean-centered curriculums in primary and secondary schools developed over the coming decades, individuals also took it upon themselves to educate and chileanize the broader public. Carlos Valdez Vasquez, for example, designed a concert program in 1930 that the conservative newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado*, described glowingly as consisting entirely of “noble, melodic, and always inspiring” *tonadas* and *cuecas* of the central Chile that had a true “scent of the earth.”²⁵ Dressed from head to toe in *huaso* clothing, Valdez Vasquez took his program across Chile in an attempt to “remind us [Chileans] that we are Chilean.”²⁶

the *cueca* and popular celebrations in: Montecino, *Revisitando Chile*, 151-152 as well as Núñez, *Poesía popular y cuecas*, 14-15.

²⁴ Congreso Americano del Niño celebrado en Montevideo, “Conclusiones sancionadas,” *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, No. 1-2 (March/April 1920), 93.

²⁵ “Valdes Vasquez quiere recordarnos que somos chilenos,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 22 Jan 1930.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Such endeavors both reflected and furthered the spread of the *criollista* vision of *chilenidad*, and by the close of the 1920s, conservatives and liberals alike embraced *huaso* traditions and imagery as a central component of their identity. Whereas Garden Parties once marked *fiesta patria* celebrations at Cerro Santa Lucia, conservatives had by this point come to observe *fiestas patrias* not just with *Te Deum* services, military parades and bands, and European style symphonic music, but also with more diverse folk-based elements, such as *huaso* outfits and imagery, *cuecas*, and *tonadas*.²⁷ This changing notion of *chilenidad* became a central component of conservative political expression and identity, as demonstrated by *El Diario Ilustrado*'s report that an estimated two-thousand *huasos* on horseback turned out to express their support for Conservative Party candidate Gustavo Ross in Cauquenes in 1938. Ross and other conservative officials watched from the balcony of the Teatro Municipal as the *huasos*, dressed in their best *huaso* suits and carrying Chilean flags, filed past the conservative politicians, tipping their round brimmed *huaso* hats and breaking into cheers as part of a patriotic display of *chilenidad*.²⁸

Conservatives' attachment to the *huaso* identity extended beyond symbolic acts during *fiestas patrias* and electoral campaigns. *Huaso* traditions also became central components of conservative leisure activities and family life. For example, through the early years of the twentieth century, rodeos remained primarily, as Rafael Maluenda

²⁷ "Impresiones de las fiestas," *El Diario Ilustrado*, 20 September 1935. Also see: "El patriotismo revive con gran fuerza," *El Diario Ilustrado*, 20 September 1935; "Ecos de un gran rodeo a la chilena," *En Viaje*, No. 19 (May 1935), 21-23.

²⁸ "Trifunel fue la recepción hecha a candidato Ross," *El Diario Ilustrado*, 27 August 1938.

noted in 1905, the “most boisterous task of the campo”.²⁹ These events combined the functional labor of rounding up and cutting livestock with a subsequent celebration among the exhausted workers in which the “creole happiness is truly brought to life: the *tonadas* and *cuecas* triumph.”³⁰ While the *cuecas* and *tonadas* remained linked to the rodeo, the general purpose and environment of the rodeo began to evolve during the first quarter of the twentieth century towards a festive event frequented by Chileans of all backgrounds. *El Diario Ilustrado*, for example, publicized extensively a large rodeo competition that took place in Santiago’s Parque Cousiño to benefit the “Protección al Trabajo de la Mujer” society in 1915. The conservative newspaper’s coverage of the rodeo noted that spectators completely filled the rodeo grounds, and it emphasized the “Chilean” character of the event:

...the fiesta had an essentially Chilean character, and all the events of the rodeo...were followed with great interest by the public; each test that demonstrated qualities of skill or of valor, received great applause...An amateur bullfight, and especially a cueca, danced to harp and guitar, contributed to the enthusiasm of the public.³¹

The number and popularity of such rodeo festivals increased during subsequent years, and as Patrick Barr-Melej has explained, “By the 1940s, Chilean rodeos, which began during the colonial period as seasonal roundups of cattle from the outskirts of the haciendas, had been transformed from a laborious duty for inquilinos into a ritual

²⁹ “En el rodeo,” *Zig-Zag*, Vol. 44 (17 December 1905), 43-49.

³⁰ Antonio Acevedo Hernandez, “El rodeo: la epopeya del campo chileno,” *En Viaje*, No. 265 (November 1955), 18-21.

³¹ “El rodeo á la Chilena,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, 25 October 1915.

thought to demonstrate cultural singularity and the nation's heritage."³² In a similar vein, whereas conservatives had maintained a dislike of symphonic music that incorporated folk-influences, they increasingly accepted *criollista* composers, such as Pedro Humberto Allende, and their music. The rifts between *criollista* composers and the *Conservatorio Nacional* faded in the early 1930s, as the *Conservatorio* underwent a reform in the late 1920s that incorporated more progressive and "modern" teaching into its pedagogy and diversified the institution's musical focus to include contemporary works as well as traditional classics. Moreover, between the 1920s and the early 1930s, a new genre of popular music emerged: groups of primped, clean-cut *huasos* performed versions of Central Valley *cuecas* and *tonadas* for various urban audiences. As Pedro Humberto Allende asserted in 1935, "Many times...I have lamented that our America unfortunately confuses vulgar music with genuinely popular music...Popular art has never been born in the large cities, but in the most remote campos."³³ He continued to argue that these emerging "*huaso*" groups, such as Los Huasos de Chincolco, Los Cuatro Huasos, Los Huasos de Peldehua, and Las Hermanas Orellana, were "true patriots" for their efforts to elevate "our noble tonadas and cuecas" to a place fitting for "genuinely Chilean music."³⁴ By the 1930s, conservatives shared this sentiment, as groups such as *Los Cuatro Huasos* "brought their culture to the salons...and they demonstrated how among us [Chileans] the

³² Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 138.

³³ Pedro Humberto Allende, "Nuestra Música Popular," *El Mercurio*, 1 January 1935.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

love for things of the land can overcome baseless prejudices.”³⁵ Thus, although through the 1920s, *cuecas* in particular had entered the elite domain almost exclusively during *fiestas patrias*, by the late 1930s, Chileans from diverse social backgrounds embraced the burgeoning, stylized *huaso* groups.

Such changes were part of a significant reorientation of society in which both liberals and conservatives came to share a notion of national identity that drew heavily on *huaso* culture. Given the strong divisions between conservative and liberal notions of national identity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the conservative adoption of a *criollista* concept of *chilenidad* might appear particularly abrupt. However, several important factors contributed to this transition and facilitated the development of a deep emotional connection between conservatives and a *huaso*-based conception of *chilenidad*. First, for conservatives who looked to Europe for inspiration and a sense of self, the European model on national identity increasingly focused “exclusively on the rural, where European and western countries had found the true artistic soul that characterized their population.”³⁶ Following this European trend, conservatives turned towards their own domestically-rooted, rural-based sense of self. However, the conservative adoption of a more *criollista*-oriented concept of identity was more than simply an adherence to a European trend of extolling rural life as the source of national identity. As labor unrest grew in the north and as the *inquilino* system in the Central Valley gradually broke-down, the romanticized image of a hard-working, happy *huaso*

³⁵ *Zig Zag* (May 1928). (cit. Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*, (Santiago: Catalonia, 2008).)

³⁶ Humberto Allende, “Nuestra Música Popular,” *El Mercurio*, 1 January 1935.

expressed an idealized image of social conditions and a model of social behavior compatible with the increasingly threatened conservative pillars of traditional Catholic morality and the preservation of the socio-political status quo. Additionally, increased immigration into urban Chile from the countryside influenced both the practices and self-image of elite conservatives, as well as those of the popular-classes. As Alberto Cardemil has argued, when *huasos* came to the cities, they organized their homes and neighborhoods according to the rural mode that was “stamped on their hearts.”³⁷ The arrival of *huaso* culture from rural Chile initiated an intensified process of cultural hybridization which, as Nestor Canclini has theorized, is the fundamental progression according to which cultural influence functions. In other words, unlike Antonio Gramsci’s conceptualization of political-cultural processes as competing hegemonic entities, the spread of *huaso* culture occurred as a blending process of “modern” and “folk” cultures: the practices and values of Europe and of urban Chile blended with the rural practices and values of *huaso* culture, thereby making the *huaso* a source of “cultural values that...configured a perdurable fold for all of Chilean society.”³⁸ Santiago in particular possessed many elements derived from European society, but as Alberto Cardemil has observed, it also developed a distinctive flavor rooted in Chile’s rural Central Valley:

How can one compare the nightlife of Buenos Aires or Sao Paulo with the rural silence of Santiago after midnight? Through these [rural] values the hacienda gave to Chile its poetry, its history, its art, its music, its political

³⁷ Alberto Cardemil, *El huaso chileno* (Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 2000).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

architecture, and its implacable imprint prevails in Chilean culture until today...Neither discipline nor social organization would exist without the huaso.³⁹

Although Cardemil himself dismissed the importance of European influence and culture in urban Chile, he insightfully noted the underlying impact of the *huaso* on the country's social and political structures, as well as on its sense of identity. Despite the elite's infatuation with all things European during the nineteenth century, elements of the *huaso* had embedded themselves deeply in the lives of all Chileans prior to the first half of the twentieth century, and at the very least, they provided the basis for a deeper and more prominent acceptance of the *huaso* in the 1930s and 1940s.

The Nature of Huaso Culture and its Conservative Connection

Huaso traditions and practices originated in the Central Valley countryside, where hacienda agriculture shaped a distinct socio-economic system that continued through the first half of the twentieth century. At the bottom of this system were transient, seasonal laborers and increasingly by the late nineteenth century, *inquilinos* (service tenants); at the top of this system were the rural elite, who owned the haciendas or *fundos* and for whom transient laborers and *inquilinos* worked.⁴⁰ Life for rural laborers was particularly difficult. In addition to the general hardships associated with agricultural labor, which rural laborers began to endure as children, *inquilinos* rarely earned a wage, faced

³⁹ Ibid., 65-66.

⁴⁰ Arnold Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975). Also see: George McBride, *Chile: Land and Society* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1971).

ramshackle living conditions, existed under the often-repressive thumb of the *patrón*, and had few means by which to improve their situation.⁴¹ Even after some turn of the century elites began to take a more paternalistic approach to the treatment of their laborers by providing marginally better houses and an occasional latrine, *El Mercurio* still noted in 1911 that the condition of rural labor remained “simply monstrous, unworthy of a civilized country and an affront to Chilean landowners.”⁴² Elites, on the other hand, lived comfortably on the back of their laborers and demanded subservience from them. The rural elite viewed rural laborers at best as dimwitted and unrefined, but more commonly as lazy, drunk, immoral, and even mentally handicapped.

By and large, elites and their rural labor lived separate, diverging existences and had little to bind them other than their labor and living agreements. However, the lives of *inquilinos* and *patrones* did overlap in additional ways. For example, in *Chile: Land and Society* (1935), George McBride recalled his encounter with an early twentieth century *huaso* landowner and his *mozo* employee:

I met them on a country road, Don Fulano and his *mozo* (servant), the latter riding at a respectful distance behind. Don Fulano was mounted on a tall, beautiful dapple-gray mare....The *mozo* rode a much smaller horse of the somewhat shaggy mountain type, a real country nag but a good traveler withal. Both men used Chilean saddles. Don Fulano's was made of handsome leather, and the seat was covered with the soft, down-clad skin of a large mountain bird. His stirrups, carved in the usual Chilean fashion out of heavy blocks of wood, were ornamented with bands of iron and inlaid silver. His bridle, too, with reins and headstall of neatly braided rawhide, bore elaborate silver ornaments about the bit and the brow band. Large-roweled spurs were worn by both the riders. The *mozo*'s

⁴¹ Gabriel Salazar, *Labradores, peones y proletarios*, 1985.

⁴² Arnold Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930*, 168.

accoutrement was simple, a thick sheepskin covering the uncomfortable wooden frame of the saddle, while bridle and riding whip were made of rough-tanned leather thongs....Don Fulano had pushed back his flat-brimmed hat and had thrown the blanket-like poncho, which every Chilean horseman wears in the country, back over his shoulder to allow his arm more freedom and to give him the benefit of the fresh midmorning air....His strong figure, sitting firmly but gracefully on his mount and set off with the handsome character of his trappings and his horse, made a strikingly attractive of virile, prosperous, commanding manhood. The appearance of his riding companion was in sharp contrast. Not in rags by any means, but cheaply clad underneath his coarsely woven poncho, with ill-fitting trousers, the ungainly short jacket used by the men of his kind on Chilean farms, a dilapidated felt hat and well-worn shoes, the mozo could be seen at once to belong in a different class. He was well-built and muscular, though of distinctly smaller stature than Don Fulano, and his features seemed somewhat less European in cast, though both men gave evidence of a strain of Araucanian blood from some remote ancestor. The mozo waited in silence and at a little distance, allowing his horse to nibble at the bushes beside the road while Don Fulano greeted us. Then he dismounted and, hat in hand, brought over the beautifully ornamented saddlebags which he had been carrying behind his saddle, holding them up while his *patrón* stowed away the letter of introduction that we had presented. Furthermore, in the same deferential manner and with many repetitions of “Sí, sí, Señor,” he corroborated his master’s detailed orders for preparations to be made for our reception on the farm.⁴³

McBride’s account illustrates significant socio-economic disparities and power relations among the two men he encountered, but it also reveals that *patrón* and worker shared some experiences; *inquilinos* and *patrones* shared the general experience of living on a Central Valley *fundo*, and although the specific experiences of *inquilinos* and *patrones* on that *fundo* differed dramatically, both lived their lives in the midst of and identified with the same surroundings. As Arnold Bauer has explained, *inquilinos* felt ties to their home, and although those ties were sometimes weak, they nevertheless

⁴³ George McBride, *Chile: Land and Society*, 3-4.

established “a certain community of interest and compassion....Most [*inquilinos*] came to identify with the estate itself; the land was his land, the cattle better, the bulls braver than on other haciendas.”⁴⁴ Bauer continued to explain that although landowners did not maintain the same type of emotional bond to a specific plot of land, they possessed a strong love for the rural Central Valley in a more general sense.⁴⁵ In a similar manner, the cultural traditions of landowner and laborer also overlapped to a limited degree.

Inquilinos and *patrones* generally heard mass at the same *fundo* church, and they partook in shared celebrations on saints’ days and other holidays. While such gatherings served in part to reaffirm power relationships—priests preached against disobedience and immorality, and landowners made money off the sale of beverages or played the role of powerful or benevolent master—they also fostered shared experiences to which both *patrón* and *inquilino* attached their own meanings. Moreover, as Antonio Acevedo Hernandez’s recollection of 1894 *fiesta patria* celebrations in Temuco demonstrates, although rich and poor may have fractured into separate parties after attending the day’s mass, all celebrated similarly at *armadas* with *cuecas*, *tonadas*, and *décimas* and shared a profound attachment to this music. Acevedo Hernandez continued to note that the *tonadas* he heard at such celebrations as a child “have accompanied me all my life...To think that a musician would have been able to express the infinite tenderness...of that so

⁴⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

pure, so emotional popular music like a supplication of love, like a confidence...the pure emotion and the beauty without contortions.”⁴⁶

Leftists, who sought to break the power of the rural oligarchy, viewed such commonalities and shared experiences as trivial at best. In their eyes, the tremendous inequalities between *inquilino* and *patrón* far outweighed in importance a few shared experiences that they perceived the elite to be using in order to prevent the collapse of the rural labor system. Conservatives, who constantly searched for a means to stave off class conflict and the potential unraveling of the rural labor system, emphasized in their opposing view of the countryside the importance of these few points of commonality among all rural inhabitants, while ignoring the far more numerous differences in the lives of *inquilinos* and *patrones*. They emphasized an image of the benevolent *patrón* and the notion of a common underlying experience of life in the campo that united all rural inhabitants. In particular, they contended that for *inquilino* and *patrón* alike, *huaso* culture represented a shared sense of identity and provided a range of symbols and practices to which all related. As testimonials demonstrate, conservative conceptions of rural Chile and of themselves predominated not only in rightist propaganda, but also in the manner that conservatives actually experienced and remembered rural life. For example, Pablo T, whose family owned a large, Central Valley *fundo*, described his family as always having treated their laborers well and the laborers as generally having been content. Among his strongest childhood memories were the many afternoons he

⁴⁶ Antonio Acevedo Hernandez, “Un dieciocho hace setenta años,” *En Viaje*, No. 263 (September 1955), 8-11.

spent playing soccer with the children of the field laborers and the many times he danced to *cuecas* and *tonadas* with the laborers and their families in the evenings and on holidays.⁴⁷ Likewise, in a testimony collected by María Rosaria Stabili, another member of a *fundo*-owning family expressed a similar conception of life on her family's *fundo*:

From the time I was very young, I had contact with nature, with the land. That for me is one of the most important things that exists in life... The contact with the land profoundly influenced feelings, values, conduct, desires and fantasies... The days we passed outside... caked with dirt, on horses, in the river, in contact with the people who worked for us and with the children of the *inquilinos*... Although we were the *patrones* and they were the *inquilinos*, we played and did everything together... we were a true army of children... On all the *fundos* that I visited, I, my family, other relatives and friends, the life and the social relations always were the same. You can change the landscape and cultivar different things, you can enjoy more or less liberty, but the life in the open air, riding horses, the games, the styles of life were all the same.⁴⁸

Although the majority of Chile's conservative elite resided in urban centers, most also had contact with rural Chile. In fact, by 1900, fifty-seven percent of the members of Congress owned a hacienda in the Central Valley.⁴⁹ Additionally, as Maurice Zeitlin and Richard Ratcliffe have illustrated, the rural landowners who dominated the Chilean countryside were often members of the same families as those urban elites who dominated the corporations, banks and financial institutions, and state bureaucratic posts

⁴⁷ Pablo T, Personal interview, 3 June 2009.

⁴⁸ María Rosaria Stabili, *El sentimiento aristocrático* (Santiago: Andrés Bello, 2003), 286-294.

⁴⁹ Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*, 364.

in Santiago.⁵⁰ Even those members of the urban elite who did not themselves own rural haciendas became members of kinship networks that tied them to the rural conservative elite, and at the very least, these relationships exposed urban elites to rural practices and traditions. According to Zeitlin and Ratcliffe, the urban and rural elite's common social and economic interests eventually melded them into a single, indissoluble, dominant class by the 1960s, a development that urban conservatives' growing attachment to a *huaso*-based identity during the second and third quarters of the twentieth century both reflected and furthered.

Liberal Diversity and Criollismo

Two interrelated developments further established the place of Central Valley-based *cuecas*, *tonadas*, and images of the *huaso* in urban Chile: radio and the recording industry. Although these forms of mass communication helped to popularize various international musical styles, such as the *fox trot*, the *Charleston*, the *tango*, swing, jazz, *rumba*, *ranchera*, and *bolero*, they also increased the dissemination of Chilean music and fostered a growing market for musicians who played *cuecas* and *tonadas*. As noted previously, various “*huaso* groups” emerged during this period, and their creole music, rooted in Central Valley traditions, gained popularity among diverse segments of urban society. The developing music industry, in combination with industry-related groups that viewed mass media as a key means by which to spread “Chilean” music throughout Chile

⁵⁰ Maurice Zeitlin and Richard Earl Ratcliff, *Landlords and Capitalists: the Dominant Class of Chile* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

and abroad, played a fundamental role in the success of these groups. For example, the popular culture magazine *Ercilla* took up the task of promoting Chilean music in 1937, stating: “The revista *Ercilla* takes the initiative and carries on its shoulders the responsibility to elevate Chilean music...In our next edition, we will publish the guidelines for a competition among creole music artists. In two months, once the best compositions are chosen, with the cooperation of the best *difusoras*, we will make them known in all of Chile.”⁵¹

While one central element of the nationalist promotion of *huaso* groups was the dissemination of the music that those musicians created, the precise nature of the music itself was just as integral a component in the push to popularize this version of folklore. Proponents of such creole, folk-based music believed that “the *tonada* and the *cueca* continued [to be] profoundly ingrained in the heart of the Chilean people”; however, these proponents also observed that Chilean music did not share the domestic or international popularity of Mexican, Cuban, or Argentine music.⁵² They reasoned that a lack of dissemination and a lack of musical refinement in Chilean music had caused a significant discrepancy between the popularity of these foreign styles and the popularity of Chilean styles. Noting that examples of more widely popular folk-based music from Mexico, Cuba, and Colombia utilized orchestras, “vocal masses with surprising effects”, and “new instruments”, respectively, an editorial in *Ercilla* argued that “the solo guitar is not enough to be an interesting base...we believe the moment has come to resort to new

⁵¹ “La música chilena ocupará el lugar que le corresponde,” *Ercilla*, No. 90 (1 January 1937), 16.

⁵² “Un S.O.S. de nuestro folklore,” *Ercilla*, (31 December 1937).

voices and groups that include, besides the guitar, the accordion, the harp, and perhaps the piano and banjo.”⁵³ The editorial further asserted, “It is indispensable, in consequence, to take our musical folklore from the campo, from the cordillera, from the *rango* and from the tenements, redressing its esthetic form in order to intensify its interest, and cast it definitively into the market in which the songs from all the world compete, with the assuredness that it will have sufficient merits to triumph.”⁵⁴ In this manner, those who adhered to this philosophy set themselves apart from the orientation of the *Sociedad del Folklore Chileno*; they viewed folkloric music as an evolving sound that in a refined form could serve as a source of national identity and pride, as opposed to the *Sociedad*'s notion of folklore as an inherited, unfettered expression of the pueblo that revealed the true character of Chile and its cultures.

The musical production of the *huaso* groups fit neatly with the idea that Chilean folk music could be refined and elevated to compete on a global stage. University-educated young men, whose families often either owned or had ties to Central Valley lands, the members of these *huaso* groups “exchanged their urban suits for those of the *huaso* [and] sang upbeat tonadas and zamacuecas.”⁵⁵ They drew upon the musical traditions of their families and the Central Valley *fundos*, assimilating the refined and cosmopolitan preferences of the conservative elite with various forms of rural music that these *huaso* musicians collected from amateur musicians on the *fundos*. They

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Ecos del beneficio de anoche,” *El Imparcial* (13 July 1927). (cit. Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*.)

embellished and “cleansed” these rural tunes “of vulgarities, adding verses or polishing them and, finally, fortifying them with a guitar *plucking*...that replaces the simplicity of the previous sound.”⁵⁶ These developing artists did hold a strong interest in rural, folkloric music, but they also shared the perspective that their repertoire must conform to fit the demands of the urban, commercial marketplace in order to flourish.

Correspondingly, on one hand, in addition to the *cuecas* and *tonadas* that they played, these creole musicians also utilized other popular genres in their performances, including *tango*, *bolero*, and *foxtrot*. On the other hand, their renditions of *cuecas* and *tonadas* varied to a degree from the rural forms of these styles. For example, as Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle have described, the stylized, urban *tonadas* broadened the rural *tonada*'s harmonic and melodic language by introducing the use of dominant seventh chords towards the subdominant, the dominant and parallel tonic, and additional notes and chromatics around the three inversions of the chord.⁵⁷ Such urbanized versions of *tonadas* also increasingly varied in tempo, developed vocal and instrumental virtuosity, utilized microphones, and broadened instrumentation to encompass various combinations of the piano, the double bass, the harp, the accordion, and even orchestras. Additionally, although it was women who had generally played and sung *tonadas* in rural Chile, the vast majority of the new, urban musicians were quartets of young, middle-class men, a trend that paralleled the massification and professionalization of Chilean “folk-

⁵⁶ Quotation from Juan Astica, member of *Los Cuatro Huasos*. (cit. Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*.)

⁵⁷ Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*, 387.

based music”, or music that drew heavily on the folklore of the countryside, but which also made significant departures from existing rural folklore by changing some of its musical properties, the themes or tone of its lyrics, the background of the musicians who performed it, and/or the context or manner in which those musicians disseminated it. In a similar vein, these *huaso* groups also modified the composition of the *cueca*, drawing heavily on its rural, Central Valley form, yet altering the composition of its stanzas and remolding the general format of the style so that each *cueca* conformed to the three and one-half minutes of recording time on a record. Such *cuecas* often repeated a ninety second *cueca* once with the same lyrics, with different lyrics, or with no lyrics at all; alternatively, *huaso* musicians also often incorporated their *cuecas* into a radio *sketch*, in which various exclamations, verses, dialogues, or interludes altered the length of a *cueca* and served to animate the music and dance.⁵⁸ In this manner, the *cuecas* and *tonadas* that *huaso* groups performed became a hybrid embodiment and expression of rural traditions and industrial, urban consumerism.

Despite the alterations in these renditions of *cuecas* and *tonadas*, both conservatives and many middle class liberals believed that the refined or stylized forms of *cuecas* and *tonadas* retained the essential spirit and fundamental components of rural, folk music. For many Chileans, the new, urban versions of *cuecas* and *tonadas* had adopted the basic language, cadence, and lyrical structure of their rural predecessors, and

⁵⁸ For a more detailed discussion of this process, see González and Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*; also see Claro Valdés, *Chilena o cueca tradicional*. For other related topics, see: Carlos Lavín, “Criollismo literario y musical,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (January-March 1967), 15.

they therefore considered these songs to be fundamentally “Chilean”. Paralleling Pedro Humberto Allende’s previously noted comments about the *huaso* groups, the newspaper *El Imparcial* enthusiastically reported in 1927 that *Los Cuatro Huasos* “made the attending public pulsate with [their] performances of Chilean music”.⁵⁹ Gabriela Mistral expressed a similar sentiment towards *Los Cuatro Huasos* and their style of music in 1940:

The four Chilean singers are for me, more than anything else, those who have saved our rural “aires”, which became lost and were going to disappear. Thanks to the creole tawdriness, spoiled tonadas and cuecas were already circulating in the cities and campos of Chile. Our songs had regressed towards the ravines of the cordillera, pushed by the loss of caste like the shameful poor or like wastes... The group appeared in their genuine dress without falling into the grotesque, that is the great danger of artificial folklore. The hats with hard rounded cups and do not startle a public that is familiarized with the Mexican hat, more exotic in its triangular cup. The small manta, that might be slightly unfamiliar, perhaps in contrast with that larger [Mexican] garment. The colors are very much ours; they have not copied either the Aztec serapes or the old Argentine vicuña manta.⁶⁰

In accordance with such perspectives, Chilean governments began to encourage and promote these *huaso* musical groups. By the mid-1940s, the Juan Antiono Ríos administration had started to sponsor free public festivals for the “highest exponents of creole singing”, in nationalist support of those “harps and guitars that, in other times,

⁵⁹ “Ecos del beneficio de anoche,” *El Imparcial* (13 July 1927). (cit. Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*.) Additionally, these groups also sang at times a mixture of other styles of international popular genres.

⁶⁰ Gabriela Mistral, “La música americana de los ‘Cuatro Huasos’,” *El Mercurio*, 1 December 1940.

presided over the dawn of the Republic, that saw it [the Republic] attacked in the infancy of life...[and] that saw it cover itself from the glories in the barricades of Rancagua.”⁶¹ Commenting on these endeavors, *El Mercurio* noted that such music “still remains a generous corner in the world of the metropolitan *pobladores*...[and] they fill with pride to feel the magical sounds of the *campesina* harps and the fresh and haughty voices of our popular singers...to the pure expression of our pueblo”⁶² The González Videla administration continued and expanded such promotional efforts, as its *Dirección General de Informaciones y Cultura* pushed for a strong enforcement of a government mandate that the music played on Chilean radio stations be at least thirty percent Chilean.⁶³ These attempts to increase dissemination of Chilean music over the airwaves complemented government sponsored tours to outlying regions of Chile by *creole* musicians, such as Los Provincianos “cultural mission” to the far southern province of Magallanes in 1947.⁶⁴ In effect, by the 1940s, urban Chileans from diverse segments of society viewed the stylized *huaso* sound not only as a central element of *chilenidad*, but also as an expression derived directly from the *pueblo*; accordingly, the Chilean government devoted a strong effort to entrench these perceptions deeply throughout the country.

The growing popularity of the *huaso* groups did not necessarily mean that other musical styles disappeared from the Chilean cultural landscape. In fact, many Chileans

⁶¹ Pablo Garrido, “Música popular chilena,” *El Mercurio*, 17 March 1945.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ “Editorial: Música chilena en la radio,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (April 1947), 3.

⁶⁴ Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*, 103.

even lamented throughout the 1930s and 1940s the relative “disappearance” of “Chilean music” at the hands of foreign styles. For example, despite the growth of *huaso* groups, Pablo Garrido still bemoaned the difficulties that continued to face *Los Cuatro Huasos* and other *criollista* performers during this era: “When we believed that the miraculous conquest of the radiophone would have been an admirable, propellant vehicle of the vernacular expressions, we have found that to these ends we are absolutely invaded by music that says nothing about our patriotic fiber.”⁶⁵ Particularly with the growth of radio and the commercial recording industry, various forms of foreign popular music ranging from *jazz* to *cumbia* to *ranchera* achieved popularity along side the *huaso* groups. Despite such competition, the *huaso* groups still acquired a popularity that to a large degree extended across class and political lines. In addition to their growing popularity among moderate and conservative segments of society, *huaso* groups retained strong popularity among progressives as well. Popular Front President Pedro Aguirre Cerda requested that *Los Cuatro Huasos* represent Chile at the 1939 World’s Fair in New York, and his party also commonly incorporated creole *huaso* musicians and *cueca* music at domestic public events.⁶⁶ For example, the Popular Front’s publication *Frente popular* advertised a large party-sponsored event in 1939 that began with a politically-focused play put on by “enthusiastic young people”. Described by *Frente popular* as a “dramatic comedy, which was a cry of suffering and rebellion from the proletariat”, the play contained scenes illustrating “the humble life, filled with anguishes and hopes of our

⁶⁵ Pablo Garrido, “Música popular chilena,” *El Mercurio*, 17 March 1945.

⁶⁶ Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*, 48.

pueblo.” Following the performance, “the event [would be] completed with a great fiesta campera ending, in which various outstanding Chilean artists...[would take] part, including numerous creole groups”.⁶⁷

Such examples indicate a significant degree of shared embrace among Chileans from various social and political sectors of the *huaso* identity and *creole-huaso* music through the 1930s and 1940s; however, similar to the manner in which the perspectives on socio-economic “inclusion” diversified increasingly in the mid-twentieth century, a slowly growing segment of the middle-class *intelligencia* adopted a wider notion of Chilean identity that extended beyond *huaso* imagery and the creole music of *huaso* groups. The origins of this transition developed out of the earlier works of Pedro Humberto Allende, compositions that inspired several young Chilean composers to explore and incorporate into their compositions a more diverse repertoire of rural, Chilean themes and sounds. Humberto Allende himself maintained an interest in the music of the Araucanian Indians of central-southern Chile, which combined variations of rattles, drums, trumpets, panpipes, and flutes and utilized pentatonic and tritonic scales to form descending melodies.⁶⁸ Humberto Allende lectured on Araucanian music at the *Conservatorio Nacional* and made recordings of Araucanian music to represent Chile at the 1928 *Congress of Popular Arts* in Prague; however, it was composers such as Carlos Isamitt and Carlos Lavín who took an even stronger interest in this music and further

⁶⁷ “Todo el barrio Independencia prepara gran festival criollo de esta noche,” *Frente Popular*, 19 October 1939.

⁶⁸ For further description of Araucanian and Mapuche music, see Dale Olsen’s *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 2: South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*.

integrated it into their own work.⁶⁹ These musical anthropologists and composers carried out academic field research in rural areas and, as Isamitt noted, “only when I returned to Santiago did I start my symphonic production based on the material I had recovered.”⁷⁰ Similar to Isamitt and compositions such as *Friso araucano* (1931), Carlos Lavín integrated what he considered to be “ancestral” sounds and instruments from central-southern Chile into European-influenced music to compose a new type of hybrid works, such as *Comentaciones huilliches* (1926). Ultimately, this interest in the appropriation and blending of indigenous sounds from southern and southern-central Chile into mainstream Chilean music even spawned a small body of Araucanian-inspired, commercial music during the Popular Front era and into the 1950s; although this body of Araucanian-inspired, commercial music integrated forms of Araucanian-derived descending melodies and a hybridized, syncopated rhythm that became known casually as “Mapuche rhythm”, these songs generally remained as *tonadas* and *cuecas*, and their lyrics often spoke fatalistically of the Araucanian Indians as a doomed or downtrodden ‘other’.⁷¹

The endeavors of these early musical anthropologists held in their basis the notion that *chilenidad* encompassed a more diverse array of influences than those of the immediate, rural areas that surrounded Santiago. The premise of this perspective became

⁶⁹ Carlos Humeres Solar, “Un concierto araucano,” *Marsyas*, Año 1 No. 12, 445-446.

⁷⁰ “Carlos Isamitt, el hombre, el artista y el investigador,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (July-Sept 1966), 10.

⁷¹ González and Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile: 1890-1950*, 404-408. González and Rolle include excerpts from the song “A motu yanei”: “Indian because I am black....Because I carry dark blood in my veins, I will always be a slave of my luck.”

popular among many progressive intellectuals through the 1930s, and in 1943, a commission of Carlos Isamitt, Carlos Lavín, Eugenio Pereira Salas, Jorge Urrutia Blondel, Alfonso Letelier, Vicente Salas Viu, and Filomena Salas founded the *Instituto de Investigaciones del Folklore Musical* in collaboration with the Facultad de Bellas Artes of the Universidad de Chile. The following year, the *Instituto* officially became part of the Universidad de Chile and undertook a number of endeavors to study and promote its notion of “Chilean” music. In addition to conducting “folkloric concerts” with “*authentic* national aires recovered from oral tradition and from history” at the Teatro Cervantes and the Teatro Municipal in Santiago, the *Instituto* began a “methodic study of the geographic distribution of our [Chile’s] musical folklore”.⁷² One of the primary objectives in this study was to develop a “folkloric map” of Chile that would cover *all* of the country’s territory and include a “Calendario Santoral Católico” that “classified ceremonies in relation with our religious folklore in the diverse regions of Chile.”⁷³ Additionally, the *Instituto* published, in conjunction with RCA Victor during December 1944, a first collection of “authentic versions” of Chilean music from “regional folk singers, ceremonies, and melodies of interest” entitled *Aires tradicionales y folklóricos de Chile*. Twenty-seven examples of “national music” from diverse outlying regions of central and central-southern Chile comprised the collection, including *tonadas*, *villancicos*, *décimas*, *cantos de velorio*, *canciones*, and *danzas tradicionales*. The *Instituto* chose various folklorists to perform the songs in this compilation, selecting

⁷² “Instituto de investigaciones del folklore musical,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (July 1945), 19.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

those artists with particular “consideration for their being performers who presented, as much as possible, the most authentic form of traditional and *campesino* signing, without theatrical effects.” Among the participating artists were *Las Hermanas Estela* and *Margot Loyola*, whom *La Revista Musical Chilena* noted to be particularly appropriate on account of their “tours of diverse regions of Chile”; *El Dúo Molina-Garrido*; *Ismael Navarrete*; and *Los Provincianos*, a *huaso* group whose links with the Universidad de Chile and strong interest in collecting and re-producing folkloric music with minimal stylization fostered a distinctive connection between the group and progressive elements of the middle-class.⁷⁴

The *Instituto* strove to “find the best form of bringing to the masses the true traditional culture and folklore of the past, the only possible road...for conserving and bettering...popular song”.⁷⁵ In doing so, it established a unique vision of “Chilean” music and identity. First, it conceptualized *chilenidad* as being more than simply *huaso* and Central Valley traditions; it believed that Chilean traditions came from various regions of Chile, particularly central-southern Chile and Araucania. This more diverse notion of *chilenidad* stood in opposition to much of the Central Valley and *huaso*-dominated imagery and traditions that defined the chileanization efforts of the 1920s, a campaign that early leftist leaders, such as Emilio Recabarren, had rejected by arguing that the chileanization movement and the *Ligas Patrióticas* amounted to little more than an effort by Liberal Democrats to distract the laboring class from its own plight through

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

the promotion of nationalist fervor. Recabarren in particular railed against this “nationalism” and argued that the Peruvian and Chilean elite masked their close ties behind this patriotic “farce” by which they could “plant hatred among the workers so that they always remain divided and therefore [are] easy to exploit.”⁷⁶ Second, the *Instituto* and those who shared its vision believed that any stylization of rural folklore (Central Valley based or otherwise) was inherently negative. Instead, they believed that authentic Chilean music was a product of the Chilean people themselves and must not be altered by stylized, creole musicians who performed what Domingo Santa Cruz referred to in 1947 as “a Chilean song that has nothing to do with the pueblo, a song filled with fermatas, breaths, falsettos and effects of poor taste and of the most detestable consequence.”⁷⁷ For those who adhered to the *Instituto*’s philosophy on folklore and *chilenidad*, the stylized *huaso* groups were not “genuine cultivators of our folklore”, but musicians who “lacked a clear and respectful concept of folklore” that had spread to the masses through the widespread dissemination of such music over the radio.⁷⁸ In response, those who held this perspective not only argued that the state music be responsible for supervising radio programming to ensure the survival of “authentic” folklore, but they additionally argued against commercial music in general and believed that no relationship could exist

⁷⁶ Luis Emilio Recabarren, “Chilenos y peruanos,” *El Grito Popular*, 25 May 1911. (See *El Grito Popular* issues between May and July 1911 for numerous additional examples of Recabarren’s criticism of the *Ligas Patrióticas* and chileanization efforts.)

⁷⁷ Domingo Santa Cruz, “Editorial: música chilena en la radio,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (April 1947), 2.

⁷⁸ Carlos Isamitt, “El folklore como elemento básico del liceo renovado”, *Revista Musical Chilena* (July-August 1946), 21-24.

between commercial music and true *chilenidad*. As Domingo Santa Cruz further asserted:

The State should supervise the radio transmission of music; it must procure the treasure of our genuine expression and of our popular tradition with the spread in bulk of the foreign, that which falsely brings the etiquette of the music from other countries. The commercial exploitation that the radio, stimulated by the masses, is happy to adopt, has produced...a taste for the general, exaggerating the ordinary, the gaudy, and tending to produce a cheap effect...it is striking to walk through the campo and hear the workers, as they leave their jobs, if they sing or whistle, it is no longer what we heard twenty years ago: invariably, that which attracts them and inspires them is the music of a movie, almost always Mexican or Argentine or some of those unearthly “melodic songs” that they have produced in order to serve as a link between the cosmetic ads, remedies or articles of clothing.⁷⁹

While the perspective of the *Instituto* and its followers did not necessarily jibe with the predominant musical preferences held by the overall population of Chile during the 1930s and 1940s, these perspectives did represent a gradually growing current among progressive segments of the middle-class *intelligencia*. The *Instituto* supported a notion of “authentic” music and a more diverse concept of *chilenidad*, which faced a difficult battle for acceptance in a society where a widely disseminated and competing notion of *chilenidad* already had taken root, particularly within the Central Valley and in Santiago. Influenced heavily by the traditions of the Central Valley and promoted by radio and *chileanization* campaigns within as well as outside the Central Valley, the *huaso*-based, *creole* notion of Chilean identity had established itself among Chileans from various

⁷⁹ Domingo Santa Cruz, “Editorial: música chilena en la radio,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (April 1947), 2.

walks of life. Regardless of whether or not Central Valley-based *huaso* traditions were endemic to a particular area, or whether or not they stemmed from what the most progressive Chilean reformers viewed as the exploitative structure of Chile's *fundos*, individuals from diverse segments of society enjoyed the stylized *huaso* music and had come to see in it a sense of themselves, their life experiences, and their countrymen. Accordingly, implanting a new musical cannon that consisted largely of regional sounds, to which individuals in other parts of Chile generally had little or no pre-existing affinity, proved a difficult task for the *Instituto*, particularly without the resources of a full-fledged, state-sponsored, cultural campaign or any significant assistance from the commercial recording industry. Although the government did support to a very limited degree the *Instituto*'s efforts to collect and disseminate what the *Instituto* perceived to be "authentic" folk music, this support never remotely approached the extreme levels of intensity that drove the *chileanization* campaigns, nor did those bureaucrats who granted the support ever view the stylized *huaso* groups as anything less than additional examples of "authentic" Chilean folklore.

Reflecting on the public's acceptance of artistic expressions of *criollismo*, Joaquín Edwards Bello argued in 1956 that "it matters little to the public that a book is *criollista* or not. What is important is that it is interesting... The learned men can condemn a book as ignorant, but the public will judge it to their taste, without concern for the enlightened learned critics."⁸⁰ The phenomenon that Bello's noted was not exclusive to literature, but also existed within the realm of music, as Chileans listened and formed emotional

⁸⁰ Joaquín Edwards Bello, "Criollismo y chilenidad," *La Nación*, 22 November 1956.

attachments to music they found “interesting”. In most cases, “interesting” means that individuals see something of themselves in a particular song or style, either as a forward-looking and new conception of who they can be, or as a residue of something from their past, such as nostalgic memories they have come to associate with particular sounds. Whether individuals enjoyed the *huaso* groups and their *creole* music because they recognized folkloric sounds of the Central Valley that generated fond recollections of their own past and “revived those memories of better times”, or because they considered that music to represent a new and exciting, nationalist image of Chile that blended the rural and the traditional with the cosmopolitan and modern, Chileans became emotionally attached to the music and the notions of self and *chilenidad* that they associated with it.⁸¹ Nonetheless, even though this climate made any widespread acceptance of the traditional, un-refined sounds of Chile’s outlying regions and its less recognized populations unlikely through mid-century, the folklorist movement and its more diverse vision of *chilenidad* persisted. Over the coming years, this vision of *chilenidad* expanded gradually, growing in conjunction with the increasing prevalence of diverse socio-economic perspectives that continued to evolve out of the liberal tradition and would push increasingly for a more socio-economic inclusive society.

⁸¹ *El Mercurio*, 6 November 1943. (cit. González and Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*.)

Chapter III: Changes in Society and Music (1950s-1968)

At the end of the Popular Front government in 1941, the factions that had comprised the Popular Front coalition each looked for their own way forward. The Radical Party, the largest and most moderate party in the coalition, nominated Juan Antonio Ríos Morales as its candidate to succeed the late Popular Front President Pedro Aguirre Cerda. This decision left the Socialist and Communist parties with the option of supporting their own alternative candidates, who most certainly would have lacked the votes necessary to defeat Ríos, or putting their support behind the Radical candidate. Ultimately, both parties decided to support Ríos, a decision that helped him to win the presidency in 1942 and initiated an extended era of Radical Party dominance in presidential politics. Under Ríos, the middle-class made significant economic gains, especially as the manufacturing sector accelerated during World War II. Fearing the loss of these gains at the hands of working-class demands, the Radical Party's middle-class base veered towards the right and distanced itself from any working-class radicalism. Ríos pursued an agenda of state-led development that focused particularly upon urban electrification, an endeavor that he funded in large part with nitrate and mining profits. While inflation rose throughout the Ríos presidency, it ballooned in the mid and late 1940s when the nitrate industry collapsed and mining revenue declined. Chile had become increasingly dependent on foreign investment and loans, and when inflation hit, the Ríos administration chose to protect its middle-class and upper-class constituencies at the expense of the working-class. Popular dissent exploded in response to this inflation and its harsh impact on the working-class. Faced with the threat of widespread working-

class militancy and strikes, Ríos took a repressive stance toward labor mobilization, a stance that his successor, Radical Party candidate Gabriel González Videla, would continue.¹

Due in large part to the Communist Party's support for his candidacy, Gabriel González Videla emerged victorious in the 1946 election to replace Ríos. Once in office, however, González Videla faced an opposition majority in Congress and had to choose between entering into an alliance with the Communist Party, the right, and/or with leftist wings of the Radical and Socialist parties, who opportunistically saw a chance to eliminate their competition among the left. Under additional pressure from the United States, upon whom the Chilean government remained heavily dependent for its export-driven revenue, González Videla aligned himself with the right and with the Radical and Socialist parties by outlawing the Communist Party and repressing, exiling, and imprisoning its members. In doing so, he not only brought Chile into the framework of the United States' Cold War crusade against Communism, but he overzealously crushed a significant portion of a labor movement that remained an important component of middle-class reformism.²

¹ See Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952*; Michael Monteón, *Chile and the Great Depression*; Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*; and Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, among others.

² Tomás Moulian, *Fracturas: de Pedro Aguirre Cerda a Salvador Allende (1938-1973)*, 2006. Also see: Carlos Huneeus, *La Guerra fría chilena: Gabriel González Videla y la Ley maldita* (Santiago: Debate, 2009).

By the close of the González Videla presidency, the electorate had grown frustrated with Radical Party in-fighting, inconsistencies, inflation, and corruption, and in 1952 Chileans elected a revived Carlos Ibáñez del Campo. Ibáñez, whose previous presidency had incorporated labor into the state through a process of granting workers new rights while simultaneously unleashing heavy-handed repression upon the left, had gone into exile in Argentina after being deposed in 1931. During his years in Argentina, Ibáñez developed a close friendship with populist Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón, and when Ibáñez returned to the Chilean Presidency in 1952, he brought with him a Peron-inspired vision and a desire to break down the deep-seated resentments that historically had divided Chile from Argentina politically, socially, and economically. Perón and Ibáñez shared an ambition to form a bloc of “Justicialista” inspired South American states that would counter the United States and Soviet efforts to increase their influence in the region. Accordingly, after the Ibáñez became President, he worked closely with Perón to integrate Chile and Argentina’s political and economic systems. Asserting these ambitions, Perón preceded his 1953 tour of Chile by declaring to the Chilean newspaper *La Nación* that he believed in a “total and immediate” unity of Chile and Argentina, and that “simple economic unity...is not sufficiently strong.”³ Making fiery “balcony speeches” and public claims across Chile that, with the exception of Ibáñez, all Chilean presidents had been “vende-patrias” (sell-outs), Perón infuriated

³ Donald William Bray, *Chilean Politics During the Second Ibáñez Government, 1952-1958*, Ph.D. dissertation (Stanford University, 1961), 76-77.

Chile's political and military establishment, while the Chilean masses received him relatively favorably.⁴

Threatened by Ibáñez's lack of affiliation with a traditional Chilean political party, his promises to "sweep" away inept politicians with electoral reforms and to end corruption, his ties to Perón, and his efforts to integrate Chile and Argentina, Chile's Congress established a special commission to investigate Peronist penetration into Chile. In June 1956, the commission presented its findings to Chile's Chamber of Deputies in the Galleguilos Report. The commission confirmed that Chilean politicians, journalists, and labor leaders had accepted money from Argentina to speak, write, and promote on behalf of the Perón government, and despite withholding all criticism of those who courted the Perón administration in order to make business profits through open trade with Argentina, the commission asserted that to hold Justicialista views or to be an admirer of Perón was to be "un-Chilean".⁵ In effect, the findings indicated that Chileans could align themselves with Soviet-influenced, Communist ideology or U.S.-influenced, capitalist ideology, but the history of military tensions between Chile and Argentina, combined with the negative opinion that most Chileans had of Argentines in the 1950s, made Justicialismo an unacceptable ideology.⁶

Ultimately, the downfall of the Ibáñez's second presidency was the president's failure to make good on his populist campaign promises to "sweep" away inept

⁴ Ibid., 78.

⁵ Ibid., 81-82.

⁶ Ibid., 86-88.

politicians and to end corruption. Corruption remained rampant, inflation soared, and Ibáñez utilized González Videla's anti-communist legislation to repress labor organization in urban and rural areas. Ibáñez's relationship with Perón, his desire to integrate Chile and Argentina, and his ambition to create a bloc of South American, Justicialista-inspired states, and a deteriorating economy with higher rates of inflation further contributed to Ibáñez's plummeting popularity over the course of his second administration. These characteristics threatened Chile's left-wing labor parties as well as Chile's more conservative and military sectors, the later of which maintained a strong tradition of Chilean nationalism, a particular distaste for Argentines, and a memory of Juan Perón's 1936-1938 tenure as an Argentine spy in Chile. Nonetheless, despite the various shortcomings of his second administration, Ibáñez ultimately carried out electoral reform that made ballots public and ended party ballots, thereby decreasing landowner control over the votes of rural laborers; Ibañez also eventually repealed González Videla's anti-communist legislation. In doing so, the Ibáñez administration, while increasing working-class suffering overall between 1952 and 1958, paved the way for the emergence of stronger leftist coalitions in subsequent years.

Conservative candidate, Jorge Alessandri, took advantage of the electorate's frustration with the second Ibáñez administration to win the 1958 election; however, Alessandri defeated the leftist Popular Action Front (FRAP) coalition's candidate, Salvador Allende, by only a slim margin, and Alessandri struggled as president to stave off growing efforts at rural labor unionization by a newly re-energized left and by

Catholic organizers. The expansion of voting rights during previous decades had altered the Chilean electorate, and additional legal changes would further alter the electoral landscape in 1970, when the government enfranchised illiterates. Between the years of 1958 and 1964 alone, the electorate expanded from 1,156,576 to 2,915,144, and as Simon Collier and William Sater have asserted, “many if not most of the new votes were poor—some, indeed, living in the now burgeoning shanty-towns or in the shadow of the hacienda’s ‘big house.’”⁷ The legal, electoral inclusion of new demographics, however, did not automatically translate to a dramatic shift in political power. For example, conservatives did their best to emphasize the benevolent paternalism of rural landowners and the commonalities that united the rural rich and the rural poor; *inquilinos*, for their part, often remained loyal to their *patrón* employers and cast votes according to the *patron*’s wishes. Yet, the electoral expansion did open a new political space and provided political parties with the opportunity to compete for new votes.

Among the most pressing political questions in the late 1950s and early 1960s was the question of how to deal with a Chilean countryside that, under the control of the rural elite, had failed to modernize, had continued to under-produce, and had left rural laborers living in squalor with few rights or avenues to improve their lives. The left had raised the issue of agrarian reform in the 1930s, when Marmaduke Grove argued that the state should seize and redistribute haciendas and other fallow lands as a means to increase agricultural production and decrease wealth disparities. However, with Radical Party

⁷ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 259.

administrations not wanting to lose support from the right wing of their party, Presidents Aguirre Cerda, Ríos, and González Videla blocked agrarian reform and rural unionization so as not to upset the status quo in rural Chile. However, by the end of the 1950s, the momentum for agrarian change had increased. While the left took an increasingly active stance on the issue, the Catholic Church also began to redistribute small plots of land to rural laborers. Additionally, the United States pushed for the implementation of agrarian reform as part of its Alliance for Progress initiative. The Radical Party saw a need to attract the now more electorally independent rural voters, and it similarly began to advocate agrarian reform, thereby leaving the rightist Conservative and Liberal parties as the only groups that remained openly opposed to it. Conservatives and Liberals, however, realized that they needed an alliance with the Radicals in order to compete electorally with the left and with the emerging Christian Democratic Party. Faced with this political reality, the right begrudgingly agreed at least to the premise of land reform. The ratification of the Agrarian Reform Law in 1962 established the Agrarian Reform Cooperative (CORA) and empowered it to expropriate underutilized land (with owner reimbursement) for redistribution; however, this potentially transformative law initially turned out to be little more than an empty concession under Alessandri, as his government expropriated only eleven farms, a meager total of 61,620 hectares of land in all, from 1962 until the end of 1963.⁸ The most optimistic moderates and conservatives might have believed that Alessandri's agrarian reform would develop a middle-class of

⁸ Jay Kinsbruner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 153.

farmers that would help create social stability in the countryside and prevent class conflict, but the reality was that the Agrarian Reform Law of 1962 lay the ground-work for the future enactment and expansion of land reform, despite the fact that the people within “the most respectable circles...supported reforms precisely to avert such an eventuality”.⁹

The Cold War and Domestic Politics in the 1960s

On January 1, 1959, *El Mercurio* published an Associated Press article that asserted that communism had “lost ground in 1958” and that “everything indicates that this tendency will continue in 1959”, thereby making the danger of a total war to be “the lowest at any moment since the canons stopped firing in 1945.”¹⁰ Ironically, on the same day, Fidel Castro and his rebel army descended upon Havana and toppled the Batista government in Cuba. While leftists celebrated Castro’s takeover, many centrists and conservatives, at least initially, approved of Batista’s downfall and hoped that Castro would choose a political course that would bring peace and economic stability to Cuba. This optimism soon dissipated among conservatives, centrists, and even the center-left, as Castro transformed Cuban society by establishing a communist state. In the already tense environment of the Cold War, the Cuban Revolution had a tremendous impact on Chile and other Latin American countries. For those whose politics fell to the center and to the right, the specter of Castro’s Cuba generated an intense and widespread fear that a similar

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ “El comunismo perdió terreno en 1958,” *El Mercurio*, 1 January 1959.

development might transpire in Chile. As self-described centrist Marcela L noted, “After what happened in Cuba, we were always worried that the same thing might happen in Chile; it was a very uncertain time and all of us were very scared that the Communists would try to turn Chile into another Cuba.”¹¹ While the Cuban Revolution provided inspiration for many of the most progressive Chileans, much of the Chilean left felt wary about the type of dramatic and forceful course that Castro had taken. These individuals remained devoted to the strategy of attaining power democratically, an approach that early leftist leader Luis Emilio Recabarren had utilized in the 1920s and Popular Front candidate Pedro Aguirre Cerda had implemented successfully in his 1938 presidential victory. As Daniela B, a middle class supporter of the Socialist party recalled: “The Cuban Revolution was an important and inspiring event for us...but we also believed that the situation in Chile was different and we needed to follow a different path towards change—a *democratic* revolution of wine and empanadas. Looking back, maybe we were wrong, but that is what we believed then.”¹² In reality, only the radical left wholeheartedly embraced the tactics of the Cuban Revolution and considered Castro’s actions to be a viable roadmap for change within Chile. For the rest of the country, Cuba stood as an omnipresent reminder of what could transpire if Chile did not adequately address its class tensions, and the prospect of a similar episode in Chile fueled diverse responses that ranged among the majority of Chileans from intense fear to a desire for a more peaceful and democratic route to substantial change.

¹¹ Marcela L., personal interview, 17 April 2009.

¹² Daniela B., personal interview, 14 May 2009.

Against this backdrop, the pace of reform quickened in Chile during the 1960s, but so too did the diversity of opinions as to how such reform should proceed. All political perspectives promoted their vision for Chile's future with increasing vigor. At the close of the Alessandri presidency in 1964, the political landscape consisted of three primary voting blocs. The Liberal, Conservative, and Radical parties of the right and center allied behind Radical candidate, Julio Duran, in hopes of competing for some of the middle and even working-class votes that formed its opponents' bases. The left united under the banner of the FRAP, a Marxist dominated coalition consisting of Communists, Socialists, and several smaller parties. The Popular Action Front nominated Salvador Allende for his third presidential campaign, promoting an agenda that included the nationalization of banks and large monopolistic corporations, agrarian reform (with the state taking approximately one-third of agrarian land), extended social security, and suffrage for illiterates and eighteen year olds.¹³ The third coalition was the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), which nominated Eduardo Frei Montalva as its candidate.

The Christian Democratic Party, which rejected both right and left wing ideologies as limited and one dimensional, replaced the Radical Party as the dominant political voice of the center in the late 1950s. Seeking a middle ground between the right's "insensitivity to social problems" and the left's "dangerous extremism", Christian Democrats promised "simultaneous prosperity and reform with full respect for the rights

¹³ Platform taken from Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 261.

and freedoms of all, including those at whose expense the reforms would come.”¹⁴ Their moderate, “politically responsible”, reformist alternative stressed the compatibility of the interests of all Chileans, higher economic productivity, more jobs, increased public housing, broader social services, and greater political participation for workers.¹⁵ Campaigning under the slogan of “a revolution in liberty”, Eduardo Frei and the Christian Democrats advocated Christian morality, Catholic-based social empowerment organizations, and an explicit recognition of the dilemmas posed by industrial society and the need for socio-economic reform.¹⁶ The official Christian Democrat platform acknowledged that the living conditions of Chile’s workers were a problem, recognized that the primary cause of this problem was the individualistic ideology of capitalism, reaffirmed private ownership of land and of means of production, rejected the prospect of class struggle, and advocated a policy of conciliation between capital and labor, with both the Church and state serving as arbitrators and laying down the duties of capitalists and workers.¹⁷ In this sense, the Christian Democrats existed as a “hybrid” political party; its leadership generally acknowledged the need for some material reforms to assist the poor, but it also promoted a more conservative-style solution to the social conflict by advocating Christian charity, Catholic-based self-help programs, and “cultural reform”.

¹⁴ Fleet, Michael, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 59, 82.

¹⁵ Platform taken from: Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, 58.

¹⁶ Platform from: Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Ana Melnick, *Chile’s Political Culture and Parties* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 60.

¹⁷ Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Ana Melnick, *Chile’s Political Culture and Parties*, 49.

With the majority of Chileans feeling uneasy about the threat that they believed communism posed to their country's stability, the Chilean center, the Chilean right, and the United States shared a concern about the potential success of Allende's candidacy. Much support, including that of the United States, fell behind Frei, as the candidate who could generate support among the working-class (especially in rural areas) and improve conditions for the poor as a means to prevent class-conflict, radical transformations, and a Chilean version of the Cuban Revolution. The United States went so far as to surreptitiously support the Frei campaign with millions of dollars and to launch a "black propaganda" campaign against Allende that among other claims, asserted that his government intended to place young, Chilean children in communist day care centers.¹⁸ While such claims were often grossly overblown, they effectively played upon fears of centrist and rightist Chileans that had at least some basis in reality. The fact that the Soviet education system, as discussed later in this chapter, focused on embedding in students both nationalistic feelings and a rejection of Western ideas as capitalistic and exploitative, made the possibility of communist day care centers seem plausible to many Chileans. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, Salvador Allende's Ministry of Education ultimately promoted deep changes to public school curricula in the service of Popular Unity's vision for Chile, an action that for many Chileans appeared to give credence to the right's ongoing claims and fears about the left's plans for forced indoctrination of their children. In a country where 39 percent of the total population was

¹⁸ Monteón, Michael. *Latin America and the Origins of its Twenty-First Century* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), 344.

under the age of fifteen and over 49 percent was under the age of twenty, parents' concerns about their children's schooling and upbringing were pervasive, and the pervasiveness of these concerns helps to explain why so many conservatives responded in such an emotional fashion to those "black propaganda" claims in particular that threatened incursions by Popular Unity into the educational system and into home life.¹⁹

Although the left viewed Frei as "pro-imperialist" and Frei's agenda remained rooted in the idea that reform could prevent radicalism, Frei, who emerged victorious in the 1964 election, in many ways also pushed the limits of those from the political center and right who had deemed him a palatable alternative to the more radical agenda of the left. As President, Frei combined tax reforms, credit and investment programs, wage increases, and expanded social services in an effort to promote development and improve conditions for the working class. His reforms also included an increase in state control over the copper industry and the initiation of an agrarian reform program intended to unionize rural workers, raise rural wages, increase productivity, create a more efficient and equitable rural taxation system, and eventually make rural laborers owners of their own land.²⁰ However, Frei's agenda suffered during the later part of his term, as the economy stagnated and inflation climbed. Further complicating matters, Frei faced increasing dissent among the extreme wings of the Christian Democratic Party, in particular from those on his party's left who had become upset about the limited

¹⁹ Kenneth Riddle and Kathleen Barrows, eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (Los Angeles: University of California Latin American Center, 1974), 58-59.

²⁰ Jay Kinsbruner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation*, 154.

enactment of many of the reforms Frei had promised. Frei initially promised to redistribute land to 100,000 peasant families by 1970; by 1968, only 10,500 families had received plots. Of those 10,500 plots, many were poorly irrigated, and the new, peasant landowners often lacked the credit or technical assistance to develop the land effectively.²¹ By the close of Frei's presidency in 1970, the number of redistributed farms had risen only to 28,000 and few gains had been made in agricultural productivity.²² The government rarely implemented a 1967 law that authorized it to expropriate all central region landholdings of more than eighty hectares (or the equivalent elsewhere). Its reform of the copper industry involved changes in stock ownership and changes in production without altering the transnational companies' control of the sector.²³ Frei also initiated innovative projects, such as the construction of schools and public housing, the improvement of Chile's public works, and the establishment of *Promoción Popular*, a program that encouraged self-help and political participation among the urban poor; however, inadequate funding limited the impact of these endeavors as well. Thus, despite enacting substantial social welfare reforms in housing, education, wages, and land reform, the Frei government's achievements did not always live up to their promise. Although the Frei administration's programs did initiate unprecedented social reforms, the administration neither enacted nor envisioned dramatic, comprehensive nationalizations or expropriations, a reality that ultimately led

²¹ Ibid., 155.

²² Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, 127.

²³ Jay Kinsbruner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation*, 155.

part of the left wing of the Christian Democrats to break away and form the Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria (MAPU) in 1969. Even though Frei himself never actually threatened to undo the Chilean social structure, his reformist programs and rhetoric had two important effects. First, they caused “a good deal of alarm and despondency amongst the rich, who...[were] resentful at the new taxes and at the threat that they will lose their properties through the agrarian reform.”²⁴ Second, they elicited significant support from the lower classes, but at the same time also fueled a growing momentum and impatience for continued change that extended beyond the reforms that the Frei administration actually carried out.

Chilenidad and Music After the Onset of the Cold War

In response to the start of the Cold War, Chilean conservatives began to argue in 1947 that the performance of Russian music inherently “transformed symphonic concerts into an arena of communist agitation.”²⁵ Editorials published in conservative periodicals asserted that because in Russia music was an affair of the state, composers were supporters of the state, and musicians could not disseminate any music without Stalin’s approval, Russian music therefore included “a type of musical message” that would promote the “sovietization” of Chile. In response to these claims, Chilean composer Domingo Santa Cruz replied that the performance of quality music, be it Russian,

²⁴ Sir David Scott Fox. (cit. Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende’s Chile* (London: Verso, 2005), 18.)

²⁵ Domingo Santa Cruz, “Editorial: El fanatismo político y los conciertos,” *Revista Musical Chilena* (May-June 1947), 3-5.

German, English, or Spanish, “does not have any more significance for the listeners of the concert than the artistic value that the pieces represent.” Santa Cruz continued to argue that, in any case, listeners “could only establish approximations of acts of religious or philosophical ideas” evoked by a particular piece of music.²⁶

The debates over Russian music demonstrate how certain music acquired social and political significance in accordance with the charged environment of the early Cold War era. For conservatives, the sounds they associated with Russia intertwined with their conception of the Soviet Union, Communism, and a process of “sovietization” that potentially threatened their notion of *chilenidad*. In this tense global situation, Chileans created, listened to, and developed strong attachments to sounds that for them reflected their experiences and perspectives; music served as a fundamental factor in shaping the way that individuals experienced and perceived the changing world around them.

By the 1950s, the images and traditions of the *huaso* that had gradually become a part of conservative life and identity between the late 1920s and the 1940s had entrenched themselves deeply in the Chilean cultural landscape and in Chileans’ own notions of identity. As Tomás Lago noted in 1953, foreigners who visited Chile, both in the 1950s and in previous decades, often felt surprised that the *huaso* way of life existed with such vitality: “while many other national prototypes have lost their physiognomy or have become gradually denaturalized...the *huaso* remains a reality.”²⁷ Additionally,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Tomás Lago, *El huaso* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999), 135.

Lagos observed among Chileans of various socio-economic backgrounds a shared sense of interest and pride towards the *huaso* identity:

...the huaso is popular in Chile, in all the social classes, and represents the pride and the qualities of the race. The reality impresses that there are rich huasos and poor huasos...but the people, with a sure instinct that is their own, admire their characteristic forms of life.²⁸

Other Chilean scholars echoed Lagos' observations, including Rene León Echaiz, who published *Interpretación histórica del huaso chileno* in 1954. In this study of the *huaso* and the *huaso*'s place in contemporary Chilean society, León Echaiz noted, "with his lively colored *chamanto*...the brilliant metallic spurs...and his monogolic and hardened face, the huaso constitutes an essential element in the Chilean campo."²⁹ León Echaiz further noted that the *huaso* and his culture had effectively spread to various extents from its origins in the Central Valley throughout Chile:

The huaso, undoubtedly, can be found today in almost all of the rural sectors of the country. He is abundant in certain places and more rare in others; but, in general, his stamp covers the agricultural territories...today all the country labor is dominated by him...There are those who talk and work like huasos, without being one themselves; and those who dress like huasos; and those who acquire many of the defects or the qualities of the huaso. His influence has diffused upwards and downwards, imprinting his character on the life in the campo. But...the huaso's own region, that in

²⁸ Ibid, 136.

²⁹ Rene León Echaiz, Rene, *Interpretación histórica del huaso chileno*, 3rd Edition (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971), 3. "Mongolic" is a translation of the word "mongólico", which is an antiquated term that was often used to describe the features of a person with down syndrome.

which he formed and in which he has existed and exists with his typical characteristics, is the *zona central*.³⁰

According to León Echaiz, a strong connection had developed between the *huaso* and the Central Valley *cueca*. He observed that “it is difficult to conceive of the Chilean *huaso* today without the *cueca*”, and that although “there is the “*cueca chora*” of Valparaíso, the *cueca minera* in the North, and the *cueca chilota*, there is no *cueca* more authentic than that of the *huasos* of the *zona central*. And even though the city-dweller, or the *roto*, or the laborer, or the peasant dance it, it is the *cueca* of the *huaso* from which they take their inspiration.”³¹ As Lago’s and León Echaiz’s descriptions of the *huaso* and his place in Chilean society during the 1950s make clear, the Chileanization efforts, both official and unofficial, of the previous decades had achieved significant success in spreading a more homogenous, Central Valley based conception of national identity and *chilenidad* across the country. The effective result of this process had been the ascension of the *huaso* and Central Valley traditions to an essential place in Chilean identity.

As it had been during the 1930s, *huaso*-based music was both a product and a cause of this process, and this music continued to grow in popularity through the 1940s and into the 1950s. Increasingly referred to as *folklore* or *música típica*, the style of music became deeply entrenched in the hearts and minds of many Chileans as the fundamental and authentic representation of *chilenidad* and national identity. Regardless of their political leanings, those who had grown up with this music and developed

³⁰ Ibid., 50.

³¹ Ibid., 112.

perceptions of it and associations with it during the 1930s and 1940s, generally felt that the style represented and evoked fond, nostalgic memories of family, holidays and celebrations, pastoral settings, and a “simpler time”. As one Socialist Party activist born in the 1920s stated, it “was very good music, and it reminded me of the campo and of my family...it was very Chilean because it included the city and the provinces—people everywhere could relate to it.”³² Additionally, for the many Chileans who maintained nationalist sentiments as the Soviet Union and the United States attempted to expand their spheres of influence after 1945, such “Chilean” music represented a sense of domestically-rooted pride and identity in the face of both “sovietization” and “yankee imperialism”.

Música Típica and the Huaso

While Los Cuatro Huasos remained arguably the most well-recognized and high-regarded of the creole, *huaso* style musicians into the 1950s, between the 1940s and the early 1960s, various other groups, including Los Huasos de Algarrobal, Los Huasos Cochalgüinos, Los Cuatro Hermanos Silva, Ester Soré, Nicanor Molinare, Silvia Infantas, El Dúo Rey-Silva, Luis Bahamonde, Raúl de Ramón, Sergio Sauvalle, Clara Solavera, and Francisco Flores del Campo, emerged and further established *música típica*. Among the most prominent of these groups, however, were Los Provincianos, who began performing in 1938 and spent nearly thirty years disseminating their music live, over the

³² Michele O., personal interview, 4 May 2009.

radio, and through recordings, and Los Huasos Quincheros, who formed in 1937 at the Universidad Católica and eventually became the foremost musicians of this style of music. By replacing retiring musicians with new ones, Los Huasos Quincheros has to date existed uninterrupted for over seventy years, selling more than one million albums, winning the prestigious *Viña del Mar Music Festival* three times, and touring throughout Chile and in over seventy foreign countries. Additionally, Los Huasos Quincheros performed for every Chilean president who served more than several months in office from Popular Front President Pedro Aguirre Cerda onwards.³³ Although variations existed among *música típica* musicians and their songs, five distinctive characteristics united much of this “fundamentally Chilean” genre: the centrality of the *huaso* and Central Valley imagery; strong expressions of nationalism and national unity; a nostalgic depiction of pastoral settings, the *huaso* lifestyle, and love; Christian-based values and perspectives; the preservation of traditional practices and ways of life. These distinctive characteristics reflected and imparted a social and cultural ideal to the public, an ideal not so unlike that professed by Hollywood cowboy Gene Autry in his own romanticized commandments for the North American cowboy: cowboys should never take unfair advantage; keep their word; tell the truth; be gentle with children, the elderly, and animals; be tolerant; help those in distress; work hard; respect women, their parents, and the law; not smoke; and be patriotic.³⁴

³³ Los Huasos Quincheros, “History,” <www.quincheros.cl>.

³⁴ Richard Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas*, 195.

In name, dress, and sound, *música típica* artists proclaimed their identity as being of *huaso* and Central Valley traditions. Male musicians dressed either in carefully manicured *huaso* clothing, which often including decorated “cowboy-style” bolero jackets or crisply colored ponchos, wide-brimmed hats, sashes, chaps, and polished, ornate boots and spurs; females dressed predominantly in *huasa*-style calf-length dresses, often decorated with brightly colored patterns. Similar to Hollywood cowboys such as Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, the aesthetics of these singing *huasos*, while rooted in rural traditions, reflected the romanticized image of a *huaso* in fine silks, trimmed in silver or gold braid, and with huge silver spurs, as much or more than they reflected a more quotidian aesthetic based on the functional riding clothes of a working *huaso*.³⁵ Their music, as previously explained, also drew predominantly upon the sound and rhythms of the Central Valley, and did so in a manner that romanticized Central Valley traditions. As Manuel Dannemann noted, these musicians “enriched [rural song]...from an artistic perspective. They were aware that they had not composed these songs, but they filled them with their character, with their stamp, because they had introduced them [to the rest of Chile].”³⁶ These performers purveyed this character musically through their stylized arrangements of *tonadas* and, to a lesser degree, *cuecas*, which in contrast to the *tonadas* and *cuecas* of the countryside, integrated virtuoso techniques on guitar and (sometimes)

³⁵ For further descriptions of *huaso* clothing and aesthetics, see: Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas*, 30.

³⁶ Manuel Dannemann, personal interview with Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, 9 July 2007. (cit. Eugenio Rengifo and Catalina Rengifo, *Los Cuatro Huasos: alma de la tradición y del tiempo*, 2008.)

harp as well as complex introductions and interludes that featured parallel thirds and arpeggios.³⁷ Additionally, their vocals emphasized cultivated voices with articulate diction, precise intonation, and complex harmonies, and they interspersed among these traits imitations of the animated shouts and campesino speechways common in the Central Valley countryside.³⁸

Reflecting the appearance of the *huaso* musicians and the refined musical properties of their songs, the texts of their music evoked in a romantic and nostalgic manner the imagery and experiences of the *huaso*. For example, the song “Mi caballo blanco” (“My White Horse”), originally popularized by Francisco Flores del Campo, celebrated the close relationship between the *huaso* and his horse:

*Es mi caballo blanco
Como un amanecer;
Siempre juntitos vamos,
Es mi amigo más fiel.
Mi caballo, mi caballo
Galopando va...*

*...Al taita Dios le pido,
Y él lo sabe muy bien,
Si me llama a su lado,
En mi blanquito iré.
Mi caballo, mi caballo
Galopando va.*

*My white horse
Is like a dawn,
We always go together,
He is my most faithful friend.*

³⁷ Juan Pablo González, “Chile,” 367-368.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

*My horse, my horse
Gallop he goes.*

*...To God I ask,
And He knows it very well,
If He calls me to His side
On my white horse I will go.
My horse, my horse
Gallop he goes.*

Similarly, Sergio Sauvalle's hit, "El corralero", which reached the number one spot in the Chilean music charts in 1965, reinforced the image of the *huaso* as honorable and compassionate, as it related the sadness a *huaso* worker felt at having to euthanize an aging corralero horse:

*...Hay que ayudarlo a que muera,
Para que no sufra más,
Siempre fuiste el más certero
Y por eso debes su mal aliviar...*

*...Me acerqué muy lentamente
Y se lo quise explicar,
Pero al verlo resignado,
Me tembló la mano y me puse a llorar...*

*...He must be helped to die
So that he will not suffer more.
You were always the most dependable
And so you should relieve him...*

*...I approached very slowly
And I wanted to explain to him,
But to see him resigned so,
My hand trembled and I cried.³⁹*

³⁹ A reproduction of "El corralero" can be heard at:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBoorcAdZx0>

Música típica also often presented a romantic vision of nature and the *huaso*'s ties to it. For instance, Luis Bahamonde's 1968 composition, "Que bonita es mi tierra" ("How Beautiful My Land Is"), developed the image of the *huaso* by connecting him to the rural, Central Valley landscape: "I long to be wind/ Running across the mountains and plains/ Of this beloved land." The song continued by reiterating the *huaso*'s love for the land, but also expressed the land's love for all Chileans: "I am your humble adorer/ I long, oh, my beloved land/ To be the messenger of your love." In this manner, "Que bonita es mi tierra" not only connected the *huaso* to the land, but also the land to all Chileans, through the singer's desire to spread the land's love to everyone. The rural inhabitant, therefore, was not the only Chilean with a connection to the land and to the *huaso* identity; rather, through the connection between the land and all Chileans, all Chileans were *huasos*.

Música típica artists demonstrated through both their image and their music a belief that they, like all true Chileans and regardless of their rural or urban upbringing, maintained a deep and authentic *huaso* identity. When an interviewer once asked university educated musician Raúl Ramón if he "felt like a huaso", Ramón replied "I am one."

"There isn't a contradiction between the university culture and the *huaso* culture?" the interviewer inquired.

"No," asserted Ramón. "To be a *huaso* is an internal position. For me, it cannot be renounced."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Raúl de Ramón, *Arreo en el viento* (Santiago: Ediciones La Capilla, 1983), ix.

Ramón's response illustrated the centrality of the *huaso* identity to *música típica* artists, and it proclaimed the belief attached to *música típica* that all Chileans shared a common *huaso* identity, regardless of their class, location, or background. *Música típica* musicians emphasized depictions of the *huaso* as a romantic and honorable character, as well as a national prototype to which all Chileans might share an affinity.

While the inclusion of *huaso* images, practices, and traditions characterized the majority of *música típica* and represented a sense of cultural pride in the *huaso* identity, many *música típica* songs also represented an additional nationalism. This nationalism was steeped in patriotism and created an identity to stand beside the “national” music of such nations as Mexico and Argentina. As groups such as Los Cuatro Huasos, Los Provincianos, and Los Huasos Quincheros made their mark on foreign stages, the sound of this artistically embellished, rural-based music evoked the Chilean nation's symbols and became a source of national pride. For example, the song “Chile lindo”, composed by Clara Solovera and most famously performed by Los Huasos Quincheros, is an upbeat *tonada* characterized by a clear articulation of lyrics and melody and vocal harmony backed by guitars:

*Ayúdeme usted compadre
Para gritar un “Viva Chile!”
La tierra de los zorzales
Y de los rojos copihues!⁴¹
Con su cordillera blanca,
Pucha que es linda mi tierra!
No hay otra que se la iguale,..*

⁴¹ The “copihue” is Chile's national flower.

*Chile, Chile mío,
 Como te querré
 Que si por vos me pidieran
 La vida te la daré.
 Chile, Chile lindo,
 Lindo como un sol,
 Aquí mismo te dejo,
 Hecho un copihue mi corazón.*

*Help me, compadre,
 To shout a “Viva Chile!”
 The land of the thrushes
 And the red copihues!
 With its white mountains,
 Oh my, my land is beautiful!
 There is not another that is its equal...*

*Chile, my Chile,
 How I will love you,
 Such that if they are to ask me,
 I will give you my life!
 Chile, beautiful Chile,
 Beautiful as a sun
 Right here I leave you,
 My heart made of a copihue!”⁴²*

In addition to joyfully describing Chile’s beauty, celebrating its national symbols, and proclaiming a willingness to sacrifice one’s life for Chile’s benefit, the lyrics also accentuated a sense of Chilean solidarity through lines such as “Help me, compadre/ to shout a ‘Viva Chile.’” While the lyrics extol the singer’s intense nationalism, they also emphasize a sense of generic, national unity among Chileans; *música típica* in general remained almost completely devoid of any lyrics that might be considered divisive,

⁴² A recording of “Chile lindo” by Los Huasos Quincheros can be heard at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aj3FIoqLHjM>

critical, or politically partisan in any way. As Benjamín Mackenna, leader of Los Huasos Quincheros, asserted, “Our music was about a love for our country...and about being Chilean: the rodeo, the customs, the people, and Chilean feelings. We sang about the daily life of the people in the campo and the great moments and figures in our country’s history, like the Conquest, O’Higgins, Pratt, and Esmeralda—things that make all of us feel Chilean.”⁴³

Mackenna’s comments also alluded to a third common characteristic of *música típica*: nostalgia. On the most basic level, the fact that the *música típica* was a style of music that utilized rural musical traditions embodied and communicated a sense of nostalgia for the rural past. Further reinforcing this notion, *música típica* lyrics placed a strong emphasis on themes of love, pastoral life, and a “happy *huaso*”. Descriptions of romance, ranging from the joyous sensations of love to odes celebrating the beauty of a woman, frequented the lyrics of *música típica* and referenced almost exclusively the country *huasa* or *china*. For example, Luis Bahamonde’s *tonada* “Ende que te vi” expressed the emotions of a *huaso* who has fallen in love with a local *huasa*:

*Un día de mañanita,
Sali a recorrer la hacienda
Y me topé con mi prienda,
Que se encontraba solita.
Le dije al punto: m’hijita,
No sabe cuánto la quiero,
Yo soy un huaso sincero,
Que su amor le solicita
Y espero que usted permita,*

⁴³ Benjamín Mackenna, personal interview, 12 May 2009.

Que sea su amor primero.

*Early one morning
I went out to wander the hacienda,
And I bumped into my love
Finding her alone
I told her at once: my darling,
You don't know how much I love you!
I am a sincere huaso
Who asks for your love
And I hope that you
Let me be your first love.⁴⁴*

Beyond these nostalgic impressions of love, *música típica* idealized a life close to nature, to a *huaso*'s horse, and to a small bird, such as in Nicanor Molinare's "Chiu chiu". This music did not, however, mention landowners or labor demands.

*Canta, canta pajarito,
Canta, canta tu canción,
Mira que la vida es triste
Y tu cantar me alegra el corazón.*

*...Con tu gorjeo
Con tu trinar,
Despierta el alba,
La noche ya se va.*

*Avecita de los campos
Pájaro madrugador,
Ven y cántale a mi niña
Despiértala...*

*Sing, sing little bird
Sing, sing your song
Life is sad*

⁴⁴ Los Cuatro Hermanos Silva's recording of "Ende que te vi" can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gdEiJx69AOc>

And your song makes my heart happy.

*...With your chirp
With your trill,
Wake the dawn
The night is already gone.*

*Little bird of the countryside
Bird of the dawn,
Come and sing to my love
Wake her up...*

In combination, such depictions of rural Chile culminated in the image of a “happy *huaso*”, whose tragedies were a lost love or a lost horse. The *huaso* was well-groomed, well-mannered, and well-dressed. He worked hard and behaved “honorably”, as exemplified by the final stanza of “Ende que te vi”:

*No tengo mucho dinero
Para empezar el ranchito,
Pero le juro y repito,
Que soy un huaso sincero.
Ensillo mi pingo overo
Y salgo a buscar mi fortuna...*

*I do not have much money
To start a small ranch,
But I promise and I repeat,
That I am a sincere huaso.
I saddle my sturdy horse
And I will go to seek my fortune...*

The *huaso* did not complain about difficulties he might face in life; rather, he faced them with a demonstration of inner strength, perseverance, and independence. A smaller

number of *música típica* songs, such as Guillermo Bascuñan's "El solitario" ("The Solitary One"), did articulate some degree of sadness and life struggles:

*Si tuve otro nombre antes
Lo borró el tiempo,
Me llaman el solitario
Porque así voy,
Por los caminos que el viento
Traza en la noche,
Por cerros, valles y cumbres
Por ahí yo voy.*

*Mi caballo tiene alas
Cuando lo apuro.
Mi poncho es bandera altiva de libertad.
Mi corvo se muestra fiero con los extraños,
La muerte por los caminos
Me ha de encontrar.*

*If I had another name before,
Time erased it.
They call me "the solitary one"
Because that's how I am,
Over the roads that the wind
Outlines in the night;
Over hills, valleys and peaks
I go.*

*My horse has wings
When I hurry him.
My poncho is the haughty flag of liberty,
My knife shows my fierceness with strangers,
Death has found me on the roads.*

However, despite the disparaging tone of such works, the lyrics avoided any depiction of the *huaso* as weak or as unable to persevere in the face of the struggles he encountered.

Instead, these works generated a sense of romantic pride in the strength and autonomy of

the hardworking or lonely *huaso*. He was without a class consciousness or the resentments that it could bring.

Another theme common to the *música típica* style was Christianity and traditional Christian values. While different conceptions of Christianity and Christian values existed (see Chapter Five for further discussion on this topic), those expressed in *música típica* songs generally focused on moral purity, adherence to the word of priests, and a general acceptance of the Church in one's life. For example, the song "Cura de mi pueblo" ("Priest of My Pueblo"), often performed by Los Huasos Quincheros, generated an image of the village priest as a wise and caring authority.

*...Cura de mi pueblo,
Cuando yo era un niño,
Me dabas santitos,
Me hacías cariño...*

*Cura de mi pueblo,
Amable y sencillo,
Siempre te recuerdo,
Como un buen amigo...*

*Dime mi buen cura,
Mi buen padrecito,
Tú que sabes tanto
Y tanto has oído.
Dime mi buen cura,
Mi buen padrecito,
Dime si es pecado,
Si amar es delito.*

*Priest of my village
When I was a child
You gave me blessings,
You cared for me...*

*Priest of my village,
Kind and simple,
I remember you always
As a good friend...*

*Tell me good priest,
My good father,
You who know much
You have heard much;
Tell me my good priest,
My good father,
Tell me if it is a sin,
If to love is a misdeed.⁴⁵*

“Cura de mi pueblo” depicted the “kind and simple” priest as a lifelong friend and counselor, and as wise and knowledgeable in the ways of the world, despite his “simplicity” or lack of guile. The only sin referenced in the song was that of love. Moreover, the lyrics avoided any references to the priest being an ally of the local landowners, who on any real fundo, as Arnold Bauer has demonstrated, would have maintained the priest and would have “counted on [him] to inveigh against disloyalty and immorality from the pulpit.”⁴⁶

Although full songs devoted to Christian themes and imagery were not prevalent in *música típica*, the music often utilized Christian imagery and references linked to other values of *huaso* life. For example, in Sergio Sauvalle’s composition “De mañanita,” Sauvalle sang of a *huaso* in love who projected “from the town of our church” a song that

⁴⁵ A version of “Cura de mi pueblo” by Los Huasos Quincheros can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zt0mQXoOtic>

⁴⁶ Arnold Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from Spanish Conquest to 1930*, 166.

proclaimed his feelings across the countryside. Similarly, in “Mi caballo blanco,” the lyrics asserted that God “knows very well/ if he calls me to his side/ on my white horse I will come.” However, the influence of Christianity and traditional Christian values remained most strongly embedded in *música típica* through the absence of any expression in support of socio-economic upheaval. As discussed previously, most conservatives and moderate liberals believed since the nineteenth century that Chile’s social problems would be alleviated not by transforming the country’s social, economic, and political structures, but by acts of Christian charity and by refining a working-class that the elite believed to be lazy, vulgar, and uneducated. Although *música típica* songs never overtly expressed an allegiance to a particular political faction or ideology, this philosophy towards Chile’s social problem clearly marked the general orientation of the style. *Música típica* celebrated hard work and perseverance in songs such as “Ende que te vi” and “El solitario”, while it condemned laziness in songs such as Raúl de Ramón’s “El curanto”:

*Levántate hombre flojo,
Sale a pescar
Sale a pescar
Que la mar está linda
Pa’ navegar, pa’ navegar.*

*No puedo levantarme,
Tengo mucha hambre
Y pescar con fatiga
Va a malograrme.⁴⁷*

⁴⁷ A live performance of “El curanto” by Los de Ramón can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVEmsfNxsJE>

*Get up lazy man.
Go out to fish
Go out to fish
The sea is beautiful
For sailing, for sailing.*

*I can't get up,
I am very hungry
And fishing with fatigue
Is going to be useless.⁴⁸*

Moreover, the combination of light rhythms and crisp, polished harmonies with the lyrics that celebrated hard work, perseverance, and the guidance of the Church fostered an idyllic and carefree vision of a pastoral life that offered the opportunity for happiness to all who conformed to these values.

The preservation of tradition became the underlying element that linked the various characteristics common to *música típica*. Lyrics celebrated a nostalgic view of the *huaso*, the Central Valley, life in the campo, and Christianity, and the music itself reinforced this expression by attempting to do little more than replicate pre-existing songs in a slightly embellished form. As Carlos D, a self-described supporter and sometimes performer of *música típica* noted, “groups like Los [Huasos] Quincheros played the *purest* folklore music because they didn’t try to compose their own music in a certain

⁴⁸ Commenting on this song, socialist Daniel S. recalled “When he sang that song about the lazy fishermen and [saying] ‘get up lazy man’, the people of Chiloé were *so* offended.” However, this investigation did not focus specifically on the island of Chiloé and has no evidence either to confirm or to refute the statement by Daniel S.

style, they took existing folkloric music and recapitulated it.”⁴⁹ As Chilean society transformed under the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and the onset of the Cold War, *música típica* songs themselves expressed a nostalgic longing for simplicity and stability as well as a belief that the best of Chile lay in its romanticized, Central Valley traditions. These traditions formed the basis for a distinct sense of identity and implied that a pastoral image of Chile’s own bucolic past provided the guiding light for its future.

The Growth and Diversification of Popular Music

Although *música típica* grew in popularity from the 1920s through the start of the 1960s, it never dominated the Chilean musical market to the exclusion of other styles. In fact, even *música típica* artists often continued to perform mixed repertoires that balanced *cuecas* and *tonadas* with other forms of music. Los Huasos Quincheros, for example, performed two distinctive styles of music: Chilean folk-based music and music of the *bolero* tradition. Additionally, as the popularity of *música típica* waned among younger and more progressive urban demographics in the mid 1960s, an offshoot of *música típica* developed as a more “exciting” and “modern” alternative to traditional *música típica*. Often referred to as *neo-folclore* (in relation to *folklore*, a name that many used to refer to *música típica* at this point in time), this music re-imagined the older genre to a form that more closely reflected a contemporary middle and upper class, urban lifestyle. It further stylized the sounds and images common to *música típica*, with more “chic”, refined,

⁴⁹ Carlos D., personal interview, 20 May 2009.

youthful artists trading in their *huaso* apparel for trendy, urban garb. As Joan Jara recalled, artists such as “Los Cuatro Cuartos, smooth young men in evening suits, and their female equivalents Las Cuatro Brujas, slinky women, red-taloned and bejeweled...[sang] songs with patriotic or sentimental themes, rococo arrangements [of folkloric music] and a lot of ‘boop-a-doop-a-doop.’”⁵⁰ Eduardo Carrasco, a member of the *nueva canción* group Quilapayún, similarly noted that the popular *neo-folklore* groups “all were formed by very elegant youth who took the stage with their hair combed with gel and dressed in “smoking” [jackets] with a tie.”⁵¹ Even more than their *música típica* predecessors, groups such as Los de Santiago, Los de Las Condes, Los Cuatro de Chile, and Los del Sendero emphasized a crisp, clean sound rooted in a thicker texture of layered vocal harmonies, often supported by orchestral accompaniment. Carrasco, who asserted that “in this line of creation not everything was bad, but soon the commercialization of this style was suffocating all the spirit of renovation” and “we did not like this music at all”, described *neo-folclore* music as an acoustical expression of *neo-folclore* artists’ bourgeoisie orientation and physical aesthetics:

...excessive vocals, complex harmonies and a very limited number of expressive resources that they repeated endlessly....In some verses of the song there always had to appear a solo bass, whose intention, more than musical necessity, seemed a virtuosic demonstration of the most deepest registers of the singer....This circus act was taken as irrefutable proof of the qualities of a group.⁵²

⁵⁰ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 80.

⁵¹ Eduardo Carrasco Picard, *Quilapayún: la revolución y las estrellas* (Santiago: Las Ediciones del Ornitorrinco, 1988), 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

Moreover, *neo-folclore* songs generally included extensive, a capella-style, vocal imitations of drum beats and guitar strumming, which *neo-folclore* critics such as Carrasco considered to be “so exaggerated and complicated that it gave the impression that our rural tonadas were starting to fall into the ‘bebop’ of American jazz.”⁵³

Despite the extreme stylization of *neo-folclore*, this music still resembled *música típica* in many ways, as it utilized altered versions of the same basic sounds, rhythms, and instruments present in *música típica*. *El Musiquero* noted such commonalities in 1965: “This music that the new Chilean groups now offer is the same music as always, the rhythms have not changed; on the contrary, they have grown in stature with the popular apparition of some that were almost forgotten or that constituted the almost exclusive patrimony of a few. The new musical forms are not anything but the normal movement of all art, or, renovation.”⁵⁴ Moreover, *neo-folclore* drew heavily on the central themes present in *música típica*. In addition to composing new versions of *música típica* songs—Los Cuatro Cuartos, for example, recorded versions of *música típica* classics such as “El corralero,” “Que bonita va,” and “Si vas para Chile”—*neo-folclore* musicians sang about themes of love, patriotism, and a connection to the Chilean land, as demonstrated by Los Cuatro Cuartos song “Las dos puntas” (“The Two Points”):

*Cuando para Chile me voy,
Cruzando la cordillera,*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁴ *El Musiquero*, No. 16 (May 1965), 3.

*Late el corazón contento,
Una chilena me espera.*

*...Viva la chicha y el vino!
Viva la cueca y la zamba!
Dos puntas tiene el camino,
Y en las dos alguien me aguarda.*

*When I go to Chile,
Crossing the mountains,
Heart beating happily,
A Chilean woman waits for me.*

*...Viva chicha and wine!
Viva cueca and zamba!
The road has two ends,
And at both somebody waits for me.⁵⁵*

In other cases, *neo-folclore* artists linked their expressions of patriotism more directly to the traditional pantheon of Chilean military heroes and conquests. Most notably, Los Cuatro Cuartos' 1966 RCA Victor release of "Adios al Séptimo de Línea" ("Farewell to the Seventh Regiment of the Line") celebrated the Chilean military campaign in Peru during the War of the Pacific. Based on Jorge Inostrosa's 1955 historical novel of the same name, "Adios al Séptimo de Línea" consisted of twelve tracks that put to music the story of the Seventh Regiment and Chile's battle against Peru, and the album included inserts with song lyrics, photos, and descriptions of the war. Songs such as "Los viejos estandartes" ("The Old Standards"), which would subsequently become the official hymn

⁵⁵ A recording of "Las dos puntas" by Los Cuatro Cuartos can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KV5jXCuRI0o>

of the Chilean Army, glorified the efforts of Chilean soldiers, military prowess, and the national triumph in the War of the Pacific:

*Cesó el tronar de cañones
Las trincheras están silentes
Y por los caminos del norte
Vuelven los batallones
Vuelven los escuadrones
A Chile y a sus viejos amores.*

*En sus victoriosas banderas
Traen mil recuerdos de gloria
Balas desgarraron sus sedas
Y sus estrellas muestran
Y sus estrellas muestran
Honrosas cicatrices de guerra.*

*The cannon fire stopped
The trenches are silent
And by the roads of the north
The squadrons return
The squadrons return
To Chile and to their old loves.*

*In their victorious flags
Bring a thousand memories of glories
Bullets tore their silk
And their stars show
And their stars show
Honorable scars of war.*

Christian imagery also carried over from the older *música típica* style into *neo-folclore*, as demonstrated through its occasional use in songs such as Los Cuatro Cuarto's "Amarraditos" (The coachman waits for us/ in front of the great church"). Another example of this tendency is Las Cuatro Brujas' remake of Violeta Parra's "Parabienes al

revés” (The priest said goodbye/ to the whole family/ after which the dog barked).

Although Violeta Parra, who is discussed at a later point in this chapter, should not be considered a *música típica* artist, *neo-folclore* and *música típica* artists did draw on some of her work because it also remained rooted in Chilean folkloric traditions. As Jorge Coulón, a member of the prominent *nueva canción* group Inti-Illimani, noted, *neo-folclore* had a tremendous impact on the development of the subsequent *nueva canción* movement because *neo-folclore* artists exposed the wider, Chilean public to the songs of folklorists such as Violeta Parra, albeit through stylized, commercial reinterpretations of the original recordings that Parra and other folklorists had made.⁵⁶ In this sense, while arguably less so than their *música típica* counterparts, *neo-folclore* artists maintained a strong interest in preserving and promoting Chile’s folkloric traditions. Nonetheless, even though the two forms of music shared more commonalities than differences, the content of *neo-folclore* also asserted a certain degree of autonomy. The rural Chilean landscape remained a common theme in *neo-folclore*, but *neo-folclore* artists embraced urban Chile as well. For example, in “Adiós, Santiago querido” (“Goodbye beloved Santiago”), Los Cuatro Cuartos sang:

*Adiós Santiago querido,
Adiós, Parque Forestal,
Me voy, me voy.
Cerro de Santa Lucía
También la Quinta Normal,
Me voy, me voy,
Adiós Santiago querido,*

⁵⁶ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño* (Santiago: Ediciones Logos, 1989), 21-22.

Me voy, me voy.

*Goodbye beloved Santiago,
Goodbye, Parque Forestal,
I am leaving, I am leaving.
Santa Lucía Hill
And la Quinta Normal.
I am leaving, I am leaving,
Goodbye beloved Santiago,
I am leaving, I am leaving.*⁵⁷

During the mid 1960s, *neo-folclore* achieved extensive popularity in Chile, a development that paralleled the growth of folk music in other countries, such as Peru, Argentina, and even the United States. For a time, the music was a top genre on Chilean radio, and it provided younger city dwellers with a fashionable alternative to the older *música típica* that still expressed many of the same values and customs embedded in *neo-folclore*. However, although a few of the top *neo-folclore* groups remained popular through the 1960s, many *neo-folclore* musicians struggled to define their music as innovative or distinct from *música típica* in the eyes of the Chilean populace. By the early 1970s, the attention of young Chileans had drifted away from *neo-folclore*. Los Cuatro Cuartos and Las Cuatro Brujas, two of the most popular *neo-folclore* groups, disbanded, and their leading members formed a spin-off group called Los Bric-a-Brac, which developed an expanded repertoire that incorporated more pop music. *Neo-folclore* retained a significant degree of popularity only among middle-aged Chileans of the middle and upper class, as the popularity of *neo-folclore* diminished in the face of

⁵⁷ A recording of “Adiós, Santiago querido” by Los Cuatro Cuartos can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oj6-uz-1lpQ>

increasing interest in both those folk-based styles considered to be more “authentic” than *neo-folclore* and in rock music.

Other musical styles also reached significant levels of popularity during the 1960s. Similar to earlier decades, *jazz*, *swing*, and *bolero* styles remained popular, as did Mexican *corridos* and *ranchera* style music among those who lived in rural areas and among those who had recently immigrated from rural areas to the city. “Tropical” sounds such as *cumbia* were common at dance parties and fiestas, and they would continue through the Popular Unity era to be among the most popular musical styles in these settings for Chileans of all political persuasions. However, during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, rock music emerged as the most widely disseminated music among Chile’s urban youth.

The arrival of rock in Chile began in the second half of the 1950s, as the music of Bill Haley and Elvis Presley quickly transformed Santiago’s jazz and swing clubs into early rock venues. American and European rock and roll recordings became top sellers in Chile, and the impact of rock’s popularity triggered Chile’s big band orchestras to adopt this new sound. Before long, Chilean rock and rollers began to emerge, modeling themselves in the image of their American and European counterparts and taking center stage on the domestic music scene. At the forefront of this movement was Peter Moschulski von Remenick, better known as Peter Rock; he was a blond haired fourteen year old who began performing in 1958 by “singing rock and roll (using personalized and incorrect English) and moving frantically in time with the new rhythm”, as he attempted to

mimic Elvis.⁵⁸ As Rock noted, from the moment he heard the voice of Elvis for the first time, “I felt instinctively identified with rock and I understood that I should do something to spread it.”⁵⁹

Following Peter Rock, a wave of Chilean rock and rollers emerged over the next half decade. These musicians generally performed songs in English and/or covers of American and British music as well as took on anglicized names: Juan and Carlos Carrasco became Los Carr Twins, Patricio Nuñez became Pat Henry, Javier Astudillo Zapata became Danny Chilean, Luis Misle became Luis Dimas, Reinaldo Rojas became Larry Wilson, Erwin Rasmussen became Jimmy Lane, Nadia Zajc became Nadia Milton, Alex Moschulski became Alex Alexander, and Roberto Carvajal became Bob Bryan. Only Chile’s female rock and rollers did not adopt anglicized names. With the exception of Nadia Zajc becoming Nadia Milton and Gladys Lucavecchi becoming Sussy Veccky, the biggest female stars retained their original names: Fresia Soto, Luz Eliana, Gloria Benavides, Mireya Gilbert, and Gloria Aguirre. This exception withstanding, as David Ponce has summarized Chilean rock and roll in the late 1950s and early 1960s, “At first it was imitation. An invention of the first world, in colonies like Chile rock was learned in the 1960s through the most accessible means: transplantation.”⁶⁰ However, as the popularity of rock and roll grew and as more Chilean musicians acquired experience with

⁵⁸ Omar Ramírez, “Cuando los muchachos viven su propia música,” *Rincón Juvenil*, Vol. 4, No. 39 (Sept 8, 1965), 74-81.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁰ David Ponce, *Prueba de sonido* (Santiago: Ediciones B, 2008), 67.

the style of music, Chilean rock gradually developed along side foreign rock and roll a trajectory and significance of its own.

In the early 1960s, the emphasis on anglicized names and English lyrics began to give way to a chileanization of rock music as part of a movement dubbed “la nueva ola” (“the new wave”). At its root, the movement rejected what it considered to be pale imitations of “real” rock and roll. Accordingly, while the English language music of American and British musicians remained popular, English language music by Chilean artists faded. As one disc jockey noted, the public now “preferred to listen to an authentic Paul Anka or Elvis Presley, as opposed to an imitation of middling quality. English had permitted the incorporation of many young [Chilean] performers without vocal quality to those who favored shouts and noises.”⁶¹ While some criticized the English trend in Chilean rock music for reducing the musical qualities of Chilean music, others turned against it because they believed it was tied too closely to a cosmopolitan impulse that made rock music popular with more refined segments of society that had long maintained an affection for European and North American culture—as Eduardo Grunnert argued to the members of Los Diablos Azules, who initially planned to call themselves The Blue Devils, “Here we must start utilizing Chilean names. Enough already with the curious and cosmopolitan names.”⁶² Many shared Grunnert’s perspective that although innovative European and North American rock groups

⁶¹ Nestor Bolaños, “Los Coléricos,” *El Siglo*, 5 May 1963.

⁶² Omar Ramírez, “Cuando los muchachos viven su propia música,” *Rincón Juvenil*, Vol. 4, No. 39 (8 September 1965), 74-81.

remained the key source of musical influence, the excessive imitation of foreign music by Chileans lacked an authentic sense of their experiences and identity and of “real” rock and roll in general. Accordingly, even as American and British recordings of musicians such as Elvis, Buddy Holly, Frankie Avalon, Dion, Dean Reed, and Connie Francis remained immensely popular in Chile through the early 1960s, *nueva ola* established parallel to this music a style that strongly reflected its influences, yet also asserted a Chilean character and an attempt to reclaim rock and roll from those who considered it an expression of cosmopolitanism. As the use of Spanish lyrics and the number of new Chilean (as opposed to covers of American or British songs) songs increased, so too did a related youth popular culture industry that included radio shows with Chilean disc-jockeys such as Ricardo García and rock and roll magazines such as *Ritmo de la Juventud* and *Rincón Juvenil*.

From a conservative perspective, rock and roll created something of a predicament for the Chilean establishment. Although elite sectors had more recently embraced notions of domestic-based *chilenidad* as central to their identity, European and American based cosmopolitanism had deep roots among these segments of society and remained an important part of urban middle and upper class life style. The import-based consumerism that accompanied this cosmopolitan perspective made rock music particularly compatible with middle and upper class orientations, especially among the young who, in Chile as elsewhere, were enjoying new levels of disposable income. Additionally, during an era in which the world increasingly polarized into two world

views symbolized by U.S. capitalism and Soviet communism, the adoption of North American images, practices, products, and traditions served as a representation of one's opposition to the Soviet Union and Castro's take-over of Cuba, just as the performance of music from Russia, according to many conservatives, expressed an inherent support for Communism and "sovietization".⁶³ For example, a popular shopping gallery in upper middle class Providencia was called the "Drugstore", despite having nothing to do with pharmaceuticals. Many conservative, nonetheless, remained uneasy about rock music.

While those on the far left generally condemned rock as consumerist or as imperialistic during its early years, many on the political center and right expressed concern over the moral issues and threats to Christian-based values that the music posed. From the late 1950s, Chileans had taken note of the chaos caused in other countries by rock music and films such as *Blackboard Jungle*; they often expressed concern over singers such as Elvis who "sang rock rhythms and moved in a manner that moralists and psychologists have defined as 'suggestive'."⁶⁴ Additionally, for many Chileans, particularly those middle age and older Chileans who had acquired a taste for and connection to Chilean sounds such as *música típica* over previous decades, rock music and musicians represented competition for that music and what it represented: "...with his tight pants and a brightly colored shirt, plus a guitar, he transformed into the antithesis

⁶³ Pablo T, personal interview, 3 June 2009

⁶⁴ "El delirio de rock and roll," *En Viaje*, No. 282 (April 1957), 1.

of the traditional singer that appeared previously before the microphones.”⁶⁵ The more extreme expressions of this opinion further argued that both rock music from abroad or rock music created by Chilean artists were equally un-Chilean: “Chile already has artists and it has its own music that does not need foreign ideas nor the support of commercial interests in order to sound real. Hopefully the youth will understand this and support that which is really ours, ... continuing to protect the foreign is absurd and without logic.”⁶⁶

The connection between rock music and cultural cosmopolitanism fueled the sharp rise of rock and roll in the 1950s and early 1960s in conjunction with the expansion of Chile’s consumer culture; however, this impetus fails to explain why, for example, many young, left-leaning Chileans who condemned American and European imperialism listened to and cited as influences in music they created the work of artists such as The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Doors, and Bob Dylan, among others. In addition to their general popularity among Chilean youth, The Beatles in particular gained immense popularity among young, left-leaning urbanites in Chile during the 1960s.⁶⁷ The musical magazine *El Musiquero* suggested that the popularity of rock among diverse segments of

⁶⁵ Omar Ramírez, “Cuando los muchachos viven su propia música,” *Rincón Juvenil*, Vol. 4, No. 39 (8 September 1965), 74-81.

⁶⁶ “Hablemos de...,” *El Musiquero* (June 1965), 2.

⁶⁷ This trend existed even in communist states such as the Soviet Union (see *The Red Elvis* by Stefan Ernsting for an account of the concern that the head of Komsomol, the Soviet youth organization, felt about the popularity of The Beatles in his country and the need to develop Communist rock stars to supplant them). In Chile, artists ranging from the staunchly leftist Víctor Jara to the more loosely left-wing affiliated *Congreso* and *Los Blops* cited The Beatles as influential in their musical development. The relationship between the Chilean left and rock music is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this work.

society was the product of “a simple cause; all that is new attracts many people.”⁶⁸

Indeed, the late 1950s and early 1960s in Chile were, as they were in much of the world, years in which life changed at a rapid pace, from politics to labor to communication technology. New practices, items, experiences, and modes of thought entered the lives of Chileans, and Chileans correspondingly often acquired a taste for new sounds as well. However, the underlying element of rock and roll that enabled it to acquire popularity among diverse bodies of Chileans was that it both fit and contradicted the social and political perspectives held by various individuals, and therefore had no pre-ordained meaning and was not necessarily identified with any specific social or political class. While rock and roll clearly acquired its strongest popularity among Chilean youth, youthful members of society formulated their own associations between particular rock sounds and their individual experiences and identity as young Chileans. For example, Adolfo M, a middle class male who as a teenager listened to rock and roll in the early 1960s, recalled that he and his friends enjoyed this style of music because it was “fun”, and they never conceived of the music as fundamentally “foreign”:

It was happy music, and people would dance and dance until they fell down. It was just like the rock and roll in the United States, but it came to Chile. However, I wouldn't say it was foreign: I always thought it was “Chilean” music. The beauty and emotion it had for a person was based on experiences that person had here in Chile. Whenever you heard a new rock song, you would form a connection with the place you heard it, it didn't matter what style it was or where that song was created. For me, that made rock music Chilean because it was attached to Chilean feelings and memories. If I heard a song on the beach in Valparaíso, I would then

⁶⁸ “Hablemos de...,” *El Musiquero* (June 1965), 2.

carry that memory with me and associate that song with Valparaíso and Chile. The most important thing was the place you heard a music, not so much what it sounded like or where it was created.⁶⁹

As the preceding testimonial demonstrates, the significance that a song or style held for an individual stemmed not just from the origins of that song or style, but from the experiences that individuals connected to the sounds. This reality, combined with the enigmatic character of rock and roll as North American, but also a new and rebellious music and the relatively tempered social and political climate in Chile during the late 1950s and early 1960s, allowed rock and roll to attain tremendous popularity among Chilean youth from various social and political backgrounds. This popularity extended from the upper class down to the lower working class, although as multiple testimonials from the period noted, rock music remained most popular among and most associated with the middle and upper-middle class. For some, rock and roll signified cosmopolitanism, for some it signified revolution, for some it signified “fun”, and for some it signified something entirely different. While this reality prevented both politically partisan and older Chileans from developing either a particular love or a particular hate for the music during rock and roll’s early years, in the second half of the 1960s, as Chile’s social and political climate shifted and political divisions became more defined with the growing impact of the Cold War, so too did perspectives on rock music and culture.

⁶⁹ Adolfo M., personal interview, 25 April 2009.

Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra

Through the late 1950s, a combination of *música típica*, *bolero*, *rock and roll*, and various “foreign” styles dominated the Chilean popular music scene. However, in the early and mid-1960s, the popularity of a second strain of Chilean folkloric music grew rapidly. As previously noted, a segment of the Chilean *intelligencia* had rejected the stylized *cuecas* and *tonadas* of *música típica* since the early part of the twentieth century, arguing that this music was a corruption of “pure” or “authentic” Chilean folklore and that, as folklorist Antonio Acevedo Hernandez contended, “if the University of Chile had not dedicated itself seriously to this [authentic folklore] music, it would have been falsified—in large part by the singers on the radio—and to the scorn of Chileans for what is theirs.”⁷⁰ This sentiment helped to strengthen a folkloric movement that built upon the efforts of earlier folklorists such as Lavín and Isamitt to collect, disseminate, and popularize a wider variety of folk traditions through “purer” reproductions of rural music. The notion of an alternative, “purer” form of folklore became more implicitly and explicitly linked to the progressive sectors of society during this era. In 1952, for example, Diego Muñoz gathered poets and musicians who supported this conception of Chilean identity at the *Primer Congreso de Poetas y Cantores Populares de Chile* (First Congress of Popular Poets and Singers of Chile) in Santiago to define the role of the popular poet and his poetry: to sing of the ideas, struggles and achievements of the people and participate culturally in their daily life, working closely with worker and community

⁷⁰ Antonio Acevedo Hernandez, “Margot Loyola y la canción chilena,” *Atenea*, No. 312 (June 1951), 467.

organizations in the struggle for democracy and progress.⁷¹ The *Congreso* helped to inspire the work of folklorists such as Héctor Pavez, Gabriela Pizarro, and Richard Rojas, along with the folkloric troupes these individuals established through the end of the 1950s and into the 1960s; however, the work of two folklorists in particular came to define the blossoming of this folklorist movement in the 1960s: Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra.

Born in the town of Linares in 1918, Margot Loyola grew up surrounded by *tonadas* and other songs that her mother and women in the community sang. From an early age, she studied the piano, playing classical, popular, and traditional music in her home. In the late 1930s, she and her sister Estela moved to Santiago, where Margot Loyola studied music at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música*. The two sisters also began to perform the folk music they had encountered growing up in Linares, and their music soon established itself on Santiago radio, on the rodeo circuit, and on recordings. By 1950, Las Hermanas Loyola had produced thirty-two records.⁷²

Margot Loyola's popularity stemmed from her unique characteristics. More than *música típica* artists, Loyola placed a strong emphasis on recreating as closely as possible the sounds she encountered in rural Chile. As she explained, "I felt that the land was calling me, that I had to identify myself with my country through traditional music, with

⁷¹ Jan Fairley, *La nueva canción latinoamericana*, 110. Muñoz also wrote an essay on the proceedings of the Congreso.

⁷² Diane Cornell, *The Performance of Gender: Five Comparative Biographies of Women Performers in Música Popular Chilena*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois, Urbana, 2001), 67.

the music with which I was born in the countryside.”⁷³ Following this sentiment, Loyola intensified her folkloric research, traveling the Chilean countryside from north to south in order to study and collect a diverse array of folkloric music. She first studied the music of the festivals of the Virgin de la Tirana in the Norte Grande, later moving to the south to study Mapuche culture and then to Easter Island. Describing Loyola’s studies and production, Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso explained, “she lives and works together with the indigenous people of southern Chile, she learns part of their language and translates the ceremonial songs with great authenticity, recording them also on records.”⁷⁴ Out of this productive process, Loyola created music that those such as folklorist Antonio Acevedo Hernandez viewed as fundamentally different from the *música típica* style that they criticized: “her [Loyola’s] labor, her passion, her dream would help her become among the purest purveyors of the national soul...” through a sound that was of “pure primitiveness, like the fleeting crystal of the creeks, the song of the birds, the symphony of the leaves...”⁷⁵

Margot Loyola’s extensive experience in rural and indigenous communities combined with her formal academic training and social status allowed her to make a tremendous impact on Chilean music. She held positions as a professor of music and dance at several of Chile’s preeminent universities, including the Universidad de Chile, the Pontificia Universidad Católica in Santiago, and the Universidad Católica in

⁷³ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁴ Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilena: continuidad y reflejo* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1988), 45.

⁷⁵ Antonio Acevedo Hernandez, “Margot Loyola y la canción chilena,” 468.

Valparaíso. She also published numerous books and recordings on Chilean folklore and dance, which played a fundamental role in bringing the sounds she encountered in her research to the attention of the radio and music industries. As a member of the Chilean academic community and the urban middle class, Margot Loyola maintained a social position that helped to legitimize her work in the eyes of many members of the educated, urban middle class. As Diane Cornell has noted, the urban audiences for Loyola's "carefully crafted representation of 'national culture' as she has found it in the field" were "mostly middle-class and well-educated".⁷⁶ To this audience in particular, Loyola purveyed an expanded vision of Chilean traditions that included musical practices from the far north, the far south, and the Pacific islands, thereby reformulating the predominant notion of *chilenidad*. Not only did her work emphasize the creation and preservation of rural Chilean sounds only in the "purist" form possible, but it also rejected the notion that Central Valley *huaso* traditions alone defined Chilean identity. In this sense, Margot Loyola, as one of the first musical folklorists to provide mainstream legitimacy to a more diverse array of rural sounds with limited alterations, marked a significant turning point in the development of Chilean music.

Margot Loyola contributed not only to an expanded notion of *chilenidad* through her own music, but her influence as an educator contributed to the formation of two of Chile's most prominent folkloric troupes in the early 1960s: Millaray, which was directed by folklorist and former Margot Loyola student Gabriela Pizarro, and Cuncumén, out of

⁷⁶ Diane Cornell, *The Performance of Gender: Five Comparative Biographies of Women Performers in Música Popular Chilena*, 42.

which *nueva canción* artists Victor Jara, Rolando Alarcón, and Silvana Urbina emerged.⁷⁷ In helping to develop such groups, Loyola fostered an increased interest in what she and other folklorists perceived as more “authentic” traditions among a new demographic: young individuals who were neither of rural or working class origins, nor professional singers looking to make a living by performing on the rodeo circuit, in bars, or on the radio. As Alejandro Reyes, a co-founder of Cuncumén explained, “We were part of a massive [folkloric] movement of people who used to go out into the country surrounding Santiago on weekends or on holidays to look for and collect typical shapes and forms—not only in dance and music, it could be a clay pot or a lamp from colonial times, or maybe a saying, a turn of phrase, a manner of speaking or a way of life.”⁷⁸

Along with Margot Loyola, Violeta Parra also greatly influenced the spread of this conception of folkloric music. Born in 1917 in a small town near Chillán in central-southern Chile, Violeta Parra grew up in humble, rural surroundings. Unlike Loyola, Parra lacked formal musical training and learned to sing and play the guitar by observing her mother and other relatives. By the early 1930s, Parra had moved to Santiago and started performing with her sister Hilda. The Dúo de las Hermanas Parra attained success performing the stylized creole music popular during that era, including *boleros*, *tangos*, *valses*, and *tonadas*. However, Violeta Parra developed a strong interest in returning to the sounds of her childhood, including *canto a lo humano* and *canto a lo divino*, and she

⁷⁷ “Millaray” is Mapuche for “flower of gold,” and “Cuncumén” is Mapuche for “murmur of water,” (cit. Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilena: continuidad y reflejo*, 46.)

⁷⁸ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 46.

eventually turned her attention to exploring the non-commercial folkloric sounds of rural Chile.⁷⁹ In 1953, Raúl Aicardi and Ricardo García put Violeta Parra on the radio to broadcast the music of rural singers she encountered on her research expeditions. Over the ensuing years, Parra continued to study folkloric traditions and expand her repertoire of folk-based music in much the same manner as Margot Loyola: she traveled the country, living with rural and indigenous populations, learning their dialects, studying their music and culture, and recording and reinterpreting their songs. By the late 1950s, Parra had taken a lead role in the publication of the type of folkloric material that she studied, recording the initial albums of Odeon's *El Folklore de Chile* series (which would also incorporate the work of Margot Loyola, Cuncumén, and Millaray on subsequent albums).

Parra and Loyola shared similar perspectives on folkloric traditions and Chilean identity. First, both believed in the importance of preserving and reestablishing rural traditions in a “purer” form than *música típica*. Discussing folkloric music in Chile

⁷⁹ *Canto a lo humano* (“to the human”) and *canto a lo divino* (“to the divine”) were traditions of rural, popular song in central and southern-central Chile, and both had direct roots stretching back to colonial era Spanish poetry and music. Composed as *décimas* (ten line strophes generally written in an *abbaaccddc* rhyme scheme), *canto a lo humano* and *canto a lo divino* distinguished between the world of man and the world of the divine; *canto a lo humano* focused on human experiences and history, while *canto a lo divino* focused on religious experiences and religious history by expressing the practices and beliefs of rural, popular religion. These forms of song were common in rural central and southern-central Chile at popular secular and religious celebrations, respectively. Parra later became well-known for her own *décimas*, and many of the *décimas* that she composed are compiled in: Parra, Violeta. *Décimas: autobiografía en versos*. Barcelona: Pomaire, 1976.

during the 1950s, Parra expressed her strong preference for Loyola's "true" folkloric music over of *música típica* artists:

The only true interpreter [of folkloric music] is Margot Loyola. It gives me great pain to see so many elements of quality, like el Dúo Rey-Silva, el Dúo Bascañán-Del Campo, Margarita Alarcón and others, that do not have a clear orientation as to what folklore is! It is a crime that quality interpreters are singing—and recording—mambo, etc.⁸⁰

At the same time, however, Parra also believed that true folklore required a certain rawness that emanated from the peasant musician who lacked formal musical training, and classically trained musicians could not reproduce it. As Loyola recalled:

She [Violeta Parra] never liked what I was doing. When I sang things of the salon, she would say to me, 'You are always singing the same huevás?' She did not like the salon. She thought that a folklorist who had a studied voice was lost as a folklorist.⁸¹

Second, both women also believed that the sounds of Chile's outlying regions must be incorporated into the concept of *chilenidad*. Similar to Loyola, Parra clearly expressed this sentiment through the strong focus in her research and compositions on musical practices from the outlying regions of Chile. Moreover, as she stated explicitly "my dream would be to traverse the entire country, immersing myself in its music in order to

⁸⁰ Marina de Navasal, "Conozca a Violeta Parra," *Ecran*, No. 1220 (8 June 1954), 18, 20.

⁸¹ Agustín Ruiz Zamora, "Margot Loyola y Violeta Parra: Convergencias y divergencias en el paradigma interpretativo de la Nueva Canción chilena," *Cátedra de Artes*, No. 3 (2006), 48.

know it, and then to bring it to others to know it as well.”⁸² Nonetheless, despite these fundamental commonalities between Parra and Loyola, the lives and work of the two musicians fell along two drastically different paths.

Although Loyola and Parra both played primary roles in shaping the trajectory of Chilean music through the 1960s, many scholars and musicians subsequently credited Parra as being the primary influence in the development of *nueva canción* as a new musical style in the second half of that decade.⁸³ While Parra had a clear and strong impact on many of the early *nueva canción* musicians, she also remained a fringe member of society until her death in 1967. Even after her music, poetry, and art attained popularity among certain segments of the Chilean population, she lacked the formal training, social status, and refined bourgeois identity that endeared Margot Loyola to elements of the middle and upper middle-classes. As Loyola explained, “Violeta represented one type of campesina woman, not all the types that you find in rural Chile. One type, that of the woman crushed by fifty years of the latifundio, and in the campo there are many.”⁸⁴ Parra spent the final years of her life living in a tent that she set up on the outskirts of the La Reina sector of Santiago, and as her daughter Isabel has stated, “her decision to live in the tent was an absolute rejection of the conventional. A

⁸² Marina de Navasal, “Conozca a Violeta Parra,” 18, 20.

⁸³ The label “nueva canción” caught on after disc jockey Ricardo García began to use it in the late 1960s. Similar labels, such as *nueva trova* (Cuba) and *nuevo cancionero* (Argentina) to musicians in other countries of Latin America who also drew heavily on folk traditions to create a new, socially progressive form of national music.

⁸⁴ Agustín Ruiz Zamora, “Margot Loyola y Violeta Parra: Convergencias y divergencias en el paradigma interpretativo de la Nueva Canción chilena,” 57-58.

reversion to the land. She did not want to know anything of ‘carpets or houses with shiny floors’.”⁸⁵ Joan Jara described Parra in a similar vein:

A completely unconventional woman with no regard for appearances, Violeta dressed as simply as a peasant, and at a time when other women of her class wore bouffant hairstyles or perms, she left her hair long and almost uncombed, rather as nature left it... She lived with the peasants or performed in the poor, ramshackle circuses that toured around during the summer months. She sang in the peasant tradition, almost monotonously, without artifice, but her guitar and her voice seemed to grow out of the earth.⁸⁶

Parra’s appearance and behavior shocked many members of the middle and upper-class, who were taken aback by her lack of conformity to their conception of social norms and gendered aesthetics. As Marcela L., a middle-class woman from Santiago, recalled, “Violeta had the most beautiful voice I had ever heard. But, one time, I saw her perform in the park and she was so ugly—I couldn’t believe that this woman would look like that.”⁸⁷ Accordingly, Parra remained an outcast among much of the middle and upper-classes, limiting their acceptance of her work as well. This ostracization of Parra and her music existed not only among conservative sectors of society, but also among

⁸⁵ Isabel Parra, *El libro mayor de Violeta Parra* (Madrid: Ediciones Michay, 1985), 142. Note: In his article “Margot Loyola y Violeta Parra: Convergencias y divergencias en el paradigma interpretativo de la Nueva Canción chilena” (2006), Agustín Ruiz Zamora argues against this characterization of Violeta Parra as the primary influence on *nueva canción*. Ruiz Zamora contends that while Parra played a primary role in influencing the social content of *nueva canción* music, Margot Loyola played a primary role in influencing the performance style and aesthetics of *nueva canción*. This dissertation references Ruiz Zamora’s argument at the close of this section.

⁸⁶ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 45.

⁸⁷ Marcela L., personal interview, 25 April 2009.

more progressive cultural institutions and left-leaning demographics that rejected a woman who was unconventional, reclusive, resistant to urban conventions and lifestyle, and fiercely independent of institutional politics. As Víctor Jara noted after Parra's death:

None of us could say, while Violeta lived, that she was an artist of the people. We even criticized her. But time and the people will recognize her. She lived the best years of her life among them—the peasants, miners, fishermen, craftsmen, the indigenous people of the Andes in the north, the islanders of Chiloé in the south. She lived with them, shared their lives, their skin, their flesh and blood. Only in that way could Violeta have created songs like ‘Qué dirá el Santo Padre?’ or ‘Al centro de la injusticia’ and others, which will remain in the history of our country as the birth of a new type of song.⁸⁸

Jara's statement attests to the perception among even the Chilean left that while Parra's music possessed a unique genuineness and an unrefined representation of “the people”, neither the musician nor her music were acceptable in mainstream, urban society. Whereas Loyola was a long-time member of the Chilean Communist Party, participated actively in party events, and maintained friendships with leftist leaders and intellectuals such as Pablo Neruda, Violeta Parra, for her part, further fueled the urban left's rejection of her and her music in the increasingly politicized period of the mid-1960s by refusing to participate, musically or otherwise, in institutional politics; although Parra did affiliate herself with the Communist Party in the late 1950s, her experiences within the party quickly made her critical of it. As Martha Nondorfy has similarly noted,

⁸⁸ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 102.

“the institutional mentality of the leftist circles duplicated this prejudice [against Parra], seemingly rejecting Violeta because she was simply one of the people instead of being engaged in party politics in order to be a representative of the people.”⁸⁹ In more specific terms, Violeta Parra biographer Fernando Sáez explained, “The doors of the University of Chile, of the Ministry of Education closed for this vehement and obstinate woman who...did not understand regular conduct and bureaucratic slowness.”⁹⁰

Although Parra remained in many ways a fringe member of society, her music became increasingly influential towards the end of her life and, in particular, after her death. On one hand, Víctor Jara asserted that Violeta Parra fostered “the birth of a new type of song” that established a new trajectory for Chilean folklore, which included folkloric sounds from Chile’s outlying regions and eventually from other areas of Latin America as well. On the other hand, Jara’s contention conflicts with most scholarly analyses of Parra music, including those of musician-scholars Albrecht Moreno and Patricio Manns. As Moreno has written:

Patricio Manns argues quite correctly that Violeta Parra did not create a ‘new song’ movement since the impetus behind her music was something that already existed in the creations of hundreds of anonymous poets and singers, both living and dead. What is significant in the work of Violeta

⁸⁹ Martha Nondorfy, “The Right to Live in Peace: Freedom and Social Justice in the Songs of Violeta Parra and Victor Jara” in Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble, eds., *Rebel Musics* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2003), 187.

⁹⁰ Fernando Sáez, *La vida intranquila: Violeta Parra, biografía esencial* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999).

was that she was able to construct a bridge over which the traditional culture of Chile could pass into the age of mass media.⁹¹

In reality, Parra's music rested somewhere between classification as a bridge and classification as a new type of song. True to her nature as a folklorist, Violeta Parra consciously attempted to mirror various forms of folk music that she encountered in her travels throughout Chile. Her albums classify songs according to the folk genre in which they are styled, such as *estilo parabien*, *estilo chicoteado*, *cueca larga*, and *tonada punteada*, and in this sense, Violeta Parra was a traditional folk artist that a larger population happened to adopt. Of course, in the re-creation of the forms of these folk musics, most of which were *mestizo* sounds that combined various indigenous and European influences, Parra could not avoid altering them to a degree. In addition to minor modifications to the composition of the music, Parra "hybridized" these songs and their significance by changing the performing artist, the form of musical mediation (eg. live performances versus recordings), and the context in which audiences interpreted the music. Such alterations were often quite significant transformations, because they changed critical components of the song and its context. For example, the indigenous Araucanians reserved their music strictly for ceremonies and either sang the music together as a community or followed a lead singer; the music additionally held the

⁹¹ Albrecht Moreno, "Violeta Parra and La Nueva Canción Chilena," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 5 (1986), 111.

specific social function of mediating disputes between two members of the community.⁹² Accordingly, the performance of such Araucanian music outside of the context of an Araucanian ceremony (particularly by and for individuals who were not themselves Araucanian) inherently altered its character and its significance. In this manner, live music is not simply a series of tones, rhythms, and lyrics that may be replicated in any context and through various forms of mediation, but also the personalized, visual and physical interactions between the performer, the audience, and their surrounding environment. Even though the stylistic elements of Parra's work maintain strong connections to folk influences, by recapitulating in new environments the various folkloric traditions she observed and by subsequently recording many of her interpretations of the folkloric music she had studied, Violeta Parra significantly altered this music. Music is not a static entity, but a constantly evolving form of expression; however, junctures at which particularly dramatic transitions in structure or form emerge give birth to "new" music. Although such "new music" builds upon the sounds, rhythms, lyrics, and other musical properties that preceded it, its significance is largely divorced from that of its influences. In this sense, Violeta Parra developed an innovative blend of traditional folkloric music with mainstream, Chilean musical culture that was in fact largely something "new".

⁹² Dale Olsen, "Symbol and Function in South American Indian Music" in May Elizabeth, ed., *Music of Many Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 376.

A survey of Parra's earlier work indicates that she performed primarily music from central and central-southern Chile and that she focused predominantly on the themes of nature, rural life, love, and religion. Strikingly absent from these compositions are songs of a distinctly political nature. In fact, prior to 1960, Parra performed only three politically-oriented songs: "La lechera", which is now lost; "Los burgueses", which is the musical adaptation of a Gonzalo Rojas poem; and "Hace falta un guerrillero", which despite glorifying popular nineteenth century Chilean freedom fighter Manuel Rodríguez and criticizing the suffering of the poor in contemporary Chile, attacks no particular political factions or figures.⁹³ However, Parra left Chile to reside temporarily in Europe in both 1955 and 1961. Paralleling her prolonged exposure to new peoples, cultures, and modes of thought during these periods, Parra's music turned towards a wider notion of identity and an increasing incorporation of themes about social justice.⁹⁴

Parra's first period in Europe began at the behest of the Warsaw Festival of the Youth, an international festival of folk-based theater, dance, puppetry, and music held in the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science, on open-air stages in the streets of Warsaw, and at the Russian and Chinese Embassies.⁹⁵ From the 1920s, the Soviet government had been encouraging and sponsoring international tours of Soviet musicians as a means to

⁹³ Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilena: continuidad y reflejo*, 52-53.

⁹⁴ Parra previously spent two years in Paris between 1954 and 1956; however, her second excursion to Europe brought her to several new countries and lasted significantly longer.

⁹⁵ Fernando Saéz, *La vida intranquila* (Santiago: Editorial Subamericana, 1999), 77-81.

“cement political alliances with individual countries.”⁹⁶ As Marina Frolova-Walker’s study of Soviet music policy reveals, the Soviet Communist Party regarded the creation of music as “much the same as any industrial process, composers, as ‘culture-workers,’ were expected to serve the state, often as members of a collective”, and the construction of a “national musical culture was, like the building of a gigantic dam, a matter of concern for the whole country.”⁹⁷ Moreover, as Soviet musicologist Georgiy Khubov explained in 1938, the Communist Party believed that national music, including art music, must flow directly from the working-class through the propagation of folk music:

All great masters, all great composers of the past (of all peoples, without exception!) proceeded from this [folk music]. And, on the contrary, those who were locked in a narrow world of shallow, subjective feelings, and who tried to ‘create [music] out their own selves’—eventually found they had departed from the culture of the people. Their false creations were rejected by the people, because the people will not tolerate a fraud.⁹⁸

Following this philosophy, the Soviet government worked to facilitate exchanges that brought foreign musicians to the U.S.S.R. as a means of showcasing Soviet talent to the outside world; however, as Caroline Brooke has noted, appeals for “revolutionary composers of the world to unite” were not a primary influence in the musical world

⁹⁶ Caroline Brooke, “Soviet Music in the International Arena, 1932-41,” *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 31 (2001), 250.

⁹⁷ Marina Frolova-Walker, “National in Form, Socialist in Content: Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol 51, No. 2 (Summer 1998), 336.

⁹⁸ Georgiy Khubov, “Sovetskaya opera,” *Sovetskaya muzika* (January 1938), 15. (cit. Marina Frolova-Walker, “National in Form, Socialist in Content: Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics,” 336-337.)

during the 1920s.⁹⁹ Not until the early 1930s, when the International Association of Revolutionary Theatres established a Music Section, did this tendency begin to change; under the direction of a predominantly Russian Board, The Music Section of the International Association of Revolutionary Theatres (MORT) would become “the main co-ordinating centre for various associations of left-wing composers worldwide.”¹⁰⁰ Over the next half decade, MORT facilitated the development of musical movement that aspired to increase class-consciousness and foment international revolutions through various endeavors: publishing revolutionary songs with translated texts, commissioning articles on international revolutionary music for publication in Soviet and foreign music journals, organizing amateur workers’ choirs and orchestras in various countries, monitoring the musical activities conducted in fascist countries, and planning international music festivals and Olympiads.¹⁰¹

Although MORT dissolved in the late 1930s, the organization’s philosophy persisted. Soviet and other left-wing composers devoted extensive efforts towards the creation of music in support of the Spanish Communist Party during Spain’s Civil War (1936-1939). Moreover, the notion that folk and folk-influenced music could strengthen both national pride and revolutionary alliances emerged with increased vigor and a wider scope after the start of the Cold War. Within the Soviet Union, as Abraham Schwadron’s 1967 study of Soviet musical education asserted, music education “functions to solidify

⁹⁹ Caroline Brooke, “Soviet Music in the International Arena, 1932-41,” 254.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 255.

the masses in nationalistic and political feelings”, and Soviet musical curriculum endeavored to use musical education ““as a hammer blow against Western ideas as capitalistic and exploitive, and [thereby] to contribute to the aim that dominates all Soviet education.””¹⁰² In pursuit of these ends, the Soviet government provided extensive musical education for both performers and consumers of music, and “songs of Soviet composers and Russian folk songs, as well as the folk songs of the ‘people’s democracies’, comprise the bulk of choral materials presented to school children.”¹⁰³ At the same time, the Soviets and other Communist Bloc nations also escalated their efforts to forge cultural ties with folk musicians from around the world in the 1950s through cultural exchanges and international music festivals—a stark contrast to the United States, where government officials cast a suspicious eye towards folk musicians and even encouraged the blacklisting of domestic folk singers such as the Weavers. Latin America became a region of particular interest to the Soviet cultural agenda after a U.S. assisted coup toppled Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz in 1954, and it was, as Fernando Ríos has noted, no coincidence that the Soviets increasingly brought Latin American folk musicians to Communist Bloc countries, including Bolivian representation and a one-

¹⁰² Abraham A. Schwadron, “Music in Soviet Education”, *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 8 (April 1967), 87.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

hundred and fifty person delegation from Argentina at Moscow's 1956 IV World Festival for the Youth, Students, Peace and Friendship.¹⁰⁴

Entering into this context, Violeta Parra performed as an official invitee at the Warsaw Festival of the Youth and subsequently made her way to France, where she encountered the small community of South American folk-based artists residing in Paris, as well as Margot Loyola, who passed through Paris in 1956 on the invitation of the Communist Party as part of an international tour.¹⁰⁵ After returning to Chile, Parra would settle in France for a longer period beginning in 1961, when she journeyed to Argentina, Finland, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy, before taking up residence in Paris. This second, and more extensive, residency in Paris profoundly marked the musical orientations of Parra and her children. As Fernando Ríos' study of Andean-based music in Paris has revealed, Argentine, Peruvian, and Bolivian folklorists had popularized refined forms of Andean *huayno*, *bailicitos*, and *yaravís* in Paris prior to time that Parra and her children took up residence among the diverse array of Latin American and European musicians who resided in the French capital.¹⁰⁶ According to Ríos, these

¹⁰⁴ Fernando Ríos, *Music in Urban La Paz, Bolivian Nationalism, and the Early History of Cosmopolitan Andean Music: 1936-1970*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois, Urbana, 2005), 406-407.

¹⁰⁵ Fernando Saéz, *La vida intranquila*, 87.

¹⁰⁶ *Huayno* music in the Andes has many variations, but it most often uses duple meter and consists of a pair of musical phrases in periodic form (AABB). It also generally uses a closing section known as a *fuga* or *qawachan* that has a contrasting theme in a faster tempo.

Argentine *Carnivalitos* are essentially identical to *huayno* music, utilizing a similar instrumentation, a duple meter with a galloping pulse, and either an AABB or an AABBC musical form. *Yaravís* music is a slow, lyrical music in triple meter and binary

“modernist-cosmopolitan” folklorists began to perform Andean folk-based music in Buenos Aires during the 1920s, stylizing their songs in specific manners that distinguished them from rural, indigenous ensembles as a means to appeal to urban, middle and upper-class audiences: using equal temperament tuning instead of flexible intonation, using clear instrumental timbre instead of dense tone quality, using presentational approaches rather than participatory ethos, and hybridizing styles of music that were specific to a particular Andean community with distinct styles from other Andean communities.¹⁰⁷ These stylizations helped to make Andean-based music popular not only among Buenos Aires intellectuals, but also among Parisians, who came into contact with this music when Buenos Aires folklorists visited or resided in Paris. Although Parra had previously encountered Andean influences during her folkloric investigations within Chile and in Bolivia, she became deeply versed in Andean influences during her time in Paris.¹⁰⁸

In the process of integrating these Andean-based influences into her compositions, Parra simultaneously embraced and broke away from them. On one hand, Parra adopted this Andean-influenced music, which furthered her own growing sense of

form that is common in the southern Andes. Its melody is based in a minor tonality, it has a flexible tempo, and it is usually sung in parallel thirds. (Sources: Dale Olsen (ed.), *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 2: South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean* and Fernando Ríos, “La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción,” *Latin American Music Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2008), 145-181.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 150.

¹⁰⁸ On December 28, 1954, *Ecran* reported that Parra had recently returned from eight months of work in Bolivia, where had performed a repertoire of folk music from Chile and other Latin American countries.

pan-Latin American identity. She and her children, Ángel and Isabel, studied and incorporated into their music a variety of instruments that included the Andean *charango*, the Venezuelan *cuatro*, and the Argentine *bombo*, as they began to combine traditions from across South American in new ways. For example, “¿Qué he sacado con querete?” (“What Did I Get for Loving You?”), which Parra released on the album *Recordando a Chile (Una chilena en París)* (1965), utilized a *charango* to perform in Spanish a song composed in a Mapuche *lamento* style from central-southern Chile. Upon their return to Chile in 1965, Violeta and her children would propagate this approach to musical composition among Santiago folklorists and intellectuals. On the other hand, Parra also began to infuse her lyrics with social commentaries. This practice set Parra’s music apart from other South American, folk-based music in Paris, which as Ríos has noted, the Parisian community associated not with social concerns, but with “fun times”.¹⁰⁹ Parra composed works such as “Me gustan los estudiantes”, “Y arriba quemando el sol”, “¿Qué dirá el santo padre?”, and “Porque los pobres no tienen”, all of which protested the plight of the poor and called for an alleviation of their suffering. Additionally, Parra’s composition, “La carta”, voiced even stronger protests in its criticism of the Alessandri government’s repression of popular opposition and labor protests. Nevertheless, even as her music evolved in Paris to evoke a pan-Latin American identity and a strong concern for the suffering of the poor, Para remained most closely tied to the music of southern-central Chile and expressed a rejection of institutional politics in her songs; at their roots,

¹⁰⁹ Fernando Ríos, “La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción,” 153.

these compositions were strong social commentaries rather than overtly revolutionary or political anthems.

In “Según el favor del viento” (“At the Mercy of the Wind”), Violeta Parra expressed solidarity with the plight of the common Chilean through her typical style of social commentary. While she criticizes and indicts the government in this song, her chastising lyrics are not the focus of the prose and she does not direct them towards any particular individual or party: she neither attacks nor endorses any political affiliation. Parra criticizes government in general, implying that politicians universally forget the needs of the poor; however, her words are not a confrontational assault, and they instead focus on the suffering of common Chileans as an appeal for change. Her reference to the “mercy of the wind” alludes to social and economic forces that dictate the lives of the poor and force the “woodsman” from his traditional, peaceful state into the harsh and turbulent waters of the “sea.” Her imagery evokes the harsh conditions of labor and the material suffering of the rural laborer, but it also prophesizes an apocalyptic storm if changes do not ensue. As such, Parra mourns the austere life of common Chileans and yearns for the awakening of the Chilean spirit, making a plea for all Chileans to “wake up” and improve the plight of the poor so that the “boiling” teapot in the “corner of the boat” does not boil over and leave Chile engulfed by the “angry thunder” of revolution. In this manner, “Según el favor del viento” demonstrates a mentality not unlike that held by many working-class and more progressive segments of the Christian Democrat supporters during the late 1960s and early 1970s: Parra demands improvement in the

lives of the poor; however, she voices this petition not as a revolutionary proclamation, but as a sincere desire to avoid conflict through reform and reconciliation.

Según El Favor Del Viento

*Según el favor del viento
Va navegando el leñero,
Atrás quedaron las rucas
Para entrar en el Puerto;
Corra sur o corra norte
La barquichuela gimiendo,
Llorando estoy,
Según el favor del viento,
Me voy, me voy.*

*...En un rincón de la barca
Está hirviendo la tetera,
A un lado pelando papas
Las manos de alguna isleña,
Será la madre del indio,
La hermana o la compañera,
Llorando estoy,
Navegan lunas enteras,
Me voy, me voy.*

*Chupando su matecito
O bien su pescado seco,
Acurrucado en su lancha
Va meditando el isleño,
No sabe que hay otro mundo
De raso y de terciopelo,
Llorando estoy,
Que se burla el invierno,
Me voy, me voy.*

*No es vida la del chilote,
No tiene letra ni pleito,
Tamango llevan sus pies,
Milcao y ají su cuerpo,
Pellín para calentarse,
Del frío de los gobiernos,*

*Llorando estoy,
Que le quebrantan los huesos,
Me voy, me voy.*

*Despierte el hombre, despierte,
Despierte por un momento,
Despierte toda la patria
Antes que se abran los cielos
Y venga el trueno furioso
Con el clarín de San Pedro,
Llorando estoy,
Y barra los ministerios,
Me voy, me voy.*

*De negro van los chilotes
Más que por fuera, por dentro,
Con su plato de esperanza
Y su frazada de cielo,
Pidiéndole a la montaña
Su pan amargo centeno,
Llorando estoy,
Según el favor del viento,
Me voy, me voy.*

*Quisiera morir cantando
Sobre de un barco leñero,
Y cultivar en sus aguas
Un libro más justiciero,
Con letras de oro que diga
No hay padre para el isleño,
Llorando estoy,
Ni viento para su leñero,
Me voy, me voy.¹¹⁰*

At the Mercy of the Wind
*At the mercy of the wind.
The woodsman sails.
He left the huts behind
To enter the port;*

¹¹⁰ A recording of “Según el favor del viento” by Violeta Parra can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aXLO18OeYkQ>

*Sailing north or south,
The skiff shakes,
I cry,
At the mercy of the wind,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*...In the corner of the boat
The teapot is boiling,
The hands of some island woman
Peel potatoes at one side,
Maybe the Indian's mother,
His sister, or compañera.
I cry,
For whole moons they sail,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*Sucking his cup of maté
Or maybe his dried fish,
Crouched in his skiff,
The island man ponders,
Not knowing there is another world
Of satin and velvet,
I cry,
The winter mocks,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*The Chilote's life is no life,
No schooling, no courts,
Ragged shoes for their feet,
Potato cakes and ají to eat,
Pellín wood to keep warm
From the cold of the government,
I cry,
Their bones are breaking,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*Wake up, people, wake up,
Wake up for a moment,
Wake up the whole country
Before the skies open
And furious thunder comes
With St. Peter's trumpet,*

*I cry,
And sweeps the ministries,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*The Chilotes all in black
Inside more than out
With their plate of hope
And their blanket of sky
Asking the mountain
For their bitter rye bread,
I cry,
At the mercy of the wind,
I'm going, I'm going.*

*I would like to die singing
On a woodman's boat,
And cultivate in his waters
A book with more justice,
With letters in gold that say
There is no father for the islander,
I cry,
Nor wind for the woodman,
I'm going, I'm going.*

Composed in the form of a traditional *danza chilota* from the central-southern island of Chiloé, “Según al favor del viento” derives its pulse from a steady, up-tempo, Araucanian-inspired hand-drum that holds a consistent two-stroke per beat pulse throughout the song. Supporting the drum is the strumming of a simple, repeated chord progression on a lone guitar. Both forms of instrumentation do not alter their patterns at any point, and they reside decisively in the background of the composition. Parra’s clear, strong voice is the focus of the song, and it accentuates the message she articulates. Further drawing attention to the artist’s words is the dissemination of lyrics almost without pause. Parra pushes continuously through the song, and the combination of vocal

crescendos, shifts in the tempo of her speech, and variations in pitch help to reinforce the strong, lyrical intonations and accents that break the monotony of her discourse to retain the listener's focus. Accordingly, Parra's complex vocal patterns do not make this song especially conducive to audience participation. It is a solitary, personal, and individual performance, requiring the engagement of the listener as passive receptor.

“Según al favor del viento” alludes to a desire for peaceful, social change, an orientation that marked the majority of Parra's songs about social justice. A small number of songs composed by Violeta Parra during the mid 1960s, however, did include a slightly more radical revolutionary spirit. For example, in “Porque los pobres no tienen”, Violeta Parra takes a much stronger stance against the oppression of the poor by the empowered sectors of society and even by the Church:

*De los tiempos inmemoriales
Que se ha inventado el infierno
Para asustar a los pobres
Con sus castigos eternos...
Para seguir la mentira,
Lo llama su confesor
Le dice que Dios no quiere
Ninguna revolución...*

*From time immemorial
Hell was invented
To frighten the poor
With their eternal punishment...
To continue the lie,
They are called by their confessor
To tell them that God does not want
Any revolution...*

Yet, even in such instances where Parra made overt calls for social upheaval, her lyrics criticized the institutionalized Chilean power structure only in non-specific terms, and they stop short of advocating directly a revolution. In a sense, Parra implies that a revolution may be a necessity if conditions do not improve for the poor, although she does not demand or advocate it outright. While the vast majority of Parra's songs, especially those written prior to the 1960s, made political statements only by expressing of the hardships of rural, working class life, those later compositions with more overt social and political statements cannot be over-looked. Songs such as "Por que los pobres no tienen," "Me gustan los estudiantes," and "Arriba quemando el sol" influenced the subsequent development of more overt and militantly political songs by the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s. Ultimately, as Agustín Ruiz Zamora has argued, the social content of Parra's compositions would combine with the performance style and aesthetics of Loyola's reproductions of folkloric songs to form *nueva canción*.¹¹¹

The "Other" Folklore and its Transition into Nueva Canción

Although Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra were neither the first nor the only folklorists in Chile, their work integrated to a significant degree into mainstream, urban society a body of folk-based music that generally was more diverse and less stylized than the folk-based *música típica*. Moreover, Violeta Parra's music in particular, often contained a social consciousness that was largely absent from *música típica*. Set against

¹¹¹ Agustín Ruiz Zamora, "Margot Loyola y Violeta Parra: Convergencias y divergencias en el paradigma interpretativo de la Nueva Canción chilena", 2006.

the backdrop of Frei's "Revolution in Liberty", the quickened pace of social and economic reforms, and the spread of commercial media throughout Chile, this distinctive conception of Chilean folklore and identity became increasingly popular in the second half of the 1960s. Recording companies and radio stations initially had little interest in a style of music that was unknown and/or unpopular in comparison to *rock and roll*, *música típica*, and other forms of commercially produced popular music. In the mid 1960s, two of the world's largest production companies, EMI (British-owned) and RCA (U.S.-owned), controlled the vast majority of record production and distribution in Chile, with RCA holding the largest market share at forty-two percent.¹¹² At the close of the 1950s, only thirty percent of RCA Victor's records in Chile were by Chilean artists, and by the late 1960s, it had become even more difficult for new Chilean musicians to gain recording contracts, as these large production companies decreased the number of artists they contracted in order to focus on promoting only the most popular Chilean stars, most of whom sang *rock and roll*, *neo-folclore*, or *música típica*.¹¹³ Nonetheless, the style of song that Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra generated gained popularity among certain segments of society. While a handful of radio stations began to include this style of music as part of "folklore" programming, most notably on René Largo Farías' program "Chile Ríe y Canta", peñas and music festivals acted as the primary motors in its early evolution and growth during the mid 1960s. Ultimately, as peñas and music festivals

¹¹² Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle, *Historia Social de la Música Popular en Chile, 1950-1970* (Santiago: Ediciones UC, 2009), 103.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

spread, small, independent recording labels—which often possessed significant cultural or political motivation in selecting the music that they produced, as opposed to the large, transnational production conglomerates that were driven primarily by profit motive—also began to produce a limited number of records by the top musicians of this style of folk-based music during the later years of the decade.

While residing with their mother in Paris between 1961 and 1965, Ángel and Isabel Parra developed the idea of starting a *peña* in Santiago. Their vision for the *peña* combined traditional Spanish *peñas*, or locales where working class and bohemian segments of society gathered to sing, with the Parisian musical cafes where Ángel and Isabel performed with their mother. With help from other young Santiago folklorists, such as Rolando Alarcón, Patricio Manns, and Víctor Jara, Ángel and Isabel opened the Peña de los Parra in 1965 in an old, unmarked, red house at Carmen 340. In contrast to other Chilean music bars, where *música típica* often served as “patriotic” background music for people who had come primarily “to eat, drink, or dance”, the Peña de los Parra served as a venue at which musicians began to disseminate and popularize more diverse forms of folkloric music from northern Chile, southern Chile, and other parts of Latin America—sounds that had not yet found a place in the Chilean commercial market—to an engaged audience that attended specifically for that purpose.¹¹⁴ As Marta Orrego, Ángel Parra’s wife, explained: “It was like a laboratory, a type of workshop where new songs could be tried out in front of the public...after the performance the people closest

¹¹⁴ Eduardo Carrasco, *Quilapayún: la revolución y las estrellas*, 57-58.

to the musicians would comment on the debuts, there was much contact [between performer and audience].”¹¹⁵

The Peña de los Parra caught on slowly during its initial months; however, its popularity soon expanded, and crowds of several hundred “intellectuals, bohemians, artists, journalists, people who worked in radio, and...folklorists” packed themselves into the crowded, candle-lit, smoke-filled venue.¹¹⁶ Having paid the modest entrance fee of three escudos, these large crowds sat on old chairs and wooden benches to drink wine, eat empanadas, and partake in an evening of what they considered “authentic” Chilean sounds. As one journalist observed, musicians at the Peña de los Parra performed repertoires meant to “exclude elements that had nothing to do with the investigation and diffusion of our [Chilean] music.”¹¹⁷ The success of the Peña de los Parra fueled the establishment in Chile’s main urban centers of similar peñas, such as René Largo Farías and Patricio Manns’ Peña Chile Ríe y Canta, the Peña del Puerto, and the Peña del Mar, as well as popular peñas in many of the more progressive universities, such as the Universidad Técnica del Estado (UTE), where they became a space in which the student-driven, university reform movement coalesced. Subsequently, peñas also developed in factories, schools, community centers, and other informal gathering sites. Yet, peñas remained predominantly a social hangout for left-leaning members of the middle class

¹¹⁵ “Peña de los Parra,” *Bicicleta*, Vol. 9, No. 62 (August 1985), 11-13.

¹¹⁶ “La casa donde se “fabrica” la nueva old del folklore,” *El Musiquero*, No. 19 (20 August 1985), 6.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* Also see: “1 Año de folklore en la ‘Peña de los Parra’,” *Rincón Juvenil*, No. 72 (4 May 1966), 3-4.

and working class leaders, including preeminent figures such as future President Salvador Allende. As Joan Jara recalls:

Although it was becoming more and more of a meeting place for music, the Peña was not yet really connected with the outside world. It had no links with the labour movement or the working class as such, although key figures there were all of working class background and very faithful to that. It remained an experimental laboratory with a small, rather elite audience. Nevertheless, through the opportunities it provided for artists to work together and interchange ideas, the laboratory provided the environment in which a new musical movement was growing up, firmly based on a real American tradition.¹¹⁸

These tendencies had two important impacts on the shape of Chilean leftist politics during the late 1960s and early 1970s. First, the predominance of urban working class leaders and left-leaning members of the middle class at many of the peñas meant that rural Chileans, average members of the urban working class, and middle and upper class centrists and conservatives had little exposure to the music being created and disseminated in the peñas. Second, despite these limitations, the peñas provided middle-class progressives and working-class leaders the opportunity to intermingle in a social atmosphere and to share an experience that facilitated the development of relationships and a common taste for a specific style of music among them.

Within the peñas, the predominant style of music initially mirrored very closely the existing music of Violeta Parra and Margot Loyola; however, peña music also began to evolve very quickly into a style that drew upon and amplified the expanded conception

¹¹⁸ Joan Jara. *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 101.

of “Chilean folklore” and the social commentary exhibited in Parra’s music. Through the mid-1960s, young artists such as Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns, Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, Gonzalo Grondona, and Rolando Alarcón began to blend diverse styles of folkloric music from across and even beyond Chile with increasingly strong social and political commentaries, as they attempted to popularize a new style of folk-based music to an urban audience. Just as Violeta Parra’s music was neither identical to folkloric traditions nor an entirely new style in itself, the music that developed out of her songs and the Peña de los Parra was neither identical to nor completely separate from Violeta Parra’s music. While Chileans in many cases astutely discerned between *nueva canción* songs, which they defined as having overtly political lyrics, and *folklore* music, which they defined as lacking such lyrics, a broader perspective of the movement also indicates that a common underlying identity rooted in the traditions beyond just Chile’s Central Valley united more politically and musically progressive music by artists such as Víctor Jara and Inti-Illimani, and Isabel and Ángel Parra with more traditional, less altered folkloric performances by folklorists such as Margot Loyola, Millaray, and Cuncumén. To varying degrees, the work of these musicians demonstrated continuity or transformation of Violeta Parra’s music and philosophy; however, this body of music was fundamentally part of a single, overarching movement that this dissertation will henceforth refer to as *nueva canción* because it reacted against *música típica* and *neo-folclore* by drawing on folk practices from throughout Chile and beyond and asserted an alternative notion of Chilean folklore and/or pan-Latin American identity. Moreover, this music both

responded to and further encouraged the excitement that many Chileans felt about the reforms occurring around them and the notion that both their country and region were experiencing a moment of exhilarating and positive change. As Marta Orrego recalled about the development of *nueva canción* in the Peña de los Parra, “One night Ángel felt that his songs, although very well received, left a melancholy mood among the audience, while Víctor’s songs made them laugh and energized them. So, he decided to compose in with different tone, and that is how the *Canciones funcionales* (*Me gusta la democracia*, among others) were born, and the roars could be heard all the way back in the kitchen.”¹¹⁹

One of the young artists who emerged from the peñas was Rolando Alarcón, who had studied classical piano as a child and earned a scholarship to train at the *Conservatorio Nacional*. After completing his studies, Alarcón taught grade school in Chillán before moving back to Santiago, joining Cuncumén, and working to promote Chilean folk music as an educator and performer. In December 1964, Demon released Alarcón’s song “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” (“Where Are You Going, Soldier?”), which Alarcón wrote with the voices of Las Cuatro Brujas in mind.¹²⁰ Alarcón composed “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” in the form of a *refalosa*, a style of song and dance popular in central Chile and often celebrated along with *cuecas*. Similar to the *cueca*, the *refalosa* arrived in Chile from Peru in the early nineteenth century and was danced by couples who circled around one another in a zig-zag pattern while tapping their heels to the song’s rhythm and waving handkerchiefs in their hands. “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” had

¹¹⁹ “La Peña de los Parra,” *Bicicleta*, Vol. 9, No. 62 (20 August 1985), 11-13.

¹²⁰ “Una refalosa para cantar a la paz,” *Las Últimas Noticias*, 26 May 1965.

the festive tone common among *refalosas*, but it contained a strong, anti-war commentary:

*¿Adónde vas...?
 ¿Adónde vas, soldado,
 ¿Adónde vas?
 ¿A una Guerra sin cuartel?
 Vuelve y lucha por la paz.*

*Que la paz es verdadera,
 La vida es maravillosa.
 Vuelve a tu pueblo, soldado,
 Donde bailan refalosa.*

*¿Adónde vas, soldado,
 ¿Adónde vas?
 Ya no es tiempo de guerra,
 Es tiempo de libertad.*

*¿Adónde vas, soldado,
 ¿Adónde vas?
 No queremos batallones,
 Sólo queremos la paz.*

*Where are you going?
 Where are you going, soldier,
 Where are you going?
 To a war without barracks?
 Return and fight for peace.*

*Peace is real,
 Life is marvelous,
 Return to your pueblo, soldier,
 Where they dance refalosa.*

*Where are you going, soldier,
 Where are you going?
 It is no longer a time of war,
 It is a time of liberty.*

*Where are you going, soldier,
Where are you going?
We don't want battalions,
All we want is peace.*

Many Chileans interpreted the song as having anti-military content, but it raised little public controversy prior to March 10, 1965, when Julio Gutiérrez, Production Manager at the Pan American Broadcasting Company affiliated Radio Cooperativa Vitalicia de Santiago, released a song performed by Los de Santiago entitled “La respuesta del soldado” (“The Response of the Soldier”). In early March, Gutierrez received a call from Joaquín Alberto Prieto, a Major in the Arica Regiment of the Chilean Army whom he had met at the *Festival de la Canción de Coquimbo*. Major Prieto informed Gutierrez that he had composed a song in response to “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” and played it for him over the telephone. Gutierrez, who later insisted that he had “dedicated himself to the diffusion of Chilean music” and had never been “sold to yankee gold”, recalled that he decided to produce the song because he too had felt that Alarcón’s *refalosa* had unfairly and unpatriotically attacked the Chilean Army. Accordingly, Gutierrez quickly hired the *neo-folclore* group Los de Santiago to record “La respuesta del soldado”.¹²¹

“La respuesta del soldado”, which successfully sold more than 2,500 copies in just over one month, similarly embedded a serious message within a festive sounding *refalosa*. However, in contrast to “¿A dónde vas, soldado?”, it glorified the Chilean

¹²¹ “La batalla de las refalosas,” *Ercilla*, No. 1562 (28 April 1965), 19.

nation and its soldiers in an effort to refute “unpatriotic” criticisms of people such as

Rolando Alarcón:

*“¿Adónde voy?” me preguntas.
¿Adónde voy?
A defender a mi patria
Porque soldado yo soy.*

*Y siempre seré primero
En decirle a una linda moza;
No sabes lo que te quiero,
¡Bailemos la refalosa!...*

*“Where am I going?” you ask me.
Where am I going?
To defend my country
Because a soldier I am.*

*And I will always be first
To say to a beautiful girl:
You don’t know that I love you,
Let’s dance refalosa!*

Alarcón contended that the response to his song surprised him and that those who interpreted his song as a criticism of the Chilean Army did not understand his message:

My refalosa had a content that was simply pacifist, and was not against the army. If I spoke of war, I did not refer to Chile, because here we don’t have them, only in a more universal sense. The work of the Chilean soldier has been always pacifist and I have no reason to attack him. I am against warrior armies, like those that are in Vietnam and against the blacks in the United States and in Africa. With my refalosa, I wanted to make a call for all the armies of the world to convert into peaceful armies. It was a call to peace, and only that.¹²²

¹²² Ibid.

Despite making these claims, Alarcón decided to release a counter-response to “La respuesta del soldado”, and he recorded an even stronger critique with Ángel and Isabel Parra entitled “Oiga usted, general” (“Listen, General”):

*Escuche usted, General,
Voy a decir tres palabras.
Soy la madre del soldado
Que cayó en esta batalla.
Yo no criaba a mi hijo
Para que fuera soldado.
El bailaba refalosa
Y trabaja el arado.*

*Escuche usted, General,
Tres palabras nada mas,
La vida de este soldado
Ya no se puede pagar.
Escuche usted, General,
El dolor que me dejó,
Yo le hablaba de la paz,
Pero usted lo traicionó.*

*Listen, general,
I am going to say three words.
I am the mother of the soldier
Who fell in this battle.
I did not raise my son
To be a soldier,
He danced refalosa
And worked the plow.*

*Listen general,
Three words, nothing more:
The life of this soldier
Cannot be paid.
Listen, general,
The pain it has left me:
I talked to him about peace
But you betrayed that.*

“Oiga usted, general” quickly became even more controversial than “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” and set off strong reactions from the public and the press. An enthusiastic public received the song well on Radio Minería’s “Chile Ríe y Canta” and in the Teatro Silvia Piñero.¹²³ However, when Sergio Riesemberg played the song on Radio Cooperativa shortly after its release, the station’s management immediately told him not to do so again and proceeded to ban the song from its Santiago station as well as from its eleven affiliate stations outside of Santiago. Other stations, such as Radio Chilena, soon banned the controversial song as well. Similar to many of those who objected to “Oiga usted, general”, Julio Gutierrez asserted that Alarcón’s second song in particular offended his sense of patriotism:

This [song] is using music for political ends. I believe that in “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” there is a message against the army. When we recorded “La respuesta del soldado”, we did it without a desire to polemicize, but no I find that my good friend Rolando Alarcón has composed a song that is openly anti-militaristic. It is an offense against the army...I consider it a crime against the patria.¹²⁴

In contrast to those who viewed Alarcón’s song as offensive and un-patriotic, other Chileans defended the Alarcón, arguing similarly to the musician that the song was neither political nor an assault on the Chilean Army. As singer Rolando García wrote in response to the controversy over Alarcón’s songs in late April 1966:

¹²³ “Una refalosa para cantar a la paz,” *Las Últimas Noticias*, 26 May 1965.

¹²⁴ “La batalla de las refalosas,” *Ercilla*, No. 1562 (28 April 1965), 19.

I don't believe in the political content of neo-folkloric songs. Other than a few, that reflect a determined political attitude, the rest are simply songs that rebelled against the injustices that, precisely, the current government denounces publicly. To sing about the hard life of the miner, or the rights of those who work the land to enjoy the fruits of their labor, is not but an expression, in its base, of the oldest principles of Christianity...[It is] absurd to accuse neo-folkloric songs that have not but communicated social problems that slip past us in each instant of our daily life as being “revolutionary and communist”.¹²⁵

Despite García's points, the reality remained that in terms of the actual effects of the music, the intention and content of the song mattered far less than the public's interpretation of it. Chileans became strongly divided over what they perceived to be a political statement, and while a large percentage of those protested what they perceived to be an anti-patriotic message, many others embraced the song as a criticism of the Chilean Army. As a 1968 editorial in *El Musiquero* noted, “Rolando is a stupendous human being and has a strong restraint, moreover he knows that our center is not favorable to uninhibited attacks, and he only insinuates ideas in poetic and plain songs. He deserves the applause [he receives] and deserves the respect of the public because above all, he respects them.”¹²⁶

Curiously, despite all the public fervor over the “Battle of the Refalosas”, the Chilean military refused to comment on “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” or any of the responses to it. When the magazine *Ecran* solicited reactions from the Army, members of the military either ignored their questions or supplied an official statement: “We are not

¹²⁵ “Rebeldes con causa?” *Ecran*, No. 1838 (26 April 1966), 12.

¹²⁶ “Rolando Alarcón, protesta controlada,” *El Musiquero*, (September 1966), 29.

interested in inconsequential affairs.”¹²⁷ While this response may well have been a diplomatic effort not to become involved in a political debate, particularly in one in which the media and much of the public already had taken a stand in defense of the military, it is also likely that the Army actually had little interest in this matter. Although the “Battle of the Refalosas” was a much-discussed topic during the first four months of 1966, it was not an event that fully consumed or polarized society. In fact, in the end, a radio DJ Alfredo Lieux largely diffused the tension surrounding the songs with a satirical fourth *refalosa* entitled “La cantina donde tomaba el soldado” (“The Cantina Where the Soldier Drank”) that made light of the entire situation.¹²⁸

While the “Battle of the Refalosas” ended in an amicable fashion, it revealed several important characteristics regarding Chilean society and music in 1965. First, social and political tensions, fears, and divisions existed in Chile during the mid-1960s, and the uproar over “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” and “Oiga usted, general” indicates that these songs served as something of a lightning rod of public expression in response to these realities. More specifically, the fact that Alarcón’s songs sparked a significant degree of controversy indicates that many Chileans viewed the military as a fundamental component of their Chilean patriotism and identity that must be defended. Second, as Alarcón and others noted, the lyrics to “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” were primarily generalized and did not refer specifically to the Chilean Army. Regardless of whether or not Alarcón actually wrote the song as a veiled criticism of the Chilean military or as a

¹²⁷ “La batalla de las refalosas,” *Ecran*, No. 1562 (28 April 1965), 19.

¹²⁸ “Polémico disco de Rolando Alarcón,” *Vea*, 12 September 1968.

general anthem for peace around the world, some combination of the song itself, the current social and political environment, and the background or previous experiences of individual Chileans caused many people to interpret the song as an assault on the Chilean Army. As such, the “Battle of the Refalosas” demonstrated that individuals’ interpretation of songs varied and often did not match the stated intentions of the composer. Finally, the Refalosa controversy demonstrated how both musicians and non-musicians alike viewed and utilized music as a vehicle to express their identities and political sensibilities. It indicated the potential divisiveness of socially conscious folklore, as even in the less polarized climate of the mid-1960s, musicians and non-musicians both exhibited strong emotions towards those songs that they believed to support or criticize their identities and political sensibilities.

The “Battle of the Refalosas” brought socially conscious folk-based music into the political spotlight, but it was another musician from the peñas who in 1965 and 1966 fostered a more dramatic transition beyond the type of socially conscious, folk-based songs of Violeta Parra and towards what would become *nueva canción*, a new genre of folk-based music. Patricio Manns, the Santiago-born son of a Swiss-German father and a French mother, began careers in both journalism and radio while simultaneously pursuing his interest in poetry and music. In the early 1960s, he published numerous poems, a novel, and a number of folk-based songs. Among his most notable early musical works was the cantata “El sueño americano”, which he recorded with Voces Andinas in 1965. “El sueño americano” traced the history of the Americas by incorporating rhythms and

folkloric sounds from around the region, including *zamba* (Argentina), *chacarera* (Argentina and Bolivia), *baguala* (Argentina), *pasillo* (northern South America), *polo margariteño* (Venezuela), *pericona* (Chiloé, Chile) and *cueca* (Chile).¹²⁹ The uniqueness of this work lay first in its expression of a revisionist and redemptive, popular history that included sharp criticism of the Spanish Conquistadores in “La traición del mar” (“The Treachery of the Sea”); a humanized depiction of African slaves’ suffering in Latin America in “Canto esclavo” (“Slave Song”); and critiques of imperialism, war, poverty, and labor exploitation from the perspective of the poor in “Cuelgo el rifle y lo celebro” (“I Hang up my Rifle and Celebrate”) and “Ya no somos nosotros” (“We Are No Longer Ourselves”)—all themes largely absent from official, national histories at that time. Second, “El sueño Americano” incorporated musical styles, historical episodes, and lyrics that evoked a wider notion of identity that included not only outlying regions of Chile, but also other areas of Latin America. In fact, lyrics such as “In America/ there is only one wall that exists:/ To the north there is one happy pueblo/ and to the south twenty sad pueblos” went so far as to stress a sense of Bolivarian commonality among all the countries of Latin America. Such pan-Latin American sentiment was previously present in the literature and poetry of Chilean authors such as Vicente Huidobro and Pablo Neruda, but it had yet to become prevalent in the more “popular” form of folk-based musical expression. In this sense, “El sueño americano” expressed currents of thought and notions of identity that were growing among the peña demographic. Although the

¹²⁹ For further analysis of “El sueño americano”, see Juan Orrego Salas’ review of it: Ediciones de la Frontera, Madrid/Los Ángeles, July-December 1985.

degree to which *nueva canción* musicians would subsequently focus on music and themes from various regions of Chile or on music and themes from across Latin America varied, at least some degree of Bolivarian identity was present in the work of nearly all *nueva canción* musicians. In this sense, “El sueño americano” established, along with similar mid-1960s compositions such as Rolando Alarcón’s “Si somos americanos” and Violeta Parra’s “Los pueblos americanos”, a critical trajectory in the development of the *nueva canción* movement. Nonetheless, Manns’ widest impact during this era came with the 1966 release of his album “Entre mar y cordillera” (“Between the Sea and the Mountains”).

“Entre mar y cordillera” both marked the development of *nueva canción* as an increasingly distinctive musical genre and exposed a wider public to this form of musical expression. Most notably, the song “Arriba en la cordillera”, which depicted rural Chilean life in a manner that stood in stark contrast to the idealized, pastoral images and themes that were so prevalent in *música típica*, reached the number one position on the Chilean music charts.¹³⁰ Although “Arriba en la cordillera” was not the first recorded composition to shift away from *música típica* in this manner, it was the first song of this style to achieve widespread airplay and commercial success. For musicians and the greater public alike, “Arriba en la cordillera” was for many their first exposure to a very different style of folk-based music. Recalling the profound impact and personal

¹³⁰ Other folk-based musicians who occupied positions on Chile’s “best sellers” charts in 1965 and 1966 included Las Cuatro Brujas, Los Cuatro Cuartos, and Ángel Parra. (source: “Qué pasará en 1966?” *El Musiquero*, No. 17 (8 December 1965).

connection to “Arriba en la cordillera” that they experienced when they heard it for the first time, Gastón and Eduardo Guzmán both felt that “at last there was a song that was able to represent the reality of life.”¹³¹

“Arriba en la cordillera” was a slow-tempo, melancholy ballad in which Manns sang with the support of a single acoustic guitar and layered, background vocal harmonies performed by Los Cuatro Cuartos and Las Cuatro Brujas. While the smooth vocal harmonies gave “Arriba en la cordillera” a sound not unlike the stylized *neo-folclore* compositions of the mid-1960s, the lyrics of the song represented a dramatic break from existing commercially-produced, folk-based music. “Arriba en la cordillera” told the story of a poor man whose desperate economic conditions forced him to turn to cattle smuggling as a means of survival. Unlike the cheery, pastoral images of the Chilean landscape in *música típica* songs, “Arriba en la cordillera” described a harsh, desolate, and isolated mountainous terrain in which the principle character toiled in solitude. It described how on one fateful journey, the police waited for the man at a mountain pass, shooting him dead and leaving his family behind to fend for themselves. In doing so, “Arriba en la cordillera” both echoed and furthered the social justice themes found in Violeta Parra’s music, singing of anonymous working-class Chileans and their efforts to survive in the face of tremendous hardships.¹³²

¹³¹ Marisol Garcia, “Quelentaro,” Musicapopular.cl: La enciclopedia de la música chilena en internet, <<http://www.musicapopular.cl/3.0/index2.php?op=Artista&id=319>>.

¹³² A recording of “Arriba en la cordillera” can be heard at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nVeazbZ_dm8

Elaborating on the purpose and significance of “Arriba en la cordillera”, Manns published in 1966 along with his album a manifesto regarding his vision for the role of music in contemporary society. In this text, Manns argued that music must express the struggles of the common Chilean, and he asserted this belief in a confrontational tone:

...When poetry abandoned the boundaries...of the human heart and went to dive into life in all its dimensions, when it immersed its fingers into that job, in gambling dens, jails, hospitals, in vices, in rifles, in war without name or cause, for nobody was it a mystery that poetry started to extend its horizons with every step. But it occurs when this same process reaches our song (and song is also poetry), a small sector, frustrated and dark because in the blind terrain that it occupied, without using—different from birds—the wings that its own nature granted it (and song as well can be a bird)...It is not essential that those that wish to continue living their simple pastoral dream bow to the great offensive of those who want to dignify man and justify one day without reason the extraordinariness of their current destiny...This is an hour of combat and a combat in which in which all of humanity is engaged, to the point where a song is keen arm of battle. It is the duty of these generations to carry it out. Much is needed to complete this duty also on the part of the young authors of Chile, who should join themselves to those that make this material in other latitudes...And above all, peace must conquer, the right to live and to work, so that it shines like a star over the cordillera.¹³³

The idea of popular struggles among the Chilean working classes was not new: since the early twentieth century, it had been fundamental both to the general notion among a majority of Chileans that the country had a “social problem” as well as to specific arguments for socio-economic transformation made by the political left. Nonetheless, although some writers and intellectuals had utilized the figure of the *roto* in representations of Chile, this perspective had never become a central component of

¹³³ Patricio Manns, “Entre mar y cordillera,” *El Musiquero*, No. 32 (August 1966).

Chilean identity or national imagery. However, the notion of the struggling poor as a source of national identity began to gain traction in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, in Elías Ugarte Figueroa's 1957 article in *En viaje* entitled "Somos gente triste los chilenos?" Figueroa argued that Chilean miners and farm laborers had a certain melancholy to them, and that their sadness and struggles were embedded beneath the surface of the often jovial sounding *cuecas* and *tonadas*, "if not in the lyrics, [then] in the music".¹³⁴ Such perspectives also had been circulating already among peña musicians and crowds; however, the wide dissemination of both "Arriba en la cordillera" and Manns' manifesto (which magazines such as *El Musiquero* and *Ritmo de la Juventud* also re-printed) brought these sounds and ideas to a wider public as a part of a new image of Chile. At the time he composed and recorded "Arriba en la cordillera", Manns still worked closely with Los Cuatro Cuarto musicians Chino Urquidi, Pedro Messone, and Willy Bascuñan, which accounts for the use of background vocal harmonies reminiscent of the *neo-folclore* sound; however, the simple instrumentation of a single acoustic guitar combined with the bittersweet intensity of the melody and the lyrics foreshadowed Manns' increasing adherence to the peña movement's notion of "purer" or more "authentic" folklore that lacked the refinement of *música típica* and *neo-folclore*. The background vocal harmonies withstanding, "Entre mar y cordillera" opened the doors to the production of more music composed with a purpose similar to that of "Arriba en la cordillera". This release not only started to follow Manns' proclamation in prose that

¹³⁴ Elías Ugarte Figueroa, "Somos gente triste los chilenos?" *En Viaje*, No. 280 (February 1957), 8.

related the struggles of the poor, but also in musical compositions that turned away from the stylized, Central Valley sounds of *música típica*.

Between 1966 and 1968, numerous new artists and peñas emerged, propagating music that drew on more diverse musical traditions and increasingly expressed strong social critiques. Additionally, left-leaning musicians, such as Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay) and influential, Peron-era folklorist Atahualpa Yupanqui (Argentina), began to come from other countries where similar folkloric movements had been underway for several years to attend Chilean peñas, and they did so increasingly as governments of other countries in the region repressed left-wing activism. At the same time, Chilean peña artists also attended foreign events, such as the *Primer Encuentro de la Canción Protesta* (First Conference of Protest Song) in Cuba, where Ángel Parra and Rolando Alarcón met and joined with over forty musicians from countries that included Great Britain, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Australia, France, Mexico, Spain, Haiti, and the United States to issue a signed manifesto that defined the role of “protest-song workers”:

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 voices to demand an immediate and unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam and the total withdrawal of all the forces of the United States from South Vietnam. We support the growing struggle of the black people of the United States against all forms of discrimination 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 the true path that the peoples of Asia, Africa

and Latin America must take to liberate themselves, and we feel honored that Cuba has been the site of the First Conference of Protest Song.¹³⁵

The increased interaction among foreign musicians and Chilean *peña* artists, both inside and outside of Chile, further inspired the incorporation into Chilean *nueva canción* of folk-based influences from other areas of Latin America, as well as the influences of contemporary, socially progressive musicians such as Mercedes Sosa, Chico Buarque, Pablo Milanés, and Silvio Rodríguez. However, by and large, the burgeoning number of *nueva canción* albums that followed “Entre mar y cordillera” by artists such as Ángel and Isabel Parra, Rolando Alarcón, and Víctor Jara in the waning and more tumultuous years of the Frei Administration remained most focused on musical influences from across Chile and social commentaries about the difficulties that the Chilean lower classes endured.

From the mid 1960s, the music of Manns’ and other *peña* artists became increasingly associated with and adopted by the political left, while *música típica* and *neo-folclore* styles became increasingly associated with and linked to the political center and center-right. On a popular level, it was primarily conservatives who continued to identify so closely with a sense of identity and *chilenidad* rooted in the Central Valley traditions of the *huaso*. As Pablo T, a self-described conservative from a wealthy land-owning family, recalled, songs such as “El corralero” and “Chile lindo” during the late 1960s, were “typical, typical music...it is the most Chilean...That was our music, Chile’s

¹³⁵ “Encuentro de la Canción Protesta,” *Casa de las Américas*, Año 7, No. 45 (November-December 1967), 139-156.

music...but never the music of the Communists.”¹³⁶ *Música típica* and *neo-folclore* also became heavily associated with the political center and right on an institutional level, and the Christian Democrats, for example, in the second half of the 1960s raised money through industrial sponsorship to send Los Huasos Quincheros on foreign tours as Chile’s “cultural ambassadors”.¹³⁷ Similarly, Benjamín Mackenna recalled that the link between Los Huasos Quincheros and the Army dated back to 1967. At this time, the group “began a relationship with the Army, especially with the Arma de Caballería, with which we would remain very connected.”¹³⁸

On the other side, not only did left-leaning artists, intellectuals, students, and political leaders continue to comprise the majority of the peña crowds, but many of the most prominent artists themselves engaged in left wing activism. For example, Ángel and Isabel Parra were part of a group of two hundred and twelve young men and women who barricaded themselves inside the National Cathedral for fourteen hours on August 11, 1968. In the Cathedral, Ángel and Isabel Parra sang Ángel Parra’s song “Oratorio para el pueblo” (“Oratory for the Pueblo”), and the group prayed for the pueblo of Biafra, the fallen in Vietnam, the exploited working class in Latin America, the political processes in Brazil and Uruguay, and those who had died trying to “liberate” South

¹³⁶ Pablo T., personal interview, 3 June 2009.

¹³⁷ Jan Fairley, “La nueva canción latinoamericana,” 113, 114.

¹³⁸ Benjamín Mackenna, “Nuestro compromiso con la música chilena” in Jaime Ferrer Mir, ed. *Quincheros: andanzas de cuatro guitarras* (Santiago: Editorial Don Bosco, 2003), 128-129.

America.¹³⁹ Additionally, many of the *nueva canción* musicians also attended controversial foreign music festivals, such as Rolando Alarcón and his participation in the *Festival of Protest Song* in Cuba. However, the growing association between the *nueva canción* style of folk-based music and the left became further entrenched as leftist political parties began to adopt officially many of the early *nueva canción* songs as their own. In 1966, the *Congreso Nacional de las Juventudes Comunistas* (National Congress of the Communist Youth) produced an official songbook that blended foreign Communist anthems with various *nueva canción* style songs. The first section of the book included “La internacional”, the international hymn of the Communist Party; “La joven guardia” (“The Young Guard”), a Soviet song dedicated to young Communists; “Himno de las juventudes del mundo” (“Hymn of the Youth of the World”), the hymn of the Federación Mundial de las Juventudes Democráticas; “Forjad”, the hymn of the Juventud Libre Alemana; and “Himno del Movimiento 26 de Julio”, a hymn dedicated to the Cuban Revolution. A series of “folkloric and popular songs” that came from a variety of Chile’s outlying regions composed the second section of the book, including “A la orilla de un río” (“At the Edge of a River”), a *cueca* from Talca by Cuncumén; “La trastrasera”, a *danza chilota* (dance from the southern island of Chiloé); “Cueca del joven comunista” (“Cueca of the Communist Youth”) by Richard Rojas; “Sau-Sau”, a dance from Easter Island recovered by Margot Loyola; and “El trote” (“The Trot”), a northern dance from the region of Tarapacá. The third section of the book comprised songs that it classified as

¹³⁹ *Los cristianos y la revolución* (Quimantú publication). Also see: “La insolita toma de la catedral,” *Vea*, 15 August 1968.

“*nueva canción*”, including “Manos nortinas” (“Northern Hands”), a song about struggling miners in the Chilean north by Enrique Alvarez; Rolando Alarcón’s “¿Adónde vas, soldado?” and “Si somos americanos” (“If We Are Americans”), the later of which evoked heavily a notion of Bolivarian identity; and “El norte muere de sed” (“The North Dies of Thirst”), a *cachimbo* (a form of northern music and dance practiced at patron saint festivals) by Richard Rojas. Songs from Spain and Cuba made up the fourth and fifth sections of the book, and the final section focused on music “From Other Countries”: “Canto a mi América” (“Song to My America”) and “La paloma Americana” (“The American Dove”) by Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti; “Nostalgias tucumanas” (“Tucuman Nostalgia”) and “Zamba del grillo” (“Zamba of the Cricket”), two Argentine *zambas* by Atahualpa Yupanqui; “Zamba del regreso” (“Zamba of the Return”), by Sergio H. Villar; and “Lamento borincano” (“Borincano Lament”), an ode to Puerto Rican freedom by Rafeal Hernández.¹⁴⁰ Clear differences existed between overtly political songs, such as “Cueca of the Communist Youth”, which had evolved in large part from Violeta Parra’s social justice themes, and the folkloric recapitulations of Margot Loyola and other folklorists; however, it was neither the question of whether or not a song incorporated overtly political lyrics nor the degree to which a song incorporated folk traditions from Chile and/or Latin America that united this music as part of a singular movement. Rather, what united this music was the underlying embrace

¹⁴⁰ Congreso Nacional de las Juventudes Comunistas, “Cancionero al Quinto Congreso Nacional de las Juventudes Comunistas,” 1966.

of influences and identity rooted in folk traditions from beyond just Chile's Central Valley by a community of musicians and listeners linked to the political left.

The shifting notions of identity and the more extreme expressions of social consciousness that characterized the emerging *nueva canción* music between 1965 and 1968 distinguished it from *música típica* and *neo-folclore* forms of Chilean folk-based music. *Nueva canción* quickly became a style of music popular among younger and more progressive, left-leaning sectors of Chilean society, while more conservative and often older sectors tended to prefer *música típica* and *neo-folclore*; however, despite these developing distinctions, most Chileans still considered all of these styles of music to be Chilean “folklore” and generally did not harbor any exceedingly strong objections towards any of them. Radio programs, venues, and performances commonly played these styles together, and even the strongest proponents of *música típica* did not feel overly antagonistic towards *nueva canción*. For instance, as Benjamín Mackenna explained, “There are other parts of Chile where other types of music have been popular. For example, in the north, there is a lot of Andean music, which is very similar to the music of Bolivia, Peru, and northern Argentina—but that music is not music that you would use to represent Chile, because it is the music of the Central Valley that is the most Chilean...the music of the Central Valley is true Chilenidad”¹⁴¹ Nonetheless, Mackenna also recalled that during the mid and late 1960s, Los Huasos Quincheros maintained “excellent relations” with many *nueva canción* singers “of very high quality”, such as

¹⁴¹ Benjamín Mackenna, personal interview, 13 May 2009.

“Margot Loyola, Rolando Alarcón, and others”. Mackenna viewed these musicians as “people absolutely from the left, but with whom we never had any problems and with whom we did things together.”¹⁴² Moreover, through the mid-1960s, when musicians, journalists, and others from all political affiliations spoke in support of Chilean “folklore”, they did so inclusively and voiced a need to promote better all of Chile’s folk-based artists, regardless of the folk-based style of music they performed or their politics. While such tendencies reflected the general acceptance exhibited by Chileans towards their less preferred styles of folk-based music during this period, such amicability would experience an abrupt transformation beginning in 1969.

¹⁴² “Entrevista con Benjamín Mackenna,” P.U.C. Archivo de Música Popular.

Chapter IV: Nueva Canción and Unidad Popular: Programming Change

President Eduardo Frei Montalva had made large promises regarding social change, agrarian reform, and the alleviation of class conflict, but even by the end of Frei's presidency, many of those promises remained unfulfilled. Nonetheless, Frei's government had a profound impact on Chile in that it raised expectations about further social, economic, and political reform. Frei began his political career in the Conservative Party and later joined the Falange and then the Christian Democrats, a past that marked Frei with conservative tendencies, including his embrace of *huaso* imagery (see Appendix). As President, he pursued a policy of cautious reformism that caused many who viewed his reforms as too limited or as moving too slowly to take matters into their own hands. For example, in addition to the previously noted occupation of the National Cathedral in 1968, students occupied the Universidad Católica in 1967 to demand progressive changes to the administrative and educational structure of the Catholic institution. On a wider scale, as inflation mounted during Frei's final years, struggling Chileans began to seize lands for home construction in urban Chile and farming in the countryside. Within this context, a growing number of Chileans rejected the notion that centrist policies were adequate to stabilize Chile: progressive segments of the Christian Democrat party shifted leftward, while more conservative, largely middle-class and elite factions of the centrist party responded to the lack of social control Frei was able to maintain at the end of his presidency by shifting towards the right. With demand for an increased pace of social reform on the rise among more progressive Chileans, and with a partial fragmenting of the socially and economically diverse "hodgepodge" that made up

the Christian Democrat party, the 1970 elections essentially became a referendum on how the increasingly radical demands of the working-class could best be contained within the political system. While the right relied more heavily on a retrograde, forced suppression of the working-class, the center and left proposed initiatives that promoted various degrees of reform.¹

On the surface, conditions in 1970 appeared ripe for Salvador Allende Gossens to win the presidential election. Allende ran as the candidate of the Popular Unity Party, an electoral coalition of the Socialist, Communist, Radical, Social Democratic, and MAPU Parties, against Christian Democrat candidate Radomiro Tomic and National Party candidate Jorge Alessandri. Chile had maintained a strong leftist voting block in the previous three presidential elections; Allende, the leftist candidate in each of these elections, and the candidate of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity or UP) in 1970, had lost by only 30,000 votes in 1958. Neither conservative nor centrist governments had been able to quell Chile's ongoing social problem, and in 1970, 12 percent of urban Chilean households and 25 percent of rural Chilean households remained below the poverty line. Moreover, relative poverty levels, or those households making less than half the average per capita income of all Chilean households, comprised 38 percent of the

¹ See: Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, 1985; Cristián Gazmuri Riveros, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época* (Santiago: Aguilar, 2000); Patricio Dooner, *Cambios sociales y conflicto político: el conflicto político nacional durante el gobierno de Eduardo Frei (1964-1970)* (Santiago: Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos, 1984); Thomas Edwards, *Economic Development and Reform in Chile Under Frei, 1964-1970* (East Lansing: Latin American Studies Center, 1971).

urban population and 39 percent of the rural population.² Although the left never experienced dominant electoral success, it did hold a consistent base of support among the urban proletariat (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2), and to a lesser degree, support among rural laborers. Furthermore, a significant leftist faction existed among middle-class Chileans who felt particular concern for social injustice and capitalist exploitation that they attributed in large part to United States imperialism.³ Finally, the expansion of voting rights to include eighteen year olds and illiterates, two populations with the potential to increase leftist support among the working-class and among young middle-class progressives, further heightened Allende's chances.

Set against a backdrop of international events, including the course Castro had taken in Cuba, protests against the Vietnam War, and the Student Movement, all of which had also become critically important to many Chileans, Allende's candidacy in 1970 was a source of great excitement for some and great fear for others. While Allende worked to articulate and educate the working-class about what was the most economically and socially empowering platform among the three candidates, his opposition mobilized against him. Allende's opposition had control of the media: the major newspapers, the largest radio stations, and a conservative television channel. As the 1970 elections approached, Chile's newspapers increasingly lined up according to political affiliations,

² Oscar Altimir, *The extent of poverty in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1982), 82-96.

³ Juan De Onis, "Chile's Middle Class a Willing Force in Move to Left," *New York Times*, 26 October 1970. The definition of the middle class in this context is those earning between \$2,000 and \$12,000 per year. Chile's average annual income in 1970 was \$500.

with *El Siglo* (Communist), *Última hora* (Socialist), and *Clarín* in support of Allende, and *La Prensa* (Christian Democrat), *El Mercurio*, *La Segunda*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, and *La Tercera* in opposition. *El Mercurio*, which was owned by the conservative Edwards family along with *La Segunda*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, and the Lord Cochrane agency representative and administrator of the UPI and Hearst interests in Chile, was Chile's largest and most renowned newspaper.⁴ It became central to the process of political division within the press, and its efforts to promote a more conservative political environment in Chile escalated with fiscal and logistical assistance from the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the CIA, respectively.⁵

Prior to Election Day, *El Mercurio*'s pages included an array of anti-Popular Unity propaganda that utilized several primary arguments to deter Chileans from voting for Allende. First, as expressed in a full-page letter that the conservative group *Chile Joven* published in *El Mercurio* two days before the election, Allende's opponents emphasized the threat that "Marxism" posed to Chile and the Chilean way of life; they contrasted the virtues of "liberty, democracy, and patriotism" against the threats of "tyranny", "economic failure", and submission of the Chilean spirit that Allende posed:

For various months, "Chile Joven" has been alerting the country about the grave consequences that the eventual implantation of a Marxist regime would have on our Patria. It has collected for it, the dramatic experience of all the nations of the world that have fallen into slavery without return from the communist tyranny...And if in countries as distinct as Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Russia or China, Marxism has been identical in its

⁴ Mike Gonzalez, "Ideology and Culture Under Popular Unity" in Philip O'Brien, ed., *Allende's Chile* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), 115.

⁵ *ITT-CIA: Subversion in Chile* (Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1972).

totalitarian characteristics and in its economic failure, why would it be any different in Chile? Never has a nation voluntarily chosen communism, and it will not be a nation so haughty and dignified such as Chile that would freely choose to submit to an oppressive slavery...Chile Joven calls on the men and women who love liberty, democracy, and the spiritual values of man to defeat Marxism with the weapon that it most fears: spontaneous and free decision of a non-submissive nation.⁶

The conservative opposition to Allende frequently articulated several other primary arguments against the Popular Unity candidate during the final days of the campaign, as expressed by *El Mercurio*'s publication of Alessandri's closing remarks. In these remarks, Alessandri stressed a common theme in conservative arguments: the need for social and economic stability and for "moral" values.

At the start of this campaign I asserted that the principal cause of the problems that face the Republic are a profound and sharp moral crisis that has debilitated the principle of authority, together with relaxing the basic concepts of hierarchy and discipline that should govern the shared lives of free men, upsetting values and institutions their integrity is fundamental for our democratic life. The political demagoguery and a process of debilitation and stagnation of our economy are, without a doubt, characteristics of our current situation. It is not possible to hope to escape it without an accelerated economic development, which in the present is detained as a consequence of an anachronistic regime that is absolutely inadequate in the present circumstances.⁷

The lack of economic stability and "moral" values lamented by Alessandri was essentially a reference to the social and structural changes that had begun to develop during the Frei administration, and the corresponding efforts by progressive sectors of

⁶ *El Mercurio*, 2 September 1970.

⁷ "Aguda crisis moral ha relajado conceptos de autoridad y disciplina," *El Mercurio*, 4 September 1970.

society to push those changes further. *El Mercurio* also ran ads by groups such as the *Sociedad Chilena de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad*, which both reinforced and furthered this point by criticizing not only Tomic and Allende, but also Alessandri for his “deplorable act” of not denouncing more assertively the Agrarian Reform that this organization believed to be the source of the “wrongs and injustices” plaguing Chile.⁸

Although these efforts demonstrate a significant level of concern among Allende’s opposition about the possibility of a Popular Unity victory in 1970, this opposition also remained confident that Allende would not become president. In the final days of the campaign, *El Mercurio* ran photos spreads from large Alessandri rallies around the country, where the newspaper proclaimed that the “authentic *pueblo*” had turned out to foment the anticipated “great victory” that Alessandri would achieve on September fourth.⁹ Moreover, Gallup polls published in *El Mercurio* just days before the election projected an Alessandri victory by more than ten points.¹⁰ Even Popular Unity supporters, who felt great excitement about the possibility of Allende becoming president, expressed surprise both when Allende won the election and when opposition forces did not intercede to prevent him from assuming office. Considering Chile’s history, neither conservatives nor leftists were irrational in their expectations about the

⁸ “Llamado a las urnas,” *El Mercurio*, 1 September 1970.

⁹ “Así forjó Chile la gran victoria del próximo viernes: Alessandri!” *El Mercurio*, 2 September 1970.

¹⁰ “Amplia ventaja para Alessandri,” *El Mercurio*, 2 September 1970. This Gallup poll showed Alessandri with 41.5 percent, Tomic with 29 percent, and Allende with 28 percent.

election: Chile had not elected a leftist government since the Popular Front era, Allende had already lost three previous presidential elections, and, as *Poder Joven* pointed out in an *El Mercurio* spread, “a nation had never voluntarily chosen communism.”¹¹ In the midst of this slight air of inevitability, Allende’s opposition stopped short of exerting a truly venomous, no-holds-barred effort against his campaign. The candidates, although sharply critical of one another’s political views, maintained a relatively cordial level of public respect towards one another. Additionally, as sharply angled as *El Mercurio* was against Allende’s campaign, it still published Popular Unity ads in its pages—a strategy that neither the newspaper nor Allende would repeat in subsequent elections. Even the United States, which greatly feared the establishment of further leftist regimes in Latin America, allotted a mere \$425,000 to combat Allende’s election with propaganda that tied him to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the United States stipulated that these funds be used solely to slander Allende and forbade any use of these funds to provide support for either Tomic or Alessandri; CIA Director Richard Helms complained that this approach to preventing Allende’s election was deeply inadequate, as it was the equivalent of trying to “beat somebody with nobody.”¹² At the same time, as Vasili Mitrokhin and Christopher Andrew have asserted, the KGB utilized its pro-Allende funds more effectively than the CIA used its anti-Allende funds. The KGB not only outspent the CIA

¹¹ “Chileno,” *El Mercurio*, 2 September 1970.

¹² Vasili Mitrokhin and Christopher Andrew, *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 71-72.

in Chile during the late 1960s, but it dispersed Soviet funds directly to Allende and to the Chilean Communist Party to be utilized as they saw fit in their electoral campaigns.¹³

In sum, the tumultuous final years of the Frei administration and the heightened anxieties caused by the Cold War itself made the 1970 election feel particularly important and dramatic for all sides. It forced Chileans to line up either for or against further reforms that appeared to many as if they verged on the dismantling of Chile's traditional social, economic, and political structures. Nonetheless, despite the excitement this situation caused among the political left and the fear that it caused among the political right, an underlying feeling that Allende would not become president muted the intensity of political polarization and kept the 1970 election predominantly within the boundaries of a peaceful democratic process.

The Growth of Nueva Canción: Víctor Jara, Quilapayún, and Inti-Illimani

Following Patricio Manns' "Arriba en la cordillera" album, *nueva canción* music experienced a boom between 1966 and 1970. The number of Chilean peñas (musical cafes) expanded during this period, and many of the *nueva canción* movement's leading figures published new recordings, including eight albums from Ángel Parra; Isabel Parra's "Isabel Parra" (1966), "Isabel Parra Vol. II" (1968), and "Cantando por amor" (1969); Patricio Manns' "El sueño Americano" (1966), "El folklore no ha muerto, mierda!" (1967), and "La hora final" (1968); Rolando Alarcón's "Los Emigrantes" (1969), "El mundo folklórico de Rolando Alarcón" (1969), "Por Cuba y Vietnam"

¹³ Ibid.

(1969); and Víctor Jara's "Geografía" (1966), "Víctor Jara" (1967), and "Pongo en tus manos abiertas" (1969).¹⁴

Unlike many other *nueva canción* artists, Víctor Jara came from a poor family of rural farmers. As a child, Jara encountered various forms of folkloric music, ranging from *cuecas* and *tonadas* to *canto a lo humano* and *canto a lo divino*, in the small, Central Valley farming community of Lonquén. After Jara's father left the family, his mother, Amanda, raised the children alone and moved them to Santiago in search of better employment and educational opportunities. Although Jara retained an interest in the rural music of his youth, he studied to be an accountant, then entered seminary school, and finally enlisted in the military. Subsequently, Jara developed an interest in theater, and in 1956, he enrolled in the Theater School at the Universidad de Chile, where he earned degrees in both acting and directing. During his second year at the Theater School, Jara came into contact with both Violeta Parra and a group of students who took part in the folk troupe, Cuncumén. Although theater remained his primary pursuit, Jara shared a desire with the members of Cuncumén to study and perform what they perceived to be a "purer" form of traditional folkloric practices than existed in the *música típica* movement. Accordingly, Jara joined Cuncumén in 1958; he also began to collaborate with Violeta Parra on several works and develop music on his own, further familiarizing himself with musical song and dance from across Chile.

¹⁴ Between 1965 and 1970, Ángel Parra released ten albums: *Ángel Parra y su guitarra Vol. I* (1965), *Oratorio para el pueblo* (1965), *Ángel Parra y su guitarra Vol. II* (1966), *Arte de pájaros* (1966), *Ángel Parra y el tocador afuerino* (1967), *Al mundo-niño, le canto* (1968), *Chile de arriba a abajo* (1968), *Canciones funcionales* (1969), and *Canciones de amor y muerte* (1969).

Politically, Jara embraced communism, as he explained in a letter to Joan Jara in 1961:

I think that with the little you know about my family and the people among whom I was brought up, you can tell that I know what real poverty is like. I can't live in a dream world. And my idea as a communist is nothing more than to support those who believe that in a regime of the people, the people will be happy.¹⁵

While Jara's early work was not explicitly "political" in the manner that some of his later work would be, it did reflect his political orientation and exhibited the central characteristics of the emerging *nueva canción* style: an emphasis on sounds deemed to be less commercialized and more "authentic", the incorporation of styles from across and beyond Chile, and a socially-conscious representation of the difficulties present in the lives of Chilean laborers. As Patricio Manns has recalled of Jara's early *peña* performances: "In his debut, he [Jara] showed the start of his evolution: "El cigarrito' y 'La cocinerita'. The first was already in the route that many of his future compositions would follow; the second was an arie of the altiplano that demanded great vocal strength and attracted the listener with its rhythmic force and the humor of its lyrics."¹⁶

Throughout his musical career, Jara exhibited a wide diversity in his music that ranged from love songs ("Te recuerdo Amanda") to socially conscious compositions ("Luchin") to explicitly political statements ("Brigada Ramona Parra"), and from the sounds of rural, central Chile ("La flor que anda de mano en mano") to those of the

¹⁵ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 65.

¹⁶ Patricio Manns, *Violeta Parra* (Madrid: Ediciones Júcar, 1978), 62.

Andean north (“Ojitos verdes”), of Cuba (“A Cuba”), and even of the United States folk movement (“El martillo” and “La casitas del barrio alto”, which were Chilean adaptations of “If I Had a Hammer” and “Little Boxes”).¹⁷ However, the majority and most prominent of Jara’s songs through the late 1960s and particularly into the early 1970s integrated explicitly political themes with sounds that drew most heavily upon folk music from across Chile and the Andean region.

As Joan Jara has recalled, by the late 1960s, her husband was “enthusiastic about the possibilities for change...and that he personally could be of more use to the cause—which he felt to be more important than his own career...He wanted to explore to the fullest the possibilities of communication through popular song and music and the potential for harnessing that work to the fight for revolutionary change.”¹⁸ In this sense, Jara’s music, like that of many of his *nueva canción* peers, evolved away from Violeta Parra’s style of socially-conscious, Chilean-based music and towards a blend of even more diverse folk roots, with a commitment to the Chilean Left; folk-based music was evolving from an art form that contained social or political messages to a fundamentally social or political message relayed through a form of art. This dramatic shift is evident in the stark contrast between the socially-conscious, Chilean and Andean focus of Jara’s

¹⁷ “El martillo” is an adapted version of “If I Had a Hammer” and “Las casitas del barrio alto” (1971) is an adapted and “chileanized” version of Malvina Reynolds’ “Little Boxes”. The *nueva canción* group Tiempo Nuevo also adapted “We Shall Not Be Moved” and recorded “No nos moverá” in 1970. The dates cited for various *nueva canción* songs refer to the date that artists and record companies released recorded versions of the songs. However, it is important to note that with limited opportunities to record and distribute *nueva canción* music, artists circulated many songs through peñas and music festivals prior to their release as recordings.

¹⁸ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 131-132.

first two solo albums in 1966 and 1967 (*Geografía* and *Víctor Jara*, respectively) and his 1969 release of the more diverse and politically explicit “Pongo en tus manos abiertas”, which included the songs “A Luis Emilio Recabarren” (“To Luis Emilio Recabarren”), Daniel Viglietti’s “A desalambrar” (“Tear Down the Fences”), “El martillo” (“If I Had a Hammer”), “Preguntas por Puerto Montt” (“Questions About Puerto Montt”), “Móvil Oil Special”, and “A Cochabamba Me Voy” (a Cuban *guajira* dedicated to Ché Guevara’s Bolivian struggle). In particular, the album “Víctor Jara” showed a transition towards what Joan Jara has called songs that “were no longer autobiographical but dealt much more with the general problems, tasks and objectives facing the peoples of Latin America—even though they were very often about individual human beings.”¹⁹

However, these songs stopped well short of the harsher critiques and more explicit statements of songs from Jara’s subsequent album, “Pongo en tus manos abiertas”. For example, even in the most controversial of his 1967 songs, “El aparecido” (“The Apparition”), in which Jara paid homage to Ché Guevara, his lyrics remained a thinly veiled reference to the revolutionary, and Jara never specifically mentioned Guevara.

Despite the growing number of albums produced by the core group of early *peña* artists, the production and dissemination of *nueva canción* music still faced tremendous difficulties. The style had grown in popularity and had produced a number of hits, such as “Arriba en la cordillera”, yet it remained less popular and less profitable than rock and other forms of commercial music. From a business standpoint, increased dissemination of *nueva canción* music made little sense for record companies and radio stations.

¹⁹ Ibid., 113.

Moreover, as many *nueva canción* songs grew more sharply confrontational and controversial, much of the music industry further shied away from them. As Radio Chilena disk jockey Luis Flores explained in 1969: “We have tried [to play] some of the so-called protest songs, but the listeners reject them. They say that the music serves precisely to sweeten the daily turmoil and violence. They are not for repeating that dish with a guitar, or whatever.”²⁰ With few alternative outlets for producing and disseminating their music, the core group of established artists found themselves forced to work within the narrow parameters of the recording industry, and aspiring *nueva canción* artists had few viable channels through which to disseminate their music on a wider scale. From the perspective of the political left, conservatives’ control over media outlets prevented the growth of music that the left considered to be of the Chilean people:

The right has utilized up to now all the means of diffusion, in order to support musical manifestations that are in agreement with their interests, without revolutionary content nor moral values of the proletariat. In this scheme, the bourgeoisie has rejected folkloric manifestations. It is clear that any type of manifestation that would have any “scent of the pueblo”—as they say—remains outside this scheme.²¹

In response to these difficulties, the JJCC (Chile’s Communist Youth) cultivated the Discoteca del Cantar Popular (DICAP) to increase the production and dissemination of *nueva canción* style music. The idea for DICAP, born out of the *Ninth Festival of the Youth* in Bulgaria and its mission to demonstrate solidarity with Vietnam, emerged in

²⁰ Graciela Romero, “El oído alienado,” *El Mercurio*, 11 August 1969.

²¹ *La revolución chilena y los problemas de la cultura: documentos de la Asamblea Nacional de Trabajadores de la Cultura del Partido Comunista*, 11-12 September 1971, 92.

1968. Inspired by the Festival, several young, leftist Chileans decided to express their discontent and opposition towards U.S. involvement in Vietnam by partnering with Quilapayún, a musical group composed of several Chilean university students, to record and produce a Vietnam protest anthem entitled “Por Vietnam” (1968) on a recording label they named DICAP.²² Following the success of this endeavor, DICAP published several other albums in subsequent months with JJCC support. These albums, which included the compilation *Por la C.U.T.* and Víctor Jara’s *Pongo en tus manos abiertas*, sold several thousand copies during DICAP’s first year of existence. In this manner, DICAP began to function, as Artistic Director Juan Carvajal explained, as a “catalyst, to join with the artists, to help them by contributing a means of dissemination—practically the only one—for Nueva Canción.”²³ Carvajal further explained the objectives of DICAP to promote a reaction against the musical structures of creole, central-valley based *música típica* as part of an effort to foster the growth of an alternative notion of folklore that extended across Chile as well as Latin America:

At the start a new expression in Chilean song was born, rooted in the historical moment in which it emerged. Aside from the expansion of the themes, it also had to break the old musical scheme of the “criollo” [style], amplifying a folklore not restricted by geographic-political limits of north-center-south to a more Latin American environment.²⁴

²² “Cuatro años y con pantalones largos,” *Ramona*, Vol. 2, No. 21 (March 21, 1972), 38-39.

²³ “DICAP: Discos con otros jockeys,” Archive, Fundación Víctor Jara, 1971.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

DICAP slowly expanded after its formation in 1968, evolving from an organization that produced primarily songs linked with specific events, such as the Youth Festival in Bulgaria or the anniversary celebrations of the C.U.T., to the primary recording label for *nueva canción* artists. As DICAP grew, it increasingly provided existing musicians with greater artistic freedom and the opportunity to publish songs that were even more explicitly linked to the ideals and institutions of the political left. In addition to facilitating a greater quantity and diversity of music by the prominent early members of the *peña* movement, DICAP also helped new groups to emerge from the *peña* scene and release albums during the late 1960s. Most notably, as the politically-oriented “student movement” of the mid and late 1960s converged with the burgeoning *nueva canción* musical style, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún developed and emerged from university *peñas*. Both Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún drew heavily on indigenous traditions from Chile’s outlying regions, selecting names that meant “Sun of the Illimani [Mountain]” in Aymara and “Three Beards” in Mapuche, respectively, and both often emphasized indigenous sounds, instruments, and rhythms in their music. Although both groups consisted primarily of Communist Youth members and included on their early albums in the late 1960s songs that explicitly supported the political left, Chileans from various demographics noted that their compositions were well-constructed and artistically innovative. In fact, even Benjamín Mackenna, who subsequently condemned much *nueva canción* music for its compromising political content, observed that these musicians “were groups of high musical quality and important performers and [musical]

interpreters”.²⁵ Like most *nueva canción* artists, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún believed that the musical composition of their work was critical to the public’s acceptance of their songs and of the political messages contained within them; they argued that high-quality music aided the leftist cause because the right never would be able to “produce anything as beautiful as Violeta Parra’s “Gracias a la vida” or Luis Advis’ “Cantata popular Santa María de Iquique.”²⁶

With a diverse repertoire that integrated Mapuche and altiplanic influences, Quilapayún composed music in diverse styles that utilized a variety of musical instruments ranging from the *queña* (a long, Andean bamboo flute), to the *zampoña* (Andean panpipes), to the *charango* (a tiny, high-pitched armadillo-shell guitar), to the *bombo* (an Andean bass drum), to *cuatro* and *tiple* guitars, to *maracas* and *bongos*. Despite lacking the previous musical experience that most earlier *nueva canción* artists had, Quilapayún were nonetheless determined to join the folk-based musical movement and began performing publicly at the Peña of the Universidad de Chile in Valparaíso. The members of the group wanted a stronger image than traditional folk groups such as Cuncumén, and a more “authentic” one than the commercial *neo-folclore* or *música típica* ensembles; they looked for an indigenous name with a strong masculine rhythm—the stress on the final syllable—and chose Quilapayún.²⁷ As Quilapayún member Eduardo Carrasco explained, “We did not want anything to do with the neofolklore groups then in fashion, we wanted to put the accent on the expression of song and flee all

²⁵ “Entrevista con Benjamín Mackenna”, PUC Archivo de Música Popular.

²⁶ Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilenda: continuidad y reflejo*, 90.

²⁷ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 102.

the sterile formalism, we wanted more discovery, more art, more poetry, and we oriented ourselves to make as a group that which the soloists were already attaining: a song of more profound roots and a more faithful projection of that which our true popular singers had made, those who had been forging Latin American culture for decades without any recognition.”²⁸ Accordingly, Quilapayún derived its primary, musical influences from Latin American musicians and folklorists, especially Atahualpa Yupanqui (Argentina), Carlos Puebla (Cuba), and above all, Violeta Parra.

Soon after Quilapayún formed, they met Víctor Jara, who became both director for the group and a collaborator. Among Jara’s contributions to the development of Quilapayún was his assistance in shaping their performance style. Most importantly, Jara taught them “that a group with such virile, aggressive, and brazen voices could not do with just any type of staging, that corporal attitude had to correspond with the content of what we were singing, that all types of illumination or background did not have the same effect, that you have to try to obtain precise impressions in the spectator, that expression depends on internal force, on the conviction that one has within, but also on innumerable external factors that already have nothing to do with the intention or the veracity of what one sings.”²⁹

Performing with their trademark beards and their black ponchos, which they believed to “project a popular image without falling into the falsification of folkloric

²⁸ Eduardo Carrasco, *Quilapayún: la revolución y las estrellas*, 21.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

costumes”, Quilapayún began to achieve success at Chilean music festivals in 1966.³⁰ In that same year, the group released its first recordings, publishing twelve tracks on the album “Quilapayún” and collaborating with Víctor Jara on *Canciones folklóricas de América*. The later production included interpretations of a diverse array of folk songs from across Latin America, while the former, despite the inclusion of the established Andean tunes “Cuequita boliviana” and “Dos palomitas”, contained original tracks composed primarily by Jara and Quilapayún that conveyed a more aggressive expression of social criticism. For example, “La canción del minero” sang about the hardships that Chilean miners faced: “I open/ I take out/ I sweat/ I bleed/ All for the patron/ Nothing for the pain/ Miner I am/ To the mine I go/ To death I go/ Miner I am.”

After returning from their first international tour, Quilapayún released the album “Por Vietnam” in 1968. The title track expressed a strong critique of the Vietnam War and U.S. imperialism (“Yankee, Yankee, Yankee/be careful, be careful, black eagle, you will fall/The guerilla will defeat you”), a theme that by the late 1960s reflected the mobilization of many Chilean students against U.S. imperialism as they began to take part in anti-war protests and marches.³¹ Other tracks on the album expressed a similar empathy towards and camaraderie with exploited populations outside of Chile, ranging from two songs of the Spanish Revolution to a memorial for Ché Guevara, a Cuban revolution song, and the Violeta Parra songs “¿Qué dirá el Santo Padre?” and “Los

³⁰ Ibid., 55.

³¹ Among the larger protests was a march of three-thousand Santiago and Valparaíso students in 1969 with the explicit purpose of protesting United States involvement in Viet Nam.

pueblos americanos”. Quilapayún followed “Por Vietnam” with two more albums entitled “Quilapayún 3” (1969) and “Basta” (1969), which, in much the same vein, consisted of a combination of protest music, Communist anthems (including the Soviet guerilla anthem “Por montañas y praderas”), and folk-based sounds from across Latin America. These themes not only formed the basis of Quilapayún’s music, but also that of fellow emerging *nueva canción* group, Inti-Illimani.

Founded in 1967 by university students from various parts of Chile and one student from Ecuador, Inti-Illimani began performing at the peña of the UTE (State Technical University) in Santiago and embarked on their first international tour across the boarder into Argentina in 1968. Similar to groups such as Los Cuarcas and Los de Andacollo, Inti-Illimani emphasized the use of instruments from Chile’s far north and the altiplano, rooting the rhythms of their songs in full-sounding bass drums and the strum of guitars and *charangos*. The basis for this orientation stemmed from a combination of influences. As Fernando Ríos has explained, Violeta, Ángel, and Isabel Parra encountered Andean-influenced music among the community of “modernist-cosmopolitan” folklorists in Paris, and they began to popularize these influences in Santiago after their return to Chile in 1965.³² Reinterpretations of Violeta Parra’s less frequent, Andean-derived recordings by *neo-folclore* groups such as Los Cuatro Cuartos furthered the propagation of Andean-style music in Chile. At the same time, Andean influences had also arrived to Santiago through more direct lines. Not only did some

³² Fernando Ríos, “La Flute Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción.” 145-181.

degree of Andean influence invariably reach Santiago through domestic migration patterns that brought northern Chileans to the capital, but Andean-influenced music arrived in Santiago to a limited degree through recordings and tours by Bolivian, Peruvian, and northern Argentine musicians. From the 1930s, Bolivian, Peruvian, and Argentine folk groups conducted occasional tours in Chile, and from the 1940s, RCA Victor included recordings by Bolivian groups in its Chilean catalog.³³ Additionally, the songs of northern Argentine, folk-based musicians that emerged during the Peron era, such as Los de Salta, Los Chalchaleros, Los Fronterizos, Los Trovadores del Norte, and Los Huanca Huá, also made their way into urban Chile to a limited degree, and Inti-Illimani members cited these groups as having played central roles in their own musical education.³⁴ Although Andean-influenced music remained relatively unknown in central and southern-central Chile until at least the second half of the 1960s, this combination of forces established a groundwork among Chilean folklorists that would cause Andean-influences to become a central component of Chilean *nueva canción* music. As Inti-Illimani member José Seves explained, “Knowing the culture of Bolivia, of Perú, we discovered the matrices of the culture of the continent, and, sin embargo, also we discovered the feeble place that they occupied in those societies. The group fell in love

³³ Juan Pablo González, Claudio Rolle, and Oscan Ohlsen, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1950-1970*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009, 358. Also see: González and Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*, 437-445.

³⁴ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60* (Santiago: Ediciones Logos, 1989), 22, 99.

with altipanic music because of its magic...that silence and obscurity that there is in the pre-Colombian history of the continent.”³⁵

Inti-Illimani gradually increased their incorporation of Andean influences as they encountered new sounds, rhythms, and instruments on their tours in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their songs came to layer a combination of Andean instruments that included the *bombo*, the *charango*, and the *cuatro*, and accentuated the *quena* and *zampoña* Andean flutes; however, unlike many other *nueva canción* groups, Inti-Illimani often emphasized instrumentals over vocals, even to the point of completely excluding lyrics in some songs. Inti-Illimani produced their first recordings in 1968, contributing versions of “Juanito Laguna”, a Mercedes Sosa song, and “Huajra”, an Atahualpa Yupanqui instrumental, to a compilation entitled “Una voz para el camino”.³⁶ As Jorge Coulón explained, in the politically tumultuous period of the late 1960s, Inti-Illimani’s music quickly took a strong political turn: “The political climate had changed for the worse and many people were fearful....In 67 Ché had been killed and then the guerilla [insurgency] of Inti Peredo began. We were faced for the first time with Latin American political instability, then absent from Chile.”³⁷ In the midst of this environment, Inti-Illimani followed their first recordings with the more politically assertive “La cueca de la C.U.T.” (“The C.U.T. Cueca”) and “Zamba de los humildes” (“Zamba of the Humble”) for the compilation album “Por la CUT”. On a two-week tour of Bolivia in 1969, Inti-

³⁵ Ibid., 93.

³⁶ Inti-Illimani were not the first *nueva canción* musicians to perform instrumental songs, but they would become one of the groups most identified with this practice.

³⁷ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*, 23.

Illimani recorded its first full solo album, *Si somos americanos (If We Are Americans)*. This album included what Coulón described as “the last testimonial of the influence of Los Cuatro Huasos, a tonada that began ‘I go to re-ascend the mountains’”, as it exemplified the growing trend among the emerging *nueva canción* movement to integrate folk-based music from across the Americas—and in instances such as Rolando Alarcón’s *Canciones de la Guerra Civil Española* (1968) and *A la resistencia española* (1968), even beyond the Americas.³⁸ Specifically, the *Si somos americanos* album included an interpretation of Rolando Alarcón’s “Si somos americanos” along with an array of tracks that drew heavily on the folkloric music of countries such as Ecuador, Argentina, and Bolivia. Inti-Illimani quickly followed this album with the abbreviated LP, *Canciones de la Revolución Mexicana*, which along with works such as Víctor Jara’s Mexican Revolution *corridos* “Juan sin tierra” (“Juan Without Land”, 1969) and “Corrido de Pancho Villa” (1970) or Quilapayún’s “Carabina 30-30” (1969), established the Mexican Revolution as another motif in *nueva canción* music. In August of the same year, Inti-Illimani also released a self-titled album that included the Bolivarian ode, “Simón Bolívar”, and the popular altiplanic inspired song “La fiesta de San Benito”.

La fiesta de San Benito

¿Dónde está mi negra bailando
 Con las sayas de tundiki, bailando
 Dónde se ha metido mi negra,
 Cargada de su guagüita, bailando
 Negra, samba, aunque tunante
 Siempre adelante.

³⁸ Ibid.

*Hay un lorito con su monito.
Es un regalo de San Benito
Para la fiesta de los negritos.*

*Un viejo caña con su caballo,
Están durmiendo en su cabaña.
Ya nos vamos, ya nos vamos cantando
Con las sayas de tundiki cantando,
Con las sayas de tundiki bailando.*

*Where is my negra dancing?
With the sayas of tundiki, dancing
Where has my negra gone
Carrying her baby dancing
Negra, samba, although crooked
Always forward.*

*There is a parrot with his little monkey
It is a gift of San Benito
For the fiesta of the negritos.*

*There is a white haired old man with his horse
They are sleeping in his cabaña.
We already go, we already go singing
With the sayas of tundiki singing
With the sayas of tundiki singing.³⁹*

Similar to many of Inti-Illimani's songs, "La fiesta de San Benito" has strong roots in the folk sounds and instrumentation of northern Chile and the altiplano. The song begins with a percussion introduction that gradually builds, as the interlocking rhythms of various rattles and drums and layer upon one another. After this twenty-second introduction, a chorus of monophonic voices starts to chant the initial stanzas of the song. At the completion of the first stanza, the vocals rest and a combination of

³⁹ A recording of "La fiesta de San Benito" by Inti-Illimani can be heard at www.youtube.com/watch?v=GT19muBE_Y4

charangos and guitars support the principal melody, which the distinctive sound of a single *quena* carries. In the background, various shouts and jovial exclamations emphasize the celebratory tone of the song. Throughout the remainder of the work, the vocals and *quena* alternate to form the melody, while the percussion combines with the *charangos* and guitars as a background accompaniment.

Unlike many of Inti-Illimani's songs from this period, "La fiesta de San Benito" lacked strong, politicized lyrics and instead described through its prose a religious festival in northern Chile.⁴⁰ Absent from this song are statements such as "For their destiny, caramba/ Precious jewel/ The unity of the working class, caramba" from "Cueca de la C.U.T." (1969) or "Here we continue the same/ With arms always ready/ In the face of the fascist shadow/ And cruel imperialism" in the Cuban *son*-influenced "Carta al Ché" ("Letter to Ché", 1970). Rather, it is a poetic description of a rural community, which is not so unlike the pastoral descriptions of the Central Valley found in many of the *música típica* songs against which leftists and *nueva canción* artists reacted, replaces such overtly political lyrics. Nonetheless, when interviewed about their musical preferences during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chileans of divergent political persuasions recalled dramatically divided perceptions of this song. Those who considered themselves to be "conservative" or "of the right" identified the song as being of a "northern", "altiplano", or "Peruvian" style, and they asserted that although the music seemed "happy" and "good", it was neither "Chilean" nor a sound that they

⁴⁰ Traditionally, the folkloric music of northern Chile developed largely in connection with regional religious festivals, much more so than the folkloric music in other regions of Chile.

themselves enjoyed during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As Los Huasos Quincheros member Vicente Bianchi noted in 1970, such songs were “a mix of American rhythms that we don’t identify with...[and] not songs representative of what is national.”⁴¹ In certain instances, those who identified themselves as “conservative” even stated that they considered “northern music”, and by extension “La fiesta de San Benito”, to have been specifically “linked with the left”, a perception that echoed the conservative perception during the early twentieth century that Peruvian and Bolivian traditions and influences had fomented labor unrest in northern Chile. In contrast, those who identified as “of the left” or as former Popular Unity supporters recalled a strong attachment to this song and to a style of music they considered to be “northern” or “of the north”. They believed that the music either was “Chilean” or that it represented a Latin American identity that was central to their own sense of identity and community. As Daniela B explained, “We were part of a common political project across the region and felt like we were part of one group and one movement with all of Latin America. We had similar social and political problems, and we all listened to one music that represented our common experiences and made us feel like we were all one people; in the music we listened to, like in this altiplanic sound, there was a very strong sense of commonality that marked our identity as Latin Americans.”⁴²

As *nueva canción* artists and supporters appropriated music from other regions, they sometimes overlooked the important social or cultural meanings embedded in their

⁴¹ “El II Festival de la Nueva Canción,” *El Musiquero*, September 1970, 27.

⁴² Daniela B., personal interview, 12 May 2009.

songs. The “*saya*” referenced in “La fiesta de San Benito” is an Afro-Peruvian or Afro-Bolivian dance, and the “*tundiki*” is an Aymara parody of the *saya* with origins dating back to the colonial era. As Robert Whitney Templeman has explained in his research on *tundiki* and other parodies of *saya* in the contemporary Andes, these satires often cause “feelings of humiliation and fear among black people”, and “when confronted with the prospect of singing and dancing *saya* publicly, some individuals [of African descent] felt that this would worsen matters by fueling racist and disparaging acts.”⁴³ This example demonstrates that leftist musicians and their supporters were sometimes tone deaf when it came to issues of race, even as it is clear that those who identified as leftists directly associated the music of northern Chile and the altiplano with the Popular Unity movement and a more egalitarian society, often to a greater extent than those who identified as conservative.

Reflecting on the widespread association that developed between music rooted in the folkloric styles of northern Chile and the Popular Unity movement, Benjamín Mackenna noted:

Before the 1960s, Chileans had no idea that this type of Andean music existed, particularly within Chile. The musicians who started to play this music for the Popular Unity were excellent—they used Andean instruments, played Andean sounds and rhythms, 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—

⁴³ Robert Whitney Templeman, “Latin America, Native America, and the African Diaspora,” in *Women and Music: A History*, 2nd edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 451.

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.⁴⁴

Accordingly, as the perceptions of songs such as “La fiesta de San Benito” demonstrate, even without politically explicit lyrics, particular forms of music became important components of a distinctive sense of identity shared by leftists, and Chileans thereby associated sounds, rhythms, and instrumentation from Chile’s north, which traditionally also been a hotbed of labor unrest, with the left. Moreover, the performance of northern-influenced songs by groups such as Inti-Illimani in peñas and increasingly at official political rallies, coupled with the composition of songs such as “Canción de la propiedad social y privada” (1970), which combined politically explicit lyrics with altiplanic sounds, would further solidify this association between the political left and folk-based sounds from outlying regions of Chile and beyond.

The Inception of Folklore Festivals

Although DICAP played a significant role in the growth of *nueva canción* music in Chile, its resources paled in comparison to those of the large, international recording companies, and DICAP had little influence over what songs radio stations actually played on the air. Accordingly, *nueva canción* music still faced significant dissemination obstacles that required additional support to complement the production work of DICAP. In response, as Juan Carvajal expressed in 1971, “The [DICAP] recording label did not

⁴⁴ Benjamín Mackenna, personal interview, 13 may 2009.

act alone. The Festival de la Canción Comprometida (Valparaíso), those of nueva canción...and the constant work of the Peña de los Parra had a similar and parallel importance.”⁴⁵ Indeed, various other outlets for the music emerged in the late 1960s, including a weekly space for “folklore” on the Universidad de Chile television station; a daily half hour on Radio UTE for the “Chile Ríe y Canta” show; the reappearance of “Aún tenemos música, Chilenos” (“We Still Have Music, Chileans”) on Radio Minería; León Canales’ shows on the Carrera and Balmaceda stations; and what *El Siglo* described as “Bulnes and other radio stations...clearly showing that folklore is recovering places in some channels of communication.”⁴⁶ However, with business interests that preferred to play more established and popular forms of music as well as management from more conservative sectors of society that preferred and identified with the pop, classical, and *música típica* styles dominating the music industry, music festivals became a more viable means to develop and further disseminate *nueva canción*.

Music festivals existed in Chile prior to the end of the 1960s, including the *Viña del Mar Festival*, the *Primer Festival Nacional de Folklore* (1966), the *Primer Festival de la Guinda* (1966), René Lagro Farías’ *Festival de Festivales* (1966), and a plethora of small, local festivals and secondary and post-secondary student festivals. The number, popularity, and organization of music festivals exploded during the final years of the decade. Ricardo García, a radio disc jockey who had worked previously at Radio Minería and Radio Cooperativa, emerged as a primary protagonist in the development of

⁴⁵ “DICAP: Discos con otros jockeys,” Archive, Fundación Víctor Jara, 1971.

⁴⁶ “El folklore en 1969,” *El Siglo*, 31 December 1969.

folkloric festivals during these years. García developed a particular disdain for the most established festivals, such as the *Festival of Viña del Mar*, which he believed to discriminate against the conception of “folklore” linked with the *nueva canción* movement and refused to grant it a platform by which to cultivate sounds from outside the Central Valley. Recounting in 1968 his experience at the *Tenth Festival of Viña del Mar*, García explained:

In the folkloric, we also find ourselves with a deplorable panorama: Chilean music without force, without vigor...and worse yet, without any identity. It was nothing more than an unfortunate replica of aged formulas, like the last vestige of that movement we know as “neofolklore”. It was painful for me to hear, for example, that many judges stated publicly that Chilean music was only the tonada and the cueca, and that they would not vote for any other type of rhythm....The judges were those responsible [for the situation], due to their lack of merit, [and] because of that many [musical] authors decided not to compete. The absence of the leaders of today’s Chilean folklore, like the Parras, Manns, Jara, etc. was lamentable.⁴⁷

García built upon René Largo Farías’ efforts to integrate the top folkloric groups from local festivals throughout Chile at the *Festival de Festivales*, which had included regional musicians such as Uruguayan folk singer Daniel Viglietti and Bolivian folk group Los Jairas, along with prominent Chilean groups such as Quilapayún. Sharing Largo Farías’ perspective, García devoted great effort to the creation of alternative venues and festivals that, in effect, would act similar to a peña, but on a larger scale. In doing so, García hoped to cultivate and promote a broader notion of Chilean folklore.

⁴⁷ “Ricardo García: El décimo Festival: fallas,” *El Musiquero*, Año 5, No. 82 (September 1968), 8.

In the months following his sharp criticism of the Viña del Mar festival, García collaborated with the northern city of Iquique to organize a music festival that would, in conjunction with other such festivals, display the talents of artists such as Ángel Parra, Víctor Jara, and Patricio Manns, who did not fit the mold of those who performed at Viña del Mar. In an essay García published in *El Musiquero* to promote both his perspective and the Iquique festival itself, he emphasized the dissemination difficulties facing the style of music played by these artists, and reiterated his belief that both the music industry and festivals such as the Viña del Mar Festival rejected what he considered to be “authentic”, Chilean folklore music:

Radio communication...has left Chilean music definitively absent from the programming that reaches the masses. The most outstanding young composers and the vocal groups and soloists are limited to perform for a few elites, for university centers, and for a very refined public that considers folklore like something that is “in”. But the truth is that if the means of diffusion have turned their back on authentic music, on the songs that are ours, it is necessary to do something. The poor quality of the songs at the recent Viña del Mar Festival and the forgotten corner in which folklore has been left, have provoked concern among composers. Why shouldn't Iquique be the city where the first flag with what is Chilean music be raised to make itself present in order to return to find itself among the public mass that seems to have left it behind?⁴⁸

In the final paragraph of García's essay, he closed by promising that *música típica* artists, such as Clara Solovera, Luis Aguirre Pinto, Chito Faró, Francisco Flores, and Lucho Bahamondes, would also be given the opportunity to participate in his festival. This final point further emphasized that a significant division had developed prior to the

⁴⁸ “Reindivación de la canción chilena en Iquique,” *El Musiquero*, Año 6, No. 87 (February 1969), 1.

start of 1969 between the *nueva canción* conception of Chilean folklore and the *música típica* conception of Chilean folklore. This division had become significant enough that García believed it necessary to include an addendum regarding *música típica*, an action that demonstrated clearly that the previous content of his essay referred to *nueva canción* artists alone. The fact that García deemed it necessary to extend an invitation to *música típica* artists also indicates that, as Benjamín Mackenna similarly noted, two diverging notions of Chilean folklore and identity had not yet polarized to a point of segregating into fully separate social spheres. Between late 1968 and the close of the *Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* (in Santiago), however, this situation would change significantly.

Polarization and Catholicism: Colegio Saint George and the First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena

In January 1969, members of Chile's artistic and intellectual community gathered on Avenida Bulnes in Santiago. Among those in attendance were musicians, animators, dancers, folklorists, poets, directors, actors, designers, choreographers, painters, sculptors, and various administrators from Chile's cultural industries. These artists and intellectuals affirmed their political support for Popular Unity Candidate Salvador Allende and pledged that they would utilize their media of artistic expression in an effort to "demonstrate with them their identification with the pueblo" and their "unbreakable

faith in the triumph of Popular Unity.”⁴⁹ Expressing the sentiment of the artists in attendance, *El Siglo* predicted that the artists’ actions would transform the Chilean cultural landscape and help to bring about an electoral revolution:

The project...resulted in a deep symbolism, expressive force, and chromatic beauty. We believe that this novel experiment will lay a foundation for manifestations of progressive expression in all of the country along side the presidential campaign. It represents, without a doubt, a new form of mass expression. These artists have found an eager and forward moving road to express in color and line the fervent eagerness for changes of all the pueblo, and also so that all the pueblo would be able to see itself reflected in this artistic manifestation, in a tightly-bound and fruitful communion of spirits.⁵⁰

The allegiance to Allende made by this extensive segment of Chile’s artistic and intellectual community was not unprecedented. Popular poets and musicians had gathered in 1952 at the *Primer Congreso de Poetas y Cantores Populares de Chile* (First Congress of Popular Poets and Singers of Chile) to consider ways in which they could apply their work in the service of the poor and disenfranchised. Moreover, musicians had often supported a political candidate or party in past elections. As far back as the nineteenth century, musicians composed *cuecas* in support of José Manuel Balmaceda’s presidential candidacy.⁵¹ More recently, the Popular Front movement adopted songs from the Spanish Revolution, injected its own lyrics into *rancheras* from Mexico, and composed *cuecas* in support of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, while Jacinto Rey composed “La

⁴⁹ “El arte y los artistas,” *El Siglo*, 24 January 1969.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Fernando Berraza, *La nueva canción chilena* (Santiago: Editorial Nacional Quimantú), 1972.

cueca larga del campesino” in support of Agrarian Reform during the 1960s. Even so, as *El Siglo* noted, rarely if ever had “an act of this type included so many intellectuals, artists, writers and professionals, who apart from stamping their signature on lists that circulated in some sectors or in a book at the foot of the proscenium, signed with their actions in front of the public.”⁵² More importantly, the decision by this segment of the artistic and intellectual community to put their art and teaching in the service of the Popular Unity campaign differed because of the heightened degree of political tension in 1969. In effect, these artists took a strong position by promoting Allende’s election at a moment when Chile seemed to be inching towards class warfare, and they did so with the intention of transforming society and creating a “new culture” and a “new man”.

Nueva canción became “protest music”, but still framed within the bounds of an electoral campaign through the first half of 1969. Prior to mid 1969, the conservative hierarchy limited the growth of *nueva canción* music primarily by passively ignoring its existence and by not publicizing or acknowledging it openly. Conservative radio stations, which until 1970 comprised the vast majority of Chile’s stations, played little, if any, *nueva canción* music. Although conservative periodicals such as *El Mercurio* frequently published articles on art and music, they similarly devoted only limited and infrequent attention to *nueva canción* prior to 1969. For example, when Violeta Parra died in 1967, ten thousand people attended her funeral march in Santiago. Accounts of the event recall instances of people fighting passionately to get close to Parra’s coffin, and they include instances of women throwing themselves on the coffin and emotionally

⁵² “El arte y los artistas junto al pueblo,” *El Siglo*, 24 January 1969.

proclaiming “Nosotras te comprendemos Violeta” (“We identify with you, Violeta”).⁵³ Despite the tremendous outpouring of public grief surrounding Parra’s death, *El Mercurio* published only a brief, six-paragraph account of Parra’s life and suicide, and the newspaper buried this obituary on page thirty.⁵⁴ Similarly, as Eduardo Carrasco noted, the conservative press generally ignored the successes and triumphs of *nueva canción* groups at music festivals: “As always happened with the festivals that we won, the result received minimal publicity....The newspapers barely announced it and we continued with the same difficulties as always for making ourselves heard.”⁵⁵ It was not until large segments of the public began to view *nueva canción* music as extending beyond what they considered to be a threshold that separated party politics from their private lives and from the cultural realm that the divisions between *nueva canción* and *música típica* began to foment emotional conflicts and a significantly greater level of polarization between Popular Unity supporters and their opponents. In mid-1969, perceptions towards *nueva canción* music shifted dramatically, as Víctor Jara’s visit to the prestigious Colegio Saint George stoked an already pervasive paranoia among conservatives about Communist infiltration into Chile’s schools. This episode established a strong association in the minds of conservatives between *nueva canción*

⁵³ Fernando Sáez, *La vida intranquila: Violeta Parra, biografía esencial*, 13.

⁵⁴ “Trágica muerte de folklorista Violeta Parra,” *El Mercurio*, 6 February 1967. This coverage resembled the coverage of Víctor Jara’s death several years later, as only the Christian Democratic periodical *La Segunda* acknowledged the famous singer’s death by publishing a brief blurb that stated that Jara’s funeral had been private and only relatives attended (see: Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 236).

⁵⁵ Eduardo Carrasco, *Quilapayún: La revolución y las estrellas*, 93.

artists and efforts to indoctrinate the children of Chile, and it contributed to conservatives' increasingly aggressive responses to *nueva canción*.

In July 1969, the Colegio Saint George invited Victor Jara to perform at an assembly. The Colegio Saint George was, as the 2004 film *Machuca* makes clear, a bastion of the upper and upper-middle class, but the school extended an invitation to Jara as part of a week of debates and cultural activities that focused on the theme of questioning the traditional values ingrained in the Chilean educational system. As Jara's performance progressed, the audience grew increasingly agitated, with many students hurling obscenities towards Jara and accusing the musician of being a "subversive". The tense atmosphere reached a boiling point when Jara played his controversial song, "Preguntas por Puerto Montt." As Jara implied through song the culpability of the Frei government in the violent deaths of peasant squatters in Puerto Montt, a riot broke out among the enraged student audience, and Jara fled the auditorium under a shower of rocks that conservative students hurled at him.⁵⁶ Rather than ignore the incident, *El Mercurio* published an extensive article entitled "Incidentes por penetración marxista en colegio católico" ("Incidents Caused by Marxist Penetration at Catholic School").⁵⁷ The article emphasized the irate reactions of students and parents to Jara having brought "Marxist" propaganda into the school, and it included a sympathetic interview with the son of ex-Minister of the Interior, Pérez Zujovic. In this interview, Francisco Pérez Yoma asserted that "Preguntas por Puerto Montt" overtly "insulted" and "offended" his

⁵⁶ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 122-124.

⁵⁷ "Incidentes por penetración marxista en colegio católico," *El Mercurio*, 12 July 1969.

father by unjustly implicating the Minister's responsibility in the death of the squatters during an altercation with police.

The Colegio Saint George incident prompted a conservative outcry regarding the Chilean education system and the infiltration of leftist teachings into Chile's schools. *El Mercurio* picked up on this widespread public dissent among conservatives by extending significant coverage of the incident and its aftermath over the following week. The newspaper published manifestos written by Saint George parents and students that lambasted the school and the Chilean educational system. These declarations accused Chilean schools of creating an environment that promoted "Communism" and "social revolution", rather than fostering an environment that promoted "the formation of responsible and conscientious Christian approaches to the contemporary social problem and useful cooperation to achieve economic and social development."⁵⁸ Most explicitly, Gabriel Millán, head of the Centro Secundario de Estudiantes Nacionales, stated:

In the past few years, public and private schools, as well as the universities, have been subjected to Marxist propaganda, under cultural or artistic pretexts, with the publicity or aid of their authorities and the tolerance of the Ministry of Education....In the Colegio "Saint George" in particular, the situation has arrived at such extremes that in a meeting this past Wednesday, the Centro de Apoderados unanimously agreed to de-authorize their authorities and create a "Junta de Vigilancia" in order to guide the moral formation of students....The "Week of Debates and Studies About the Revision of the Chilean Education System" protected Marxist films and brought in communists acting as "artists" through their "protest" poems and songs.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ "A la comunidad del Colegio Saint George," Declaration from La Comisión Especial de Padres de Familia y Apoderados sent to (and published by) *El Mercurio*.

⁵⁹ "Declaración de alumnos en relación al caso del Colegio 'San George'," *El Mercurio*, 15 July 1969.

Echoing the popular sentiment that conservative parents and students expressed over the Colegio Saint George incident, *El Mercurio*'s coverage of the conflict shifted the blame for the in-school violence away from those students who had lashed out in a physically aggressive manner. Instead, the newspaper blamed the national education system and a group of Communist "pseudo-artists" that inappropriately brought inflammatory, Marxist propaganda into the school and provoked riots. Moreover, the articles published in *El Mercurio* echoed the decidedly nationalist tone that students and parents articulated: the rebelling, conservative students acted morally and patriotically in to defend their families, their school, and their country from the threat of anti-Chilean, Marxist forces. As Gabriel Millán's declaration proclaimed specifically, "almost all the 'Saint George' students reacted spontaneously, expelling the pseudo artists from the locale, as should also be done to the professors and remaining authorities responsible for this anti Chilean penetration."⁶⁰

Adding further fuel to the fire, the Saint George incident occurred within days of a second significant event in the evolution of *nueva canción*: the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*. After months of planning, Ricardo García's festival opened in August 1969 not in Iquique, but at the Catholic University in Santiago. Although historically a staunchly conservative institution, the Catholic University, similar to the Catholic Church in general, became caught between its traditional conservatism and the progressive pressures of social Catholicism and student activism in the late 1960s. Dating back to the nineteenth century, an increasing number of Christians began to shift away from

⁶⁰ Ibid.

traditional Christian theology and interpret Christ's fundamental message as promoting social justice: Christian-based clubs, sodalities, and charitable enterprises emerged in Chile during Pope Pius IX's reign (1846-1878).⁶¹ The movement toward distinctly Catholic labor organizations became even more popular when Pope Pius' successor, Leo XIII, issued his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which called for religious values governing employers and laborers. Leo XIII denounced socialism, but accepted Catholic Action and Catholic-based efforts on behalf of the laboring poor. While this reorientation led to the development of new Catholic-based outreach and social assistance programs, the impact of these programs was not, as Brian Henry Smith has demonstrated, universal:

Almost every diocese in the country had established Catholic Action programs by the late 1930s to train more committed lay men, women, girls, and boys in separate organizational units. These circles of reflection and social action were relatively small in membership and also were primarily focused on middle and upper-class Catholics. The total number of participants in the various branches of Catholic Action in 1936 was 45,671—or approximately one percent of the Catholic population in the country. Nine years later the numbers had grown to 58,071 adults and youths, but this still only represented 1.3 percent of the Catholic population...these new structures of the Church were elitist in orientation and never touched directly the vast majority of Catholics, especially low-income sectors who constituted the bulk of the population.⁶²

Despite such limitations, these Catholic-based outreach and social assistance programs formed the basis of a movement that ultimately spawned the Christian Democratic Party,

⁶¹ William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 138.

⁶² Brian Henry Smith, *The Catholic Church and Political Change in Chile, 1920-1978*, Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven, 1979), 191-192.

a political party that eventually would compete with the left and achieve significant levels of support among working-class Chileans, particularly in rural areas.

Despite the tensions that often formed between Communists and the Church, the Church's shifting stance on social assistance programs created a potential bridge between Christians and the left. Accordingly, the Chilean left was able to maintain relatively amicable relations with at least the more reformist segments of the Church all the way through the Allende era. Many leftists considered themselves Christians, and out of concern for a potential rift between leftist ideology and Christianity, the Popular Unity Program promised "the right of education and culture with complete respect for all religious ideas and beliefs and guarantees for the exercise of worship."⁶³ By framing the Popular Unity platform in a manner that recognized the parallels between "social" Christianity and leftist reforms, Allende effectively prevented progressive and even many centrist Chilean Christians and Church officials from believing that his election would create a moment of extreme urgency in which the Church would have to "speak out" against his government. In 1971, Christian Democrats who were disillusioned by their party's increasing efforts to undermine Allende by collaborating with the right founded the Christian Left Party and joined Popular Unity.

Popular Unity efforts to maintain amicable relations with the Church clearly improved the party's image in the eyes of many clergy members and Catholics. This success also stemmed in part from the Second Vatican Council and the Medellín

⁶³ "UP Program of Government," in *New Chile* (New York: North American Congress of Latin America, 1972), 135.

Conference, both of which led to a spread of liberation theology. Beginning in late 1967, Chilean bishops began distancing themselves from an overt affiliation with the Christian Democratic Party. In doing so, “the bishops endorsed structural changes favoring the poor but left Chilean Catholics free to decide how to accomplish this.”⁶⁴ Dissent within the Church became more public and confrontational, and “twelve of the country’s twenty-three diocese held synods to discuss how best to implement the directives of the Vatican Council....At those meetings, priests, nuns, and laypeople alike complained that the Church was still too authoritarian, and focused unduly on middle- and upper-income groups.”⁶⁵ Roughly five percent of Chilean priests and nuns, most of which worked in “popular” neighborhoods, sought to align the Church with socialism and Popular Unity; they contended “a cleric’s responsibility...was to give the most effective witness he could to Christian values, which, in the present context, required support for Allende’s Popular Unity government.”⁶⁶ These clerics asserted that Popular Unity provided the best means by which to promote Christian values in Chile; however, they remained a small minority of the clergy.

Despite the Church hierarchy’s official incorporation of increased social activism into Church doctrine after the Second Vatican Council and the Medellín Conference, conservative forces prevented the boon of Church support for Popular Unity that Allende had anticipated his party’s efforts “to try to make a reality of Christian thought” would

⁶⁴ Michael Fleet and Brian H. Smith, *The Catholic Church and Democracy in Chile and Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

foster. Most importantly, Church policy did not translate into universal transformation of personal religious beliefs and practices among Chileans, as many Chileans remained entrenched in personal, traditionalist notions of Christianity. Although surveys indicate that 64.8 percent of all practicing and non-practicing Chilean Catholics, as well as 76.6 percent of Catholics who attended church regularly, believed that the Church favored social changes, four-fifths (80.7 percent) of those who attended mass regularly, and nearly three-fourths (73.6 percent) of those who attended mass occasionally, asserted that the essence of religion was faith in God, discipline for the passions, or solace in difficult moments.⁶⁷ Only one-tenth (8.2 percent and 14.2 percent, respectively) of those who attended mass regularly or occasionally believed the essence of religion included service to one's neighborhood or brotherhood among people (as opposed to 47.1 percent of Catholics who rarely or never attended mass).⁶⁸ Over three-fourths of those who attended mass regularly and occasionally described the Church as a religious organization made up of priests and the faithful, a house of God wherein prayer and sacraments take place, or a source of religious salvation; roughly two-thirds of this group also asserted that they wanted their priest to speak **only** about the life of Jesus and the necessity of Christian love, and **never** to speak on issues relating to poverty, injustice, or the necessity to participate in efforts to change social and political structures.⁶⁹ Consequently, those Christians who interpreted in Christ's message a strong element of social justice

⁶⁷ Centro de Opinión Pública, 1964. (cit. Brian Henry Smith, *The Catholic Church and Political Change in Chile, 1920-1978*, 189, 235.)

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 290-292.

generally withdrew from the Church, whereas those Christians who remained staunchly committed to a more traditional interpretation of Christianity continued to attend mass and assert their belief that an emphasis on social justice diminished spiritual focus.

The refusal of many practicing Christians to include a social justice component in their religious practice occurred in part because they viewed social concerns as hampering their spirituality, and in part because they viewed traditional Christianity as fundamental to the preservation of morality, stability, and order. Central to these social objectives for conservatives was the preservation of the nuclear family, which conservatives believed the dissolution of traditional gender norms, non-sanctioned sexual relationships, and the loss of respect for traditional Catholic practices and authority were threatening. As María de los Ángeles Crummet has noted, Popular Unity's opposition based much of its anti-Allende propaganda campaign on conservatives' fear that "high rates of alcoholism, the lack of all kinds of freedom, especially religious freedom," and threats to the "fundamental values of family and motherhood" represented the Marxist-driven demise of Chilean society."⁷⁰ Christianity, as the ideological antithesis of these threats, appeared to provide a means to social, economic, and political security. Conservatives felt a strong attachment to a non-reformist notion of Christianity that they viewed not only as fundamental to their spiritual well-being, but also as the source of Chilean "exceptionalism" and stability.

⁷⁰ María de los Ángeles Crummet, "El Poder Femenino: The Mobilization of Women Against Socialism in Chile," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Autumn 1977), 110.

In the midst of this tumult, a microcosm of the debates occurring in the Catholic Church developed within the Catholic University, which became caught between its traditional conservatism and the progressive pressures of the student activism and social Catholicism of the late 1960s. Despite the reformist recommendations of the Second Vatican Council and Medellín, the Catholic University under the direction of Rector Silva Henríquez had resisted any significant changes to its pedagogy and socio-political orientation, leaving the administration at odds with progressive members of the faculty and the bulk of the student body. Tensions between the two sides reached a boiling point in August 1967, as a group of progressive-minded students, the FEUC, orchestrated a student strike and occupation of university facilities on the downtown Santiago campus. As part of the occupation, the students hoisted a subsequently famous banner that read “El Mercurio lies” on the walls of the institution to criticize what they perceived to be the newspaper’s biased coverage of events at the University. The striking students demanded a series of progressive reforms that focused on modernizing the university and linking it more closely with Chile’s socio-economic realities and the needs of “the pueblo”. In response to these actions, a second body of students formed under the name of the Comando de Defensa de la Universidad Católica to denounce the strike and the “violent actions” of the FEUC. Although this group acknowledged that there was “no doubt that many things must be improved in an urgent manner”, it denounced the FEUC’s proposed changes, claiming that they would “destroy the autonomy of the university in respect to the state and its Catholic character.”⁷¹

⁷¹ “Alumnos constituyeron comando de defensa de la Universidad Católica,” *El*

After a standoff of more than a week, university Rector Henríquez accepted the striking students' demands, naming reformist Fernando Castillo to the post of pro-rector and initiating reforms, such as the subsequent establishment of the "extension" school DUOC (Departamento Universitario Obrero Campesino), to link the university more closely with the working and rural classes. Although this settlement ended the strike and set the University on a reformist trajectory, it failed to relieve the ongoing tensions between those members of the university community who envisioned a more conservative, Catholic orientation for the university and those who demanded further reform. Accordingly, when the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena* opened at the Catholic University in 1969, it did so in the midst of a tense environment where interpretation of the tenets of Christianity remained hotly contested.

Organized by Ricardo García and sponsored by the Vice-Rector of Communications and its Department of Cultural Activities, an arm of the Catholic University that the university reform movement had created, the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena* celebrated Chile's folk-based music. It brought together for the first time Chilean artists, composers, producers, and representatives of the mass media in an attempt to explore the current state of this "distinctively Chilean" musical genre during a period in which foreign and foreign-influenced popular music dominated an increasing share of the Chilean music market. The festival included conferences, presentations, and round-table discussions, and a musical competition between twelve leading folk-based artists highlighted the event.

In his opening remarks at the festival, Catholic University Rector Fernando Castillo proclaimed the need for an autonomous and uniquely Chilean form of musical expression: “Perhaps popular song is the art that best defines a community....Our purpose here today is to search for an expression that describes our reality....How many foreign singers come here and get us all stirred up, only to leave us emptier than ever when they leave? Let our fundamental concern be that our own art be deeply rooted in the *Chilean* spirit so that when we sing—be it badly or well—we express genuine happiness and pain, happiness and pain that are our own.”⁷² Castillo’s statement embodied the musical objective championed by all artists present at the festival: to create distinctively Chilean music by incorporating into their work the sounds and images of rural Chile. This objective had shaped the Chilean folkloric movement up to that point, since the overarching goal of promoting Chilean folk-based music in a marketplace dominated by foreign sounds had united all of Chile’s folk-based musicians, regardless of differences in the musicians’ favored folk-based styles or political backgrounds. All of the musicians advocated a uniquely “Chilean” form of music based on the notion that the rural countryside was the source of authentic identity, and all evoked the sounds and images of rural Chilean life: they dressed either in decorative *huaso* suits, hats, sashes and spurs or in simple shirts with long, dark colored, woolen ponchos; they performed variations of traditional Chilean musical forms; and they sang primarily of life in rural

⁷² Nancy Morris, “Canto porque es necesario cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1986), 120.

Chile.⁷³ Although these overarching commonalities suggested a cohesive genre of Chilean, folk-based popular music, the festival soon became a stage on which the growing fissure within Chilean music escalated. According to Joan Jara, “although the festival was organized as a conventional competition, the rivalry which developed was not between the individual composers taking part, but rather between two different and opposing concepts of what constituted Chilean song: the new music, with songs that were critical and committed to revolutionary change, or the ‘apolitical’ songs which gave the impression that nothing needed changing.”⁷⁴ While artists such as Raúl de Ramón, Sofanor Tobar, and Sergio Sauvalle represented what the magazine *Telecran* described as “the traditional: love, religion, and the physical presence of the campo”, Rolando Alarcón and Kiko Alvarez performed “canciones comprometidas” [“politically committed songs”].⁷⁵ Víctor Jara similarly performed a “politically committed song”, seizing the opportunity to call for social revolution, criticize conservative Catholicism, and further define his music in opposition to *música típica*. Ignoring the fact that festival organizers had decided not to invite Quilapayún over concern that the group would cause political controversy, Jara took the stage with members of Quilapayún and performed “Plegaria a un labrador” (“Prayer to a Laborer”).⁷⁶

⁷³ As discussed previously, *música típica* groups presented themselves in more crisp, ornate outfits that included wide brimmed hats, intricately decorated “cowboy-style” bolero jackets, sashes, chaps, and spurs, whereas the emerging *nueva canción* artists, such as Víctor Jara, Quilapayún, and Inti-Illimani, often dressed in long, dark colored, woolen ponchos.

⁷⁴ Joan Jara, *Victor Jara: An Unfinished Song*, 126.

⁷⁵ “Nuevo rostro para la canción,” *Telecran*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (15 August 1969), 20-21.

⁷⁶ “El oído alienado,” *El Mercurio*, 11 August 1969.

Plegaria a un Labrador*Levántate**Y mira la montaña,**De donde viene el viento, el sol, el agua.**Tú que manejas el curso de los ríos,**Tú que sembraste el vuelo de tu alma.**Levántate y mírate las manos**Para crecer estréchala a tu hermano.**Juntos iremos unidos en la sangre**Hoy es el tiempo que puede ser mañana.**Libranos de aquel que nos domina en la miseria.**Tráenos tu reino de justicia e igualdad.**Sopla como el viento la flor de la quebrada,**Limpia como el fuego el cañón de mi fusil.**Hágase por fin tu voluntad en la tierra**Danos tu fuerza y tu valor al combatir.**Levántate y mírate las manos**Para crecer estréchala a tu hermano.**Juntos iremos,**Unidos en la sangre,**Ahora y en la hora de nuestra muerte.**Amén.*Prayer to a Laborer*Stand up**And look at the mountain,**From where the wind, the sun, the water come.**You who change the course of the rivers,**Who with the seeds sow the flight of your soul.**Stand up**And look at your hands**Take your brother's hand**In order to grow.**Together we will go,**United by blood,**The future can begin today.**Deliver us from the master who keeps us in misery,*

*Thy kingdom of justice and equality come.
Blow, like the wind blows the wild flower of the quebrada,
Clean the barrel of my gun like fire.
Thy will be done at last on earth
Give us your strength and courage to fight.*

*Stand up,
Look at your hands,
Take your brother's hand so you can grow.
We'll go together, united by blood,
Now and in the hour of our death.
Amen.⁷⁷*

“Plegaria a un labrador”, which received the event’s top prize, represented a stark contrast to the songs of Los Huasos Quincheros, to whom organizers had dedicated the festival. Composing a song that departed from both the lyrics and style of Los Huasos Quincheros, Jara established the distinctions between two opposing views of contemporary Chile. Unlike the *cuecas* and *tonadas* performed by Los Huasos Quincheros and other *música típica* artists, “Plegaria a un labrador” begins as a slow tempo, reflective piece. It then crescendos and builds into a quick tempo, thickly textured anthem that exudes confidence and excitement as Jara’s words become increasingly militant. Unlike the respectful depictions of esteemed clergy and the Church in Los Huasos Quincheros’ “Cura de mi pueblo”, “Plegaria a un labrador” not only incorporates references to the suffering of the poor and violent social revolution, but it does so while juxtaposing militant, left-wing proclamations on top of thinly veiled references to the Lord’s Prayer.

⁷⁷ A recording of a live performance by Víctor Jara of “Plegaria a un labrador” can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j6Aq2tUdhnw>

Read against the background of the debates and schisms occurring in the Church, “Plegaria a un labrador” asserted in no uncertain terms a harsh criticism of conservative Catholicism and a support for the most radical, liberation theology. Jara had already experienced one run-in with the Church, when his song “La beata” (“The Pious Woman”) triggered outrage among conservatives; government officials, radio stations, and record shops banned “La beata”, which playfully related the story of an elite woman who developed inappropriate feelings for her priest, and the head of the San Francisco Monastery, Father Espinoza, asserted: ““If they have censored it [“La beata”], they have acted correctly because it is scandalous. I quote the words of Christ, ‘He who commits scandal would be better not to have been born.’”⁷⁸ The performance of “Plegaria a un labrador” at the Catholic University further antagonized a significant population of conservative Catholics, who remained strongly attached to their religious beliefs and traditions, and who objected intensely to what they perceived to be impositions upon those beliefs and efforts to alter them by progressive segments of the Church and by the political left.

The Colegio Saint George incident and the *First Festival of Nueva Canción* stoked conservative fears that Popular Unity wanted not only to control and transform the structure of Chile’s government and economic system, but also the values and private lives of all its citizens. In the aftermath of these two concerts, conservatives’ treatment of *nueva canción* artists changed dramatically. Whereas conservatives had previously treated *nueva canción* music with a sense of disinterest or apathy, by the end of August

⁷⁸ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 86-87.

1969, they began to confront the music directly with increasing vigor. No longer ignoring the musical movement, the conservative media increasingly referenced Jara and other *nueva canción* artists in its attempts to slander them. For example, in subsequent discussions of Víctor Jara, conservative periodicals alluded increasingly to the musician being homosexual. In one particularly blunt incident, *La Tribuna* simultaneously attacked Jara's morality, sexuality, and patriotism by publishing a front-page article that reported that police arrested Jara at an all-night homosexual party, where the singer was "dancing a perverted cueca" with young boys; *La Prensa*, the Christian Democrat newspaper, also picked up the fictitious story, as did UPI, which sent out an international cable claiming additionally that the Communist Party had expelled Jara.⁷⁹ As Joan Jara recalled, such episodes were "generally accompanied by a spate of obscene and menacing telephone calls....It showed that he [Jara] was hitting them where it hurt."⁸⁰

In addition to attempts to defame the character of *nueva canción* artists and to intimidate them, conservatives also began to attack *nueva canción* music by emphasizing that it was fundamentally political propaganda. For example, shortly after the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*, Graciela Romero published an exposé in *El Mercurio* that examined Chilean folk-based music and the difficulties it faced in the commercial marketplace. As part of her explanation, Romero emphasized the decisive break between the "political" music of *nueva canción* musicians, such as Víctor Jara and Ángel Parra, and the "apolitical" music of other folk artists, such as *neo-folclore*

⁷⁹ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

musicians, Los Cuatro Cuartos. Seizing the opportunity to reconstruct the Colegio Saint George incident in detail, she stressed Jara's culpability in the episode by characterizing his music as political volatile. She also alluded to Jara's performance at the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*, referring to "La plegaria a un Labrador" as "a composition of short lyrics and explosive content" and proceeding to devote twenty-eight lines of her article to the reproduction of the song's most dramatic and controversial prose.

Such characterizations of *nueva canción* emanated not only from the press, but also from the conservative public. In a letter to *El Mercurio* in early September 1969, Jorge Montaldo Novella criticized *nueva canción* artists for their concerted effort to replace the "true and authentic Chilean music" of the Central Valley with a so-called Chilean music that in fact had nothing to do with Chile:

I see with bitterness that a series of "redeemers", or better yet "inventors", have been born who desire to create a *nueva canción* for us. In order to justify this "laudable" initiative they have spoken against traditional Chilean music, the cueca and the tonada, and at the same time, of the past, they discount something as ours and as old as the huaso suit, arguing that, in the first place, they are past their time, that no longer should one sing of the trees, the haystack, the stream, of nothing that speaks of natural beauty because the people reject it and, secondly, they repeat with silliness a "premise" that the man of the campo, the campesino, has never used the traditional suit. False. There is no doubt that all have not or do not use the traditional suit, but nobody can dispute that the characteristic suit is and was that of the huaso....It is laughable to hear the arguments that discount the interpreters and composers of our true music.⁸¹

Jorge Montaldo Novella continued his criticism of *nueva canción* and what he viewed as its supporters' hypocritical complaints about the decline of Chilean folklore in

⁸¹ "Cartas," *El Mercurio*, 14 September 1969.

contemporary society by expressing his belief that the efforts of *nueva canción* artists to replace *huaso* traditions with *nueva canción* intertwined with political objectives:

But the effort is to try to destroy and erase—driven by the political slogan “to change the structures”—our true and traditional music. How sad it is to see the involuntary political passions in the music... Those principally responsible for the present disorientation and crisis... are the “discjockeys” and secondly those “spontaneous inventors”... But like all prefabricated things that do not obey the real sentiment of the people, they die in a form as boisterous as they are born. I read some stanzas that referred to Mexico and others exist that refer to the disgraceful incidents in Puerto Montt, etc., although these same señores have not yet dedicated their verses to the events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or Poland... In any case I can only think that with traditional Chilean music, whether called folklore or not, there has been a crime of “lesa patria” committed.⁸²

A division between two distinctive styles of folk-based music had been developing for years before 1969. Even by the mid-1960s, as Jorge Coulón noted, two diverging conceptions of folk-based music and identity were already dividing Chileans:

...They [Los Cuatro Cuartos] made the record “Adiós al Séptimo de Línea”, about the war of 1878-84 between Chile, Peru and Bolivia, and that provoked protests in Peru and wounded my Latin American sensibility. Later, when Chino Urquidi dissolved Los Cuartos and formed Los Bric a Brac, signaling at least implicitly, that the folkloric wave had finished, this also affected me deeply. That was when Pato Manns released his record entitled *El folklore no ha muerto, mierda*, with which I identified.⁸³

Despite such growing divisions, through the first half of 1969, proponents of each notion of “Chilean folklore” had remained amicable towards each other and allied themselves in

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Ilumani y la generación de los 60*, 22.

a larger quest to promote “Chilean” music against the dominance of foreign pop music. However, what unity existed among the two strains of folk-based music, and more importantly, the Chileans who listened to them, deteriorated at an increasingly rapid pace after July and August 1969, and each style became more associated with its respective political affiliation.

After the First Festival of Nueva Canción: Growing Divisions and Presidential Politics

The tendency of earlier festivals to invite a relatively diverse array of folklorists dissipated in late 1969 and early 1970. The *Primer Festival del Río Claro*, held in the city of Talca in January 1970 with the support of René Largo Farías, published a Bulletin that explained its conception of folklore and the musical philosophy behind this “folkloric festival”. According to the Bulletin, the Festival promoted three categories of “authentic” Chilean folklore: *la canción tradicional*, *canto a lo humano y lo divino*, and *nueva canción*. *La canción tradicional*, the Bulletin explained, was the style of music interpreted by Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra and encompassed a variety of folk traditions from throughout Chile. By extension, the specific forms of *canto a lo humano* and *a lo divino* represented particular types of “folkloric” music that remained predominantly the domain of non-professional, unnamed payadores and popular singers who played music in the *canto popular* tradition within their localities. In its discussion of *la canción tradicional*, the Bulletin also addressed the question of how *música típica* fit into the Festival’s conception of Chilean folklore. It explained that music in which “reproductions of the landscape and of a superficial and decorated man [with]...a

multicolored poncho, jingling spurs, a “china” suit, his braided lasso or the boots of the huaso” ignored “another campesino, of sandals, denim and woven cotton pants, who also sang with other rhythms and forms, much more firmly linked to the Hispanic tradition.”⁸⁴

The Bulletin additionally discussed *nueva canción* as a folkloric tradition, echoing Héctor Pavez’s comments at the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena* that argued that folklore “should be rebellious, of social and pedagogical character.”⁸⁵ From the perspective of Festival organizers, *nueva canción* was an “authentic” strain of Chilean folklore and a direct representation of “the pueblo”, precisely because of its rebellious and political character. The Bulletin further explained that it based this contention on “innumerable testimonies of other folklorists and Latin American studies, and...[musicians] should create without leaving behind traditional folkloric forms so that the pueblos can adopt them as their own.”⁸⁶

Adhering to these philosophies, Río Claro included numerous songs by musicians whom it considered to be of the *canción tradicional* and *nueva canción* traditions, much to the exclusion of *música típica* style *cuecas* and *tonadas*.⁸⁷ With few exceptions, performers interpreted compositions that adhered to the *canción tradicional* and *nueva canción* conception of folklore, including songs composed by musicians such as Rolando Alarcón, Kiko Alvarez, Sofanor Tobar, Patricio Manns, Richard Rojas, Jorge Yañez, and

⁸⁴ Municipalidad de Talca, *Boletín Oficial del Primer Festival del Río Claro*, 1970.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Among the few exceptions to this orientation, *música típica* artists El Dúo Rey Silva and Pedro Messone performed at the festival, although Messone performed a composition by Richard Rojas.

Pedro Borquez. According to *El Musiquero*'s description of the festival, in the nearly complete absence of *música típica* performances, the folkloric festival acquired a strong political tone:

Many of the performers had forgotten the typical national dress for their public presentations. There was much political flavor in the whole event and this is a factor that should be excluded from an initiative of this order. The traditional suits of the Dúo Rey Silva or La Consentidas, for example, contrasted with the revolutionary style black berets, beards and attire of the other participants.⁸⁸

El Musiquero's assessment of the festival fits with the recollections of Pedro Borquez, a composer and musician who submitted three songs at Río Claro. According to Borquez, the festival allowed artists to present an unlimited number of compositions, and he accordingly proposed three songs: "Canto a la tierra" (a *tonada*); "Canta, guitarra, canta" (*parabién* style); and "Arauco soberano" (a *Mapuche* song). The judges selected only two of these songs to be performed, "Canta, guitarra, canta" and "Arauco soberano". In the popular votes and surveys that followed, the audience expressed a clear preference for "Arauco soberano" as the top song; however, as Borquez explained, festival organizers ignored this fact:

Frankly, I believe, and I was not the only one who thought this, that there was a behind the scenes agreement to impede the triumph of my song for political reasons. A bit earlier we had had a rough conversation with René Largo, who was a loyal militant of the Communist Party, and as we were

⁸⁸ "Gracias a Río Claro," *El Musiquero*, No. 107, 18-19.

not “married” to any party ideology...we remained as “in the chapel” for future considerations.⁸⁹

The *Río Claro Festival* was the first significant festival in a growing number of “folkloric” and *nueva canción* musical events in 1970 that fomented strong political sentiments tied to the Popular Unity movement and generally excluded *música típica* songs. *Nueva canción* artists campaigned heavily for Allende, and in addition to the independent efforts made by these artists, many concerts and festivals also became explicitly linked to the Popular Unity campaign. For example, in April 1970, a mass of some two-hundred folklorists and *nueva canción* artists gathered in Santiago at the *Festival Folklórico de la Unidad Popular*, which *Las Noticias de la Última Hora* deemed “the most important and largest folkloric recital in our musical history.”⁹⁰ The prominent groups in attendance included *nueva canción* figures such as Rolando Alarcón, Quilapayún, Víctor Jara, Inti-Illimani, Patricio Manns, Ángel Parra, and Ricardo García, as well as associated folklorists such as Cuncumén, Millaray, Margot Loyola, and Gabriela Pizarro.⁹¹ As part of the festivities, Salvador Allende took the stage to an ovation of several minutes from the large and excited crowd in order to dedicate the event not to Los Huasos Quincheros, to whom the *First Festival of Nueva Canción* honored as folkloric pioneers, but rather to Violeta Parra for her ability to purvey through music that

⁸⁹ Don Yope, “El primer festival de Río Claro,” Blog, <<http://veguilosmopris.blogspot.com/2009/02/el-primer-festival-de-rio-claro.html>>.

⁹⁰ “El espectacular resultado el Festival Folklórico de la Unidad Popular,” *Las noticias de la última hora*, 29 April 1970.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

“we are at the center of injustice.”⁹² Allende continued by speaking of the deep significance of the presence of popular artists in the Popular Unity movement:

This is not the adhesion of one man, but the conviction that Popular Unity will realize the profound transformations that Chile demands and to which it lays claim... There are no revolutions without songs. Never have there been so many and of such quality. We have the most and the best of them with us.⁹³

Ángel Parra echoed and elaborated on Allende’s comments at the festival, explaining the beliefs of *nueva canción* artists and the Popular Unity Party:

...we dedicate ourselves to song that we feel is a barricade to attack and defend ourselves from those that attempt to keep us culturally colonized... Our songs have become a dangerous weapon that can help to wake the sleeping. There are no revolutions without songs and it is beautiful to sing to the revolution. To sing with the absolute conviction that this is the road and there is no other. To sing to the workers, to the women, to the students, to the campesinos... The duty of the popular singer is to be together with his pueblo. If the pueblo today marches behind Popular Unity, the popular singers will march with it.⁹⁴

Nueva canción musicians frequently voiced their belief that their music was an authentic and genuine expression of the pueblo, and therefore an important weapon in the advancement of a Popular Unity movement they viewed as driven by the will of the masses. Víctor Jara similarly explained how his music was part of the Popular Unity movement, asserting that it reflected and advanced the will of the people:

⁹² “Recital de folkloristas de la UP: la canción es también una arma revolucionaria,” *El Siglo*, 30 April 1970.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

The pueblo needs the artist to present reality as it is. The social fight has intensified, the campesino has acquired a consciousness that the land belongs to them; the worker has seen beyond the machines in the factory, the student, with the same impetus advances together with the campesino in this process of change. Naturally, some also advances together with them.⁹⁵

Such sentiments manifested in an increasing body of musical work that supported Allende's candidacy prior to the September elections. Prominent *nueva canción* artists released several new albums, such as Víctor Jara's "Canto libre" and Quilapayún's "Quilapayún 4", which expressed solidarity with the general anti-imperialist and left-wing philosophies of Popular Unity. At the same time, other new releases tied themselves more specifically with Popular Unity and its political strategy. For example, Sergio Ortega composed "Venceremos", a triumphal march with words by Víctor Jara that became Allende's official campaign song and later the official hymn of the Popular Unity Party. While it lacked the heavy folkloric influences present in most of the songs associated with Popular Unity, its marching beat, simple melody, and repetitive chorus, which a choir of voices sang in unison, energized and incorporated Popular Unity supporters into rallies, marches, and other political events. Popular Unity officials and musicians utilized "Venceremos" extensively in this fashion, and as Joan Jara recalled, "By the time of the election, huge crowds were capable of singing at least the choruses."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ "Víctor Jara pregunta: quién mató a Carmencita?" *Puro Chile*, Vol. 39 (5 June 1970).

⁹⁶ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 140.

In addition to Popular Unity's use of "Venceremos" to excite and foster shared experiences among its supporters, its allied musicians created songs such as Ángel Parra's "Unidad Popular" and Isabel Parra's "En Septiembre canta el gallo" ("In September the Rooster Sings"), which directly expressed support for Popular Unity campaigns. Moreover, they attempted to utilize music as a means by which to educate segments of the public who lacked either literary skills or physical access to written publications. Most explicitly, Inti-Illimani released the album "Canto al programa" (DICAP, 1970), which set Popular Unity's platform to a variety of folkloric styles from throughout Chile. In a similar vein, Grupo Lonqui and Richard Rojas released during the following year "Las 40 Medidas cantadas", an album on which these musicians sang Popular Unity's first forty proposed measures to the accompaniment of geographically diverse, folk-based *cachimbos*, *cuecas*, *refalosas*, *vals*, *tonadas*, *sajurias*, *canto a lo humano* and *a lo divino*, and *parabienes*. Additionally, Quilapayún developed an interpretation of "Cantata Santa María de Iquique", a cantata composed by Luis Advis in late 1969 and premiered by Quilapayún at the *Second Festival of Nueva Canción* in August 1970. In this composition, Advis integrated a classical baroque structure with Latin American instrumentation (such as the altiplanic *quena*, *zampoña*, *charango*, and *bombo*, as well as the Colombian *tiple*, and Venezuelan *cuarto*) to create a work that portrayed in its music and in spoken interludes the Chilean Army's seldom-referenced 1907 massacre of striking mine workers and their families at the Escuela de Santa María in Iquique. Although this work lacked the more direct political overtures evident in "Canto al programa" or "Las 40 Medidas cantadas", it nonetheless represented a critical

component of the Popular Unity movement. Whereas the Chilean historical canon included victorious nationalist exploits such as Chilean Independence and the War of the Pacific, along with triumphant figures such as Bernardo O'Higgins and Arturo Prat, Chile's educational system and its pantheon of holidays and commemorations ignored popular histories and darker episodes, such as the Iquique massacre. While on one hand, the incorporation of the Iquique massacre represented a shift towards a more inclusive, popular historical canon in Chile, on the other hand, as Lessie Jo Frazier has asserted, Popular Unity officials embraced the Iquique massacre at the expense of many mine seizures and uprisings that took place between 1880 and 1925. Popular Unity officials viewed the Iquique massacre as a key means of mobilizing working-class support against the center and right, but they also refrained from evoking memories of working-class militancy and expropriations because those histories might incite challenges to Popular Unity's gradualist approach to change.⁹⁷ Accordingly, songs such as Víctor Jara's "A Luis Emilio Recabarren" ("To Luis Emilio Recabarren", 1969), which paid homage to a founder of the Chilean Communist Party and one of the few voices that spoke out against the Chileanization campaign in northern Chile during the early twentieth century, and the "Cantata Santa María de Iquique" thereby challenged the predominant notion of centralized nationalism and what Advis referred to as Chile's "official" history, replacing those ideologies with an alternative historical canon that fit the nuances of Allende's "democratic road to socialism".

⁹⁷ Lessie Jo Frazier, *Salt in the Sand: Memory, Violence and the Nation-State in Chile, 1890-Present* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

Even though the left coalesced behind Allende's candidacy and the Popular Unity platform, it was by no means a cohesive, homogeneous, political bloc. As Chapter VII discusses in further detail, the left constantly struggled to overcome ideological differences and infighting among its member factions, before and after Allende's election. But, even as Communists, Socialists, MIRistas, and other leftist factions quarreled over the distinctions among their political visions and agendas, individuals from all leftist parties generally embraced *nueva canción* music itself. Two overlapping tendencies help to explain this phenomenon. First, even though the Communist Party funded many of the *nueva canción* artists' ventures, and many of the most prominent *nueva canción* musicians were themselves members of the Communist Party, *nueva canción* musicians did not perform only at Communist Party events. Rather, *nueva canción* musicians performed their music at diverse events with all types of leftists in support of the broader Popular Unity coalition. Second, *nueva canción* songs rarely referenced particular, leftist ideologies or potentially divisive political figures; their lyrics sang more generally about broad objectives that all leftist factions shared, such as alleviating the suffering of the poor, eliminating imperialism, celebrating a pan-Latin American identity, mobilizing the masses, and overcoming the right. In this manner, individuals from any leftist faction were able to embrace the *nueva canción*'s broad themes and to situate them within their own specific, political perspectives. For example, just as Socialist Daniel B explained that she and all leftist Chileans "listened to one music that represented our common experiences and made us feel like we were one people", MIRista Javier S recalled that although he did not agree with the Allende government's

gradual approach to fostering social change, “I always liked to listen to the [*nueva canción*] music, just like everybody from the left.”⁹⁸ In effect, although segments of the left often quarreled among themselves over ideological distinctions, *nueva canción* music provided one point of commonality that helped to limit faction among the left.

Because conservative interests still dominated communications and recording industries, *música típica* artists had less difficulty disseminating their songs on the radio and through the sale of records than their *nueva canción* counterparts. Los Cuatro Cuartos and Las Cuatro Brujas, for example, placed numerous *neo-folclore* songs in the Chilean music charts; although not to the same extent as *neo-folclore* songs, *música típica* songs also ascended the musical charts, including the immensely successful “El corralero”. Nonetheless, despite numerous successes in the mid and late 1960s among *neo-folclore* groups and *música típica* artists in the Chilean music charts, these groups also struggled to record and broadcast their music in the face of foreign and pop music. In response, while *nueva canción* artists and Allende supporters became the prevalent force at Chile’s “folkloric” festivals in 1970, *música típica* artists and their more conservative fans congregated increasingly at separate events. Counterbalancing the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*, *música típica* and *neo-folclore* musicians, including Pedro Messone, Willy Bascañán, and Los Huasos Quincheros, gathered at the Estadio Chile to “raise again the level of our [Chilean] folklore” at the *Festival de Reencuentro con el Folklore* in September 1969.⁹⁹ The success of the initial festival led

⁹⁸ Daniela B and Javier S., personal interviews, 12 May 2009 and 12 April 2009.

⁹⁹ *Ritmo de la Juventud* (23 September 1969), 5.

to its expansion in 1970 at the Estadio Nataniel, where the magazine *Ritmo de la Juventud* reported that “the true lovers of our folklore” gathered in mass to watch a line-up of “the most genuine representatives of our music”, which included Los Huasos Quincheros, Los de Ramón, Pedro Messone, Los Cuatro Cuartos, the Ballet of Carmen Cuevas, and Jorge Montaldo, among others. As Rodrigo Serrano, organizer of the festival and member of Los Huasos de Algarrobal, explained, the event aimed “to demonstrate that in Chile, folkloric song is happy, optimistic or sad, but not frustrated and politicized as many have made it seem in order to disparage it.”¹⁰⁰ Further elaborating on the character of the festival, *Ritmo de la Juventud* emphasized that it took place “before a respectful public, lovers of our folklore and of Chile’s brilliant musical past”, and additionally that the festival provided “a true portrait of Chile, the Chile that one finds in the campos, ports, mines, and cities.”¹⁰¹

In a similar vein, the *Festival del Huaso* in Olmué celebrated *huaso* traditions of the Central Valley in late January 1970. As Carlos Guamán Urgan, Olmué’s Director of Tourism, explained, he had searched for “ideas to present in Olmué ‘something’ that will identify with this typical rural region”, and “I had much interest in organizing an event that would be both touristic and folkloric at the same time.”¹⁰² Working in conjunction with Carlos Ansaldo, Director of the Municipality of Viña del Mar and creator of the *Viña del Mar Music Festival*, Guamán Urgan developed the idea for a *huaso* festival.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ “II Festival de Reencuentro con el Folklore, la verdadera canción Chile en el Estadio Nataniel,” *Ritmo de la Juventud* (8 September 1970), 78.

¹⁰² “Festival de Olmué mostrará al huaso en todas sus facetas,” *La Prensa*, 5 November 1970.

The *First Festival of the Huaso* accordingly included a variety of *cuecas* and *tonadas* by *música típica* artists who celebrated both the *huaso* and its connection to the city of Olmué.¹⁰³ Having realized a successful event with strong attendance at this first enactment of the festival, Guamán Urgan began to lay plans for an expansion of the event during its second enactment the following year. According to *La Prensa*, the *Second Festival of the Huaso* would continue to center around *huaso* folklore, but would also expand to include a gamut of *huaso* events and traditions: a *huaso* artisan fair, skill competitions in the Olmué Rodeo Club's Villa Olimpica stadium, and the election of a "Huasa Queen", who would serve as the "queen of chilenidad, that for the first time will be presented in our country."¹⁰⁴

Música típica groups generally refrained from direct participation in the 1970 political campaign and claimed, as Benjamín Mackenna has contended, to be "apolitical artists"; however, this tendency did not mean that a strong connection between *huaso* imagery and conservatism was not present in the minds of the public. Links between Allende's opposition and *huaso* imagery and sounds were not uncommon, and supporters of Tomic and Alessandri recall identifying *música típica* with popular expressions of support for their candidates. Tomic's campaign and supporters, in particular, utilized *cuecas* and *tonadas* in conjunction with their efforts to continue Frei's moderate,

¹⁰³ "Temas preseleccionados," *El Mercurio*, 23 January 1970.

¹⁰⁴ "Festival de Olmué mostrará al huaso en todas sus facetas," *La Prensa*, 5 November 1970. Also see: "Se está organizando el II Festival del Huaso," *El Mercurio*, 24 August 1970.

reformist trajectory.¹⁰⁵ For example, in the closing days of the campaign, some five-thousand *huasos* descended on Santiago, marching down the city's central boulevard on horseback to attend a Tomic rally at Parque Cousiño. The mass of *huasos* listened to their candidate speak and celebrated in front of national and international television crews in the closing days of the Tomic campaign with *cuecas*, small Chilean flags, and *chicha*.¹⁰⁶ Although such expressions were not absent from the Alessandri campaign, it was *neo-folclore* singers who took the most active role in the composition and performance of "politically committed" music with explicit lyrics in support of Alessandri. Principally, Los Cuatro Cuarto artist Willy Bascuñan collaborated with Nano Vicencio and the *neo-folclore* group Los Bric-a-Brac to release an "homage in which the Chilean youth toast Don Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez as a testimony of admiration for his brilliant path in service of the country."¹⁰⁷ A blend of ballads with North American popular music and *neo-folclore* influences, "Camino nuevo" emphasized themes of Chilean nationalism, values, tradition, and Alessandri's "valiancy" in a country that it portrayed as having descended into difficult times and as requiring a new direction and the restoration of order to escape that disparaging situation. Additionally, many *nueva ola* artists, including Fresia Soto, Gloria Benevidez, José Alfredo Fuentes, and Carlos Alegría, also threw their support publicly behind Alessandri.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Claudio Rolle, "Del cielito lindo a gana la gente: música popular, campañas electorales y uso político de la música popular en Chile," 12.

¹⁰⁶ "Notas políticas," *Ecran*, No. 1836 (26 August 1970), 15.

¹⁰⁷ *Camino Nuevo* album cover, PUC Archivo de Música Popular.

¹⁰⁸ "Intelectuales y artistas con Alessandri," *El Mercurio*, 3 September 1970.

“Folklore”: Political or Apolitical

A diverse array of folk-based music existed in Chile in mid-1970. As the 1970 election became especially dramatic in the minds of Chileans, Chilean musicians produced an unprecedented number of songs with lyrics that explicitly supported specific political candidates and movements. Despite the outgrowth of these “politically committed songs”, songs that made no specific mention of politics or political themes comprised the majority of Chile’s folk-based musical landscape. Those who created and performed the later type of song often asserted that both their actions and the songs themselves remained apolitical or above the political fray of “politically committed” music. For example, Benjamín Mackenna has many times insisted that the music of Los Huasos Quincheros never engaged in any type of politics and always remained entirely apolitical. Emphasizing this contention, Mackenna asserted “our music was never political or social because that wasn’t the folkloric tradition”, and he has noted that it is impossible to find a political statement in any of Los Huasos Quinchero’s songs.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, some promoters and performers of music that followed the wider definition of Chilean folklore associated with the political left often claimed that their actions were in the interest of art and the preservation of tradition, with no political purpose, affiliation, or ideology.¹¹⁰ Accepting the word of these individuals, it may be true that they themselves did not create or disseminate any music with the specific intention of

¹⁰⁹ Benjamín Mackenna, personal interview, 13 May 2009.

¹¹⁰ Personal correspondence with Pedro Borquez (October-November 2009). This information is also derived from an off the record interviews with former radio discjockeys and from a 2009 interview conducted with members of the Chilean folk group Cordeón.

promoting a particular political party or agenda—in many cases there exists little or no evidence to refute their contentions. However, two important points complicate the notion that such music was in fact apolitical: audiences, as much or more-so as artists, shape the meaning of a song, and as the feminist movement has argued, “the personal is political”.

As Howard Becker has asserted, the analysis of a song and its meaning require not just a study of the musical artifact itself, but the entire process of production and reception associated with the song. Regardless of a musician’s intentions in composing a work, the public’s interpretation of the song most strongly determines its wider social meaning and impact. In this manner, for instance, Los Huasos Quincheros could have composed a song such as “El corralero” with no intention of purveying support for a political party, yet Popular Unity supporters such as Cecilia A would interpret the song as being “of high society and of the right...so I didn’t like it at all”.¹¹¹ Conservatives such as Pablo T often shared a similar interpretation, noting that “El corralero”, for instance, “was very much of the right”, even though the song represented “the Central Valley...the campo, patrón and campesino, [and] there is no hate anywhere in this music.”¹¹² This phenomenon also explains how a conservative individual such as Fernanda C could interpret “La fiesta de San Benito”, a song seemingly devoid of political content, as “very linked with the left...and more Peruvian—or even a little bit

¹¹¹ Cecilia A., personal interview, 20 April 2009.

¹¹² Pablo T., Personal interview, 3 June 2009.

Bolivian—than Chilean.”¹¹³ Moreover, contrasting with Fernanda C’s sense that “nobody listened to that [northern] style of music much around here”, Popular Unity supporter Daniela B, who similarly identified “La fiesta de San Benito” with “Popular Unity and the left in general”, recalled that she and all her friends often listened to such “northern” music and emphasized that she believed it was “fundamentally Chilean music”.¹¹⁴

The assertions by many musicians and promoters that music without explicit lyrics or ties to a political party was not “political” have roots in a narrow definition of “politics”. Indeed, if one defines politics as support for particular candidates or specific social and economic agendas, there is very little that was political about *música típica* or about *nueva canción*’s integration of folkloric influences from Chile’s outlying regions. Nonetheless, by 1970, those who supported Allende and those who opposed him had become clearly divided over their differing notions of identity and their favored forms of folk-based music, which were integral parts of those identities. As this occurred, Chileans increasingly associated Central Valley *huaso* traditions with conservative sentiments and traditions from outlying regions of Chile and beyond with leftist ones. With each style self-segregating through its own concerts and events over the course of 1970, such associations further entrenched themselves, as supporters of each style diverged into mutually exclusive musical communities. Musicians themselves, as Jorge

¹¹³ Fernanda C., personal interview, 25 April 2009.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Coulón of Inti-Illimani explained, began to self-segregate along political lines during this period as well:

The era was super politicized, the country was at a boiling point.... We were very sectarian such that we did not interact with other popular musicians, with jazz musicians, singers of boleros, vales, etc.... We adopted an aristocratic attitude, even though now we feel that the traditional popular music is a depository of a good part of the national soul.... It was a sin of presumption. And we did not put an emphasis on converting ourselves into a more wide-ranging group, without restricting ourselves to the world of the left.¹¹⁵

Moreover, as Pedro Borquez recalled, even groups such as his own, which attempted to embrace a broader, more diverse notion of Chilean folklore without acquiring any links to a political party or ideology, developed a fan base that consisted predominantly of individuals who supported Popular Unity. Moreover, Borquez also noted that his group faced tremendous pressure from their musical community to create and perform music in the service of Popular Unity.¹¹⁶

In effect, different styles of music expressed different notions of identity, and identity was an important element that bound both conservatives and leftists to their respective communities. Although many musicians and promoters may have attempted to remain apolitical, in a society where different identities and cultural preferences had come to coincide with competing social and economic perspectives, the production and

¹¹⁵ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*, 25-26.

¹¹⁶ Pedro Borquez, Personal correspondence, 19 October 2009. Also see: Don Yope, "El primer festival de Río Claro," Blog, <<http://veguilosmopris.blogspot.com/2009/02/el-primer-festival-de-rio-claro.html>>.

dissemination of songs in a particular folk-based style were inherently political acts. With each performance or broadcast, *música típica* and *nueva canción* musicians both solidified further the bonds among themselves and those who listened to them, thereby accentuating the differences and isolation of their respective audiences from Chileans who preferred the alternative style.¹¹⁷

The 1970 Elections

As election day neared, those musicians who supported Allende made a final push to increase support for his candidacy. As part of this effort, the “Popular Unity folklorists”, including Héctor Pavez, Rolando Alarcón, Nano Acevedo, Trío Lonqui, Inti-Ilumani, and the Ballet Popular, performed in cities and towns, from the central Chilean port city of Valparaíso all the way south to Valdivia, at the behest of Popular Unity officials; this act further solidified throughout Chile popular associations between these artists, their music, and the political left. In the closing weeks of the campaign, the artists reaffirmed their support for Popular Unity and called once again upon themselves and their fellow artists to put their work in the service of Allende’s campaign: “In these final hours that remain in the final fight, we should re-double the efforts, leaving all the activities that distract from the fundamental work in the fight to secure the triumph of Popular Unity, with compañero Salvador Allende, which many Chileans already feel is a fight between life and death.”¹¹⁸ Their proclamation continued to assert that art was a

¹¹⁷ “Fiestas populares,” *La Prensa*, 3 November 1970.

¹¹⁸ “Folkloristas de la UP trabajarán en Santiago,” *El Siglo*, 17 August 1970.

critical means by which to fight the fear tactics employed by Popular Unity's opposition and that it was fundamental to Popular Unity's mission to "liberate the pueblo":

We should, with our song, dance and poetry, confront the sinister campaign of terror that scares especially the simple people of the isolated neighborhoods...because that is our mission....We believe that social-artistic expression has as its mission to indicate the road to liberation for the pueblos. At the same time, we know that art elevates the spirit and sharpens intelligence....Viva Popular Unity and Salvador Allende.¹¹⁹

With only weeks remaining until the September fourth election, *nueva canción* artists focused their efforts on the population centers in and around Santiago, gathering for two particularly large music festivals and following the Popular Unity Committee's strategic request for them to suspend their work in the outlying provinces.¹²⁰ Expanding on a smaller festival that had begun the previous year, the Instituto Chileno-Cubano (Chilean-Cuban Institute) sponsored the *Second Festival of Politically Committed Song* in Valparaíso at the end of July. The festival featured many of the most well-known, established, *nueva canción* artists, such as Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Ángel and Isabel Parra, Víctor Jara, Héctor Pavez, Patricio Manns, Payo Gondona, and Rolando Alarcón, as well as Cuncumén folklorist Silvia Urbina and a number of more recently established *nueva canción* groups such as Tiempo Nuevo and Richard Rojas' Trío Lonqui. Additionally, emphasizing the pan-Latin American identity that was becoming central to the *nueva canción* movement, organizers facilitated the attendance of Uruguayan singer,

¹¹⁹ Ibid. While these two festivals were the largest and most publicized, Popular Unity musicians held other festivals in the final weeks of the campaign, including the Festival de la Canción de la UP.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Daniel Viglietti, and Cuban *nueva trova* artist, Silvio Rodríguez. Unlike most festivals, the *Second Festival of Politically Committed Song* did not follow the traditional competitive format for Chilean music festivals, which was a competition with awards for the top performances; rather, the multi-day festival served as a display of musical unity in the service of a political objective and an attempt to energize Popular Unity supporters.

While only artists who adhered to the *nueva canción* conception of folklore and identity performed at the *Second Festival of Politically Committed Song*, the *Second Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*, which also took place during the final weeks before the 1970 election, remained slightly less exclusive in this regard; it included *pop* singers Oscar Cáceres, Carlos Alegría, and Humberto Lozán, as well as a tribute by *música típica* artist Pedro Messone and Los Huasos Quincheros member Vicente Bianchi to the prominent, deceased *música típica* composer, Nicanor Molinare. The second enactment of the *Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena* nonetheless exhibited a clear shift in its line-up and tone away from *música típica* and towards *nueva canción*; unlike the relatively diverse group of performers who sang at the *First Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*, the artists performing in 1970 were by and large musicians aligned with the *nueva canción* movement.

The two-day, now non-competitive festival began on August fourteenth in the gymnasium of the Catholic University and culminated with its featured program at the Estadio Chile on the following day. The featured program included a line-up of sixteen *nueva canción* style songs by artists such as Víctor Jara, Ángel and Isabel Parra, Rolando

Alarcón, and Patricio Manns, as well the first performance of Quilapayún's "Cantata Santa María de Iquique", all of which the large crowd in the Estadio Chile fervently enjoyed and applauded enthusiastically. As *El Siglo* observed, when the artists "sang to liberation" from the economic and political interests that caused the "under-development and the subjection of our land to imperialists...the public in attendance understood it."¹²¹ *El Siglo* also noted that those in attendance at the Estadio Chile were people who "understood that those who wanted to continue the failed reformist [Frei] regime or return to the Alessandri past, were enemies of social progress."¹²² Accordingly, when Pedro Messone and Vicente Bianchi took the stage to perform their homage to Nicanor Molinare, an act that Bianchi referred to as "just" and "deserved" for a man who "had done so much for Chilean song", the crowd turned negative and voiced its distaste for these artists and their *música típica* in a mass repudiation of their performance.¹²³ Audience members jeered the musicians throughout the entire performance, shouting insults such as "sellout" and "momios". In an effort to calm the intensifying outburst, Ricardo García took the stage and pleaded with the hostile audience: "I must remind you that this is a Festival of songs and not politics. I understand that many of us have a position, but we need to respect the others."¹²⁴ After the festival, Rolando Alarcón asserted that Pedro Messone and Vicente Bianchi "should not have been invited because

¹²¹ "Los artistas se comprometen con diversas candidaturas," *El Siglo*, 29 December 1970.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid. Also see: "El II Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena," *El Musiquero*, No. 121 (September 1970), 27.

¹²⁴ "El II Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena," *El Musiquero*, No. 121 (September 1970), 27.

of the current and social objective of the Festival... Instead of a tribute to Nicanor Molinare, there should have been an act to celebrate social poets.”¹²⁵

With the public divided over the future of Chile’s social structures, economy, and identity, Chileans cast their votes in early September 1970. Although Allende received a mere twenty-one percent of Chile’s female vote and generally lagged behind Alessandri in Chile’s center and center-south, his especially strong showing in the north and in outlying urban areas such as Concepción, earned the Popular Unity candidate a victory with thirty-six percent of the overall vote to Alessandri’s thirty-five and Tomic’s twenty-eight.¹²⁶ Conservatives suddenly found themselves facing their worst political fears, and they would therefore intensify their efforts to “protect” their vision for Chile; Allende and his supporters, on the other hand, rejoiced and began to prepare themselves for the difficult process of carrying out their “revolution” in the face of conservative resistance. Although conservative interests still maintained the majority of Chile’s wealth, significant influence within the armed forces, a strong political presence in Congress, and the support of countries such as the United States, Popular Unity had received an

¹²⁵ “Muy bueno fue el Festival de la Nueva Canción,” *El Siglo*, 17 August 1970.

¹²⁶ Electoral results as published by *El Mercurio* on September 6, 1970. Allende struggled particularly in those center-south regions furthest from Santiago, including Malleco, Cautín, Osorno, and Llanquihue, where Alessandri posted double-digit victories. Additionally, as a general rule, Alessandri ran stronger throughout the Central Valley; despite large victories for Allende in Arauco, Talca, and O’Higgins as well as a 2.5 percent victory in Colchagua, Alessandri soundly defeated Allende in the remaining regions of this area: Curicó (55 percent to 36 percent), Linares (39 percent to 30 percent), Maule (39 percent to 32 percent), Nuble (37 percent to 33 percent), and Bío Bío (38 percent to 35 percent).

electoral mandate and worked to maintain that mandate, above all, by mobilizing its supporters in displays of “poder popular” (popular power).

Chapter V: The New “Official” Culture (1971-1972)

Donald Sarri has argued in *Chaotic Elections* (2001) that because pre-election polls indicated that the majority of Chileans preferred either Alessandri or Tomic to Allende, the three party system in which each voter could cast a ballot only for a single candidate undermined the democratic process by granting Allende a victory.¹ Sarri contends that had the 1970 presidential vote not been split between three candidates, Chileans would have selected Alessandri or Tomic as their president, and Chile would have avoided the two decades of turbulence that followed Allende’s inauguration. Sarri points out that an alternative “anti-plurality” system, which allows voters to cast ballots against a candidate, would have more accurately reflected Chileans’ political opinions in 1970. However, election results are not necessarily comprehensive indicators either of popular support for Chilean presidencies or of the level of political turbulence an administration will face. As previous coalition-based campaigns, such as those of Presidents Aguirre Cerda and González Videla, demonstrated, electoral alliances in Chile were often marriages of temporary convenience, fueled by the excitement of an election, by distaste for an opposition candidate, or by a sense of political necessity. What individuals expressed through the vote they cast on election day was far less indicative of their precise political preferences than their post-election behavior—did those who voted for a candidate continue to support that candidate energetically, or did they easily become disillusioned after the election and turn against the candidate? In this sense, although electoral results provide an easily accessible, general view of the electorate, the intensity

¹ Donald Saari, *Chaotic Elections!: A Mathematician Looks at Voting* (Providence: American Mathematical Society, 2001).

of support behind an individual's vote most accurately gauges political sentiment. While it is difficult to quantify intensity of support without extensive political polls, the degree to which individuals remain aligned with a victorious candidate after an election and the degree to which the candidate succeeds at tempering post-election dissent from opposition voters both provide insight into a political barometer that is particularly important for a political system in which coalition building and maintenance played fundamental roles.

As Sarri has argued, the fact that more Chileans voted against Allende than for him demonstrates that the majority of the country did not view Allende as their favored candidate. This reality armed Allende's post-election opposition with the disingenuous contention that Allende therefore was not a legitimately elected leader, a contention that conveniently ignored the fact that the Chilean populace chose Allende according to an electoral process that had existed in Chile for decades and that it was the nation's tradition that Congress would ratify the candidate with the most votes. The more crucial element in the breakdown of political stability was Allende's inability to forge and maintain a working relationship after 1970 not only with members of the Popular Unity parties, but also with the Christian Democrats, who permitted Allende to assume the presidency by ratifying his electoral triumph in Congress.

As in most previous presidential contests, Chile remained divided into three political factions during the 1970 presidential campaign; however, unlike previous contests, in which the right and center aligned behind one principle candidate to virtually guarantee that no openly leftist candidate could win, the right and center divided in 1970

and allowed Allende to obtain a plurality. The split in votes between Tomic and Alessandri indicated that significant variations existed within the anti-Allende camps.

More conservative and wealthier segments supported Alessandri and generally remained deeply opposed to Allende and to any significant social or economic reforms. The more centrist, middle-class Christian Democrats continued to desire some social reform, but felt skeptical about the course Allende would take. As Michael Fleet has demonstrated, although the Christian Democrat leadership often was able to come to agreements with Allende over political issues, it was unable to overcome its distrust of the President.² Burdened with a Congress in which only slightly over one-third of its members represented Popular Unity parties, Allende exerted significant effort to prove to Christian Democrats in particular, his commitment to democracy and controlled socialist reform. Nonetheless, most Christian Democrats feared that Allende's ultimate goal was the establishment of a "Marxist dictatorship" similar to Castro's government in Cuba, and they could point to Allende's quick recognition of Cuba, which broke a U.S.-led diplomatic embargo of that country, as evidence of Allende's true feelings. Moreover, even many who believed that Allende was committed to democracy still worried that a lack of strong leadership and cohesiveness within the Popular Unity coalition would make it impossible for Allende to govern. These sentiments pushed many Christian Democrats rightwards and opposition to Allende grew after he began to initiate his reforms; this shift, however, did not occur with the same intensity for all Chileans. As Fleet has also concluded, "although most Christian Democratic workers opposed

² Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, 1985.

socialism and were little inclined to think of themselves as leftists, they were generally less hostile to the government than were their largely petit bourgeois party leaders.”³

In a similar fashion, a political spectrum from moderate to radical also existed on the political left, making cohesion difficult among a political coalition in which some members advocated gradual, democratic reform and cooperation with the Christian Democrats, while others demanded immediate and wholesale transformations to redistribute wealth, backed by the threat of armed revolution. As Daniel S, an active Socialist Party member recalled, “We were very distanced from the Communists—we called them assassins of Ché—we would sometimes have meetings with them and then would actually fight [physically] afterwards. Communists were more tied to the Soviets, while the Socialists were more of the people.”⁴ Violence among the left was not infrequent, and it even marred the fourth *Festival of Politically Committed Song* in 1973, when members of the Communist Brigada Ramona Parra physically attacked members of the Socialist Party in what became a large street brawl after the festival.⁵ In effect, a diverse political spectrum remained in Chile through September 1973. As all this took place, a major political shift occurred between the late 1960s and the 1973 military takeover. Chileans, whether of the center-left, the radical-left, the center-right, or the radical-right, shifted away from the political center. This movement did not mean that all Chileans became supporters of the radical right or the radical left; rather, most individuals

³ Ibid., 175.

⁴ Daniel S., personal interview, 2 July 2009.

⁵ “Incidentes entre grupos de la Ramona Parra y PS al terminar un festival,” *El Mercurio*, 30 January 1973.

polarized only relative to their previous political orientation, meaning that few Chileans remained squarely centrist. As politics became a pervasive and emotional force in society, unity, cordiality, and space for compromise declined.

Because identity and the musical expression of identity were integral components of Chilean politics by the end of the 1960s, the public's preferences for and interpretations of various songs reflected the diverse and polarizing political opinions that developed towards Popular Unity's "revolution". Just as most Chileans became increasingly for or against the general trajectory of the Popular Unity agenda, most Chileans correspondingly became increasingly for or against *música típica*, *nueva canción*, and the notions of identity that each represented. These general tendencies, however, were not absolute, and the perspectives of those on the right and left were not homogenous. In the case of moderate political conservatives, many Chileans who previously had been centrist Christian Democrats, but who shifted towards the right in the late 1960s or early 1970s, did not feel the same disdain as did their more conservative counterparts towards those *nueva canción* songs that lacked explicitly "political" lyrics, or towards the styles of folklore music associated with the *nueva canción* movement. Additionally, exceptions to the strict correspondence between musical and political preferences occurred according an individual's age and hometown.

Diversity and Exceptions

In many instances, the locality in which an individual grew up and an individual's age blurred the predominant association of leftists with *nueva canción* and rightists with

música típica and *neo-folclore*. Politically, some moderate conservatives maintained a passing interest in some folk-based songs that *nueva canción* artists or *nueva canción* associated folkloric troupes produced. Although few conservatives felt a connection to those songs composed in altiplanic styles or to those songs with politically explicit lyrics, some conservatives identified to a limited degree with those folk-based songs of central and southern-central Chile that lacked the refinement and stylization of the *tonadas* and *cuecas* performed by *música típica* artists such as Los Huasos Quincheros. For example, Santiago resident and Alessandri supporter Pablo T, who identified strongly with *música típica*, expressed apathy towards less stylized forms of folk music, such as songs by artists like Cuncumén and Millaray: “It was more a music of an earlier time, but it was also a music that people of all social levels could listen to, even though they didn’t do it very much. It wasn’t on the radio much, or at least it was only on a few stations, and I heard it very rarely or never.”⁶

In addition to a passive interest among moderate conservatives towards less refined versions of folk-based songs from central and southern-central Chile, exceptions to the predominant divide between rightist and leftist musical tastes and identity also existed by point of origin and age. For many of those born and raised in the Santiago area, the folk sounds of Chile’s outlying regions remained unfamiliar or “new” until the *nueva canción* movement emerged in the late 1960s. However, those individuals who were born or resided in other regions of Chile generally had experienced the folk sounds of their respective region prior to the *nueva canción* movement. Such individuals

⁶ Pablo T., personal interview, 3 June 2009.

accordingly did not perceive local folk sounds necessarily or exclusively as part of an identity linked with the Chilean left; rather, they often viewed local musical traditions to be part of their own identity as residents of their localities, because they had experienced these traditions in various personal contexts prior to the emergence of the *nueva canción* movement. For example, Miguel D, a musician in the southern province of Magallanes, recalled that Magallanes conservatives identified strongly with “Los Quincheros and other *huaso* groups—that music was very attractive to them here, just as it was [for conservatives] in the rest of Chile....They never liked the groups from the north like Inti-Illimani.”⁷ Corroborating Miguel D’s statement, Daniel S, who helped organize several folkloric festivals in Magallanes during the early 1970s, added that although conservatives in Magallanes identified primarily with *huaso* groups and had little interest in music from the north of Chile, they also often attended performances of local, Magallanes folk music “because they had grown up with, knew, and liked our [local] folklore”, unlike conservatives in other parts of Chile.⁸ In other words, although conservatives throughout Chile identified primarily with the *huaso* based sense of *chilenidad* and nationalism that had established itself throughout the country in the early twentieth century, those conservatives who resided in areas outside of central Chile also often identified to varying degrees with specific, local traditions of their childhood or residence.

⁷ Miguel D., personal interview, 1 December 2009.

⁸ Daniel S., personal interview, 2 July 2009.

Another variation to the predominant division between the musical preferences of leftists and rightists existed among older leftists. Peter Winn noted in *Weavers of Revolution* (1986), a study of Yarur factory workers, that a generational divide existed between older and younger textile laborers. The older workers generally remained less radical than their younger counterparts, a phenomenon that Winn attributed to older workers' memories of management quashing previous labor movements as well as those workers' nostalgic memories of patron-client relationships that had existed prior to the integration of Taylorism in the Yarur factories. Without such memories, the younger Yarur workers, Winn argued, knew only the impersonal, harsh conditions of their present moment and so supported more radical measures.⁹ A similar divide existed among the musical preferences of leftists from different generations. Young leftists, such as Daniela B, wholeheartedly embraced *nueva canción* music, a style that made her "excited", that "motivated people to support the UP and mobilize", and that "marked our identity as Latin Americans."¹⁰ At the same time, as Daniel S. emphasized, young leftists strongly disliked *huaso* music and traditions: "I hated the *Huasos*... To show the *huaso* as the national figure was offensive because that is not what Chileans are."¹¹ Older leftists, such as Michele O, a Socialist Party activist born in 1922, similarly asserted a strong identification with *nueva canción* as "our music, the music of the people"; however, they

⁹ Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁰ Daniela B., personal interview, 12 May 2009.

¹¹ Daniel S., personal interview, 2 July 2009.

also expressed an affection for *música típica*, stating that it was “precious” and that “people in all places could relate to it”.¹²

As was the case with the generational divide among Yarur workers, memory and previous experiences shaped the divergent perspectives of young and old leftists. Songs, as Benedict Anderson notes, have a special capacity for creating a sense of community in individuals by connecting them to a common past rooted in the voices and identities of their forefathers:

There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests—above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on the national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community...How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.¹³

Anderson, however, considers nationalist music only in its established form. Although popular anthems hold the capacity to forge widespread, common identities, music is not instantaneously capable of uniting populations. As previously noted, certain sounds may inherently affect the human brain and its emotions in specific ways; however, in regards to community formation, it is largely the public’s interpretation of music that infuses it with meaning and shapes the perceptions by which individuals attach or re-attach

¹² Michele O., personal interview, 17 May 2009.

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 145.

themselves to a larger community through song. Such transformations generally do not form spontaneously, but hinge on the context in which a song is presented and received: the sounds, lyrics, artists, mode of mediation, and performance contexts establish a field within a song that acquires a social significance based on the relationship between those elements and the life experiences of each individual person. Accordingly, if an individual perceives little connection between a song he has heard for the first time and other songs and styles he has encountered previously, that “new song” will acquire its social significance based on the context of current and future encounters the individual has with the song. If an individual perceives strong connections between a song he has heard for the first time and other songs and styles he has encountered previously, the song he has just heard may inherit to varying degrees the social significance of these older compositions. In this manner, a song may acquire a single political meaning, multiple political meanings, or none at all, depending on the experiences and musical encounters that various members of a society have had over the course of their lifetimes. In the case of Chile, these social characteristics of music explain why conservatives in outlying regions enjoyed local folk music while rejecting non-*huaso* traditions from other parts of the country. They also explain how young leftists could associate *música típica* specifically with conservatism, while many older leftists felt a previously established connection to a music that they already associated with older memories of their “family”, their “country”, and their “experiences in the campo”.

Rock Music and Chilean Hippies

Similar to the manner in which diverse interpretations of certain folk-based sounds demonstrated some variations within Chile's generally polarized, cultural and political landscape, diverse interpretations of rock music shaped the reception and popularity of its sound in Chile during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As with the previously discussed conservative responses to rock music, the left similarly struggled to form a cohesive response to a music that on one hand was a contemporary commercial product exported by American and European recording industries, but on the other hand, was a new sound that promoted protest and social reform in the United States and Europe. While they never acquired the level of emblematic popularity of *nueva canción* music among youth closely tied to the political left, groups such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones remained significant to middle and lower-middle class leftist youth, because, as Miguel D recalled, "they taught us that we didn't just have to listen to 'official' music" and helped to open this demographic up to the musical diversity embedded in *nueva canción*.¹⁴ At the same time, while most of Chilean society polarized distinctly over support for or against the general trajectory of the Popular Unity "revolution", an "apolitical" Chilean *hippie* movement linked closely to *psychedelic rock* developed in the late 1960s as a countercultural expression that asserted strong opposition towards both the right and the left.

Scholars have noted the friction between the political and apolitical wings of the youth movement within the United States during the 1960s, and many have asserted that

¹⁴ Miguel D., personal interview, 1 December 2009.

this friction created a divide between countercultural *hippies* and their more politically focused peers of the New Left: the *hippie* movement claimed that members of New Left were “squares” and ignored the importance of fun in life, while the New Left accused the *hippie* movement of luring American youth into passivity through drugs, spiritual revivals, and messages of love.¹⁵ Despite these tensions, the *hippies* were never necessarily apolitical and the New Left never wholly disavowed countercultural behavior. In fact, the two factions ultimately developed towards what can be characterized most accurately as a single, overarching movement that advocated cultural and political change. By the end of the 1960s, *hippie* war protests and the rise of politically involved *hippie* groups such as the “yippies” demonstrate that the *hippie* countercultural movement shifted towards a greater political consciousness. Similarly, the New Left developed a strong orientation towards countercultural behavior. In other words, as Timothy Miller has asserted, “the visionary culture the *hippies* wanted to establish was based on such political ideologies as peace, racial harmony, and equality; the political crusade of the New Left was deeply romantic, and the great majority of the New Leftists lived the cultural values of the *hippies*, smoking marijuana, engaging in liberated sex, and often living communally.”¹⁶ Or, as prominent anarchist Stan Iverson argued, “The hippie life style has superficially influenced a broad spectrum of the United States, and is such an influence in the New Left that it is impossible—and I think undesirable—to draw a

¹⁵ For several discussions on this topic, see: Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, ed. *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁶ Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 11.

sharp line of division between the two movements.”¹⁷ For many young Americans, defying mainstream culture and political protest went hand in hand: both countercultural *hippies* and the New Left questioned social norms and asserted an explicitly anti-war and anti-capitalist rhetoric. Additionally, rock music and culture embodied an alternative lifestyle and served as a political platform against social injustice and war. Although certain segments of the 1960s youth movement in the United States emphasized cultural transformation, while others focused their agendas more heavily on political action, countercultural behavior and political protest overlapped: politics became culture and culture became politics. Or, put in alternative terms, as Doug Rossinow has stated, “Political doctrine seemed to coincide with cultural style.”¹⁸ A different situation, however, emerged in Chile, where political protest and *hippie* counterculture remained predominantly exclusive of one another.

Musically, whereas the growth of *nueva ola* in the early 1960s sparked a transition to Spanish language *rock and roll*, groups such as Los Vidrios Quebrados in the mid-1960s searched for a means to separate from the mainstream Chilean rock music that had become popular among the middle and upper-middle-class. As Los Vidrios Quebrados member Héctor Hugo Sepúlveda insisted:

In Chile folkloric culture predominated and that made us want to look for something else. Spanish was very associated with commercial music, to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Doug Rossinow, “The Revolution Is about Our Lives” in Braunstein and Doyle, *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and ‘70s*, 108.

nueva ola, and what we liked came from England... We didn't have any point of reference here, neither in the groups nor on the television.¹⁹

By the late 1960s, many of the groups following this orientation had reacted against both *nueva ola* and Chilean folk-based music, which had become a part of mainstream Chilean culture and identity. These groups instead created music that reflected the *psychedelic rock* style of North American and European groups such as The Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, and Jefferson Airplane. For the musicians who performed this style of music and for those Chileans who embraced it, the sound represented the experiences and identity of a segment of society that felt a stronger connection to *hippie* youth in other parts of the world than to the experiences, identities, and concerns of Chileans on either the political right or the political left.

Chilean periodicals indicate that there was a strong interest among both the left and the right to diagnose the behavior of Chilean *hippies*. Interviews conducted by newspapers and magazines on both sides of the political spectrum demonstrate that *hippies* viewed themselves as part of an authentic, distinctively Chilean expression of youth and a new way of life that rejected the archaic lifestyle and divisions that they associated with older generations. As self-described *hippies* explained to *El Mercurio* in 1970, "We believe we are in a transition stage between two cultures, one dying and the other about to be born." They claimed that although they "rebelled" against their parents' way of life, they did not necessarily hold a sense of "vengeance" or animosity towards it. When asked why they smoked marijuana, these *hippies* answered that they did it to have

¹⁹ David Ponce, *Prueba de sonido*, 83.

fun or to forget about their problems.²⁰ In striking contrast to the vast majority of news coverage during an era in which the political divisions fomented by Allende's election permeated both the mass media and quotidian life, the statements and actions of *hippies* themselves made no direct allusions to political ideologies or engagement, other than to criticize the politics and behavior of both the right and the left.

Prior to the 1970s, the Chilean media infrequently published articles on drug arrests and youth delinquency; however, the fixation of Chileans on these issues exploded after the *Piedra Roja* festival in October 1970. Constructed as a Chilean version of Woodstock and as a means to “unite Chile’s youth”, *Piedra Roja* was a three day music festival held on a plot of land in the Dominicos sector of Las Condes, on the western edge of Santiago. The festival line-up included several of Chile’s top *psychedelic rock* bands, such as Los Jaivas, Lágrimas Secas, Los Blops, and Aguaturbia; however, a surprisingly high turnout coupled with a severe lack of electrical infrastructure and insufficient amplification equipment caused widespread chaos at the festival and greatly hampered the musical performances, even preventing Aguaturbia from performing at all. Although *Piedra Roja* received little publicity prior to its opening day, the press gradually began to arrive as it caught wind of the events transpiring in Los Dominicos. As the festival progressed, the Chilean press became increasingly interested in it and offered a growing number of reports on *Piedra Roja* over the radio and in newspapers that focused on the “vices” at the event: marijuana, nudity, and sex. These reports attracted even more

²⁰ “Humo de marihuana en festival hippie,” *El Mercurio*, 12 October 1970.

people to the event, including young Chileans from all social classes and many parents who frantically arrived to rescue their children.

Piedra Roja revealed the growing divide between Chilean *hippie* youth and mainstream Chilean society, as both the left and the right responded to the festival and its participants with harsh criticism. Conservatives lashed out sharply at Chilean *hippies*, and in doing so placed a particular emphasis on links between marijuana use, delinquency, and the subversion of proper moral values. They also attacked the “authenticity” of Chilean *hippies*, arguing that excessive foreign influence and consumerism drove the *hippies*’ “acts of rebellion”, and that such behavior represented little more than attempts to copy *hippie* aesthetics from abroad. Conservatives believed that such foreign-derived attitudes and practices posed a serious threat to society and asserted that there must be a return to national values. *El Mercurio* editorialized: “The recent scandal is a call to attention for parents, for educators, for the State and for the media. All of them should give a higher example to the children and to the youth and associate that understanding with the moral criteria that corresponds to Chilean society.”²¹

Leftists similarly criticized Chilean *hippies* for their lack of authenticity and morals, arguing that *Piedra Roja* was “a poor imitation of the famous and historical Festival of Woodstock...that a half million authentic hippies attended”, and additionally that these “invented”, Chilean pseudo-*hippies* possessed a “fundamental difference from true hippies” that demonstrated their inauthenticity: “they bathe, [and] they use

²¹ “Juventud, corrupción y delincuencia,” *El Mercurio*, 16 October 1970.

deodorants.”²² For leftists, the concept of *hippie* counterculture represented not a subversion of consumer society and socio-political power structures, as it did within the United States *hippie* movement, but rather the embrace of bourgeoisie consumerism and cultural imperialism that conflicted with local values, true “rebellion and patriotism”, and “constructive work”.²³ Similar to the right, the left held a particular aversion to marijuana, which it believed to be a key source of the Chilean youth’s undesirable attitudes and actions. For leftists, however, marijuana was not just a source of delinquency, but also an impediment to revolution. Victor Jara, for example, toured the United States during the winter of 1967-1968. Jara found American *hippies* sympathetic to the social, economic, and political difficulties facing the Latin American working-class, but he concluded that with Viet Nam and draft protests, American *hippies* had their own fight and their own cause. He also felt that “politically they tended to be very naïve, [and] that they would never achieve a revolution, not even of ‘flowers’—the drugs would take care of that, defusing what might have been a powerful movement of rebellion.”²⁴ Jara’s perception was that although countercultural efforts were a “normal and justifiable reaction against this sinisterly hygienic and mechanized [American] world” that “imprisoned [Americans] in a kind of plastic cage which crushes them with its own weight,” *hippie* counterculture would also undermine true revolution.²⁵ Chilean leftists further argued that Chile was in an entirely different context than the United States:

²² “La cosa es en Los Domínicos,” *Clarín*, 12 October 1973.

²³ “Piedra Roja,” *El Siglo*, October 1970.

²⁴ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 108.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

hippie counterculture was not appropriate in a country that was “underdeveloped” and in a country where true revolution was already moving forwards. As *El Siglo* editorialized, “The youth act as if they were living in North America and were victims more of a consumer society than an underdeveloped country that now is in the process of realizing its destiny.”²⁶ To this end, the left additionally went so far as to portray *hippies* exclusively as manifestations of upper-middle-class and upper-class privilege, as well as young people that “study badly and almost never work”:

Some very caring parents went to drop off their kids [at Piedra Roja] in luxury cars. There they said “Chao pescado” and while the kids went into enjoy themselves...[the parents] went downtown to do the same, but in restaurants, nightclubs, and more comfortable places.²⁷

Criticism of Chilean *hippies* and concern over their practices was one of the few characteristics that the right and the left shared. Both factions took concrete action where they could against elements that they viewed as central to *hippie* identity and culture. For example, many conservative schools banned long hair, as did Allende’s Ministry of Education in public schools in 1972. Similarly, both the left and the right legislated against marijuana use, with Christian Democrat officials leading a congressional effort to investigate drug use and the “strange hippie rituals” exhibited at *Piedra Roja* that “produced apart from the manifestation of vices, scandals and immoral exhibitions,

²⁶ “Piedra Roja,” *El Siglo*, October 1970.

²⁷ “La cosa es en Los Dominicos,” *Clarín*, 12 October 1973.

robberies perpetrated by undesirable elements that showed up at the event.”²⁸

Subsequently, the Allende administration organized conferences and special commissions to eliminate marijuana use, established a “war against drugs” that amplified the size and scope of the “Vice Brigade”, and increased penalties for drug trafficking and use. The *psychedelic rock* that provided much of the soundtrack at *hippie* festivals and parties also became a target of both the left and the right. *El Siglo* classified the “soul” music of groups such as Los Ripios and Aguaturbia as a “copy” of true *hippie* music, and noting what it perceived to be the troublesome effects of such music, *El Mercurio* emphasized that *hippie* groups “create with their instruments the strangest harmonies that in many cases push the youth that hears them to the point of hysteria.”²⁹

The Chilean *hippie* movement, above all else, represented an intense rift that had developed along generation lines to the point that both the right and the left began to reach the conclusion that *hippies* “hated” all older Chileans simply because they were old. At the same time, Chilean *hippies* developed an increasing heterogeneity in the 1970s. Sub-groups such as Hare Krishna and Sílo emerged with small but highly publicized followings; more notably, however, as the majority of society polarized politically between the left and right, some *hippies* acquired a leftward leaning inclination. Musicians such as Los Blops, Congreso, and Los Jaivas represented this orientation, occasionally collaborating musically with *nueva canción* artists, performing

²⁸ “Habrá sesión especial de la Cámara: diputados harán volar bajo a marihuaneros,” *La Tercera*. 14 October 1970.

²⁹ “Festival Music Beat en V. del Mar,” *El Mercurio*, 26 January 1970. Also see: “Hippies instalaron aerodromo: Las Condes,” *El Siglo*, 14 October 1970.

intermittently at Popular Unity affiliated events, and expressing a passive interest in social justice. Los Blops, for example, were in many ways the most closely tied of these groups to *nueva canción* in the sense that they collaborated with Víctor Jara on recordings for his *El derecho de vivir en paz* album and they released their 1970 album, *Blops*, through DICAP—although not without a struggle over the Communist label’s desire to censor some of the album’s tracks. At the same time, the relationship between these groups and the left remained tenuous, as they still identified most closely with Chile’s *hippie* youth and actively refused to affiliate themselves openly with Popular Unity. Relations between Los Jaivas, the most popular of the *hippie* bands, and the left were the most strained, as Los Jaivas in particular held and promoted perspectives that conflicted sharply with Popular Unity on issues of sexual morality, marijuana use, participation in Chilean politics, and appropriation of North American and European symbols and behavior. While Raúl Ruiz’s 1973 film, *Palomita blanca*, illustrated the tensions between social classes and between *hippies* and the left through its depiction of the difficulties facing a young, upper-class Chilean who falls in love with a working-class girl he meets at a *hippie* concert, Los Jaivas, who performed the soundtrack for the film, explained their perspective on the relationship between *hippies* and the left more succinctly in a 1973 interview: “We can’t say that we are not political, because that is impossible, but we do not define ourselves with any political party.”³⁰ The musicians continued to assert that while they preferred Allende to Alessandri, voting was not worth

³⁰ “Estos sí que son pájaros raros! Jaivas que ‘vuelan’,” *Ramona*, No. 63 (9 January 1973), 12-16.

the trouble of filling out a ballot and that they did not believe in fighting to improve society.³¹ Such opinions combined with Los Jaivas' advocacy of marijuana as a creative stimulant that "permits the creation of better things" and with widespread reports of the group's participation in "sexual orgies", caused many leftists to view Los Jaivas in a less than positive light. The leftist popular culture magazine, *Ramona*, editorialized:

We insist that musically they [Los Jaivas] win some applause, but their contribution to the values of the youth is not exactly on the mark. In moments in which the pueblo constructs, in moments in which the best of the Chilean youth sacrifices itself in volunteer works, Los Jaivas prove to be an exotic flower, transplanted, that has little or nothing to do with our country, that in its base imitates the Europeanized hippie "vibe", the free seizing of life, but in the act, falsely free, and prisoner of the most decadent forms of escape from the world that has defined the bourgeoisie.³²

The music of the "hippie groups" expressed their complicated identity and political orientation. For example, "Todos juntos", the title track from Los Jaivas commercially successful 1972 album, communicated a message of global unity and love at a moment in which both Chileans and the world in general were strongly polarized. Unlike *música típica* lyrics, the song focuses on a wider sense of community that extends beyond the borders of Chile and Latin America to include all people of all countries. While the notion of a broader community resembles the pan-Latin Americanism of *nueva canción*, the broader community evoked in "Todos juntos" is a global community that includes all people, leftist or otherwise, of the world. In making this appeal for a united

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

humanity, Los Jaivas incorporate nature as a motif in a different manner than *música típica* or *nueva canción*: “Todos juntos” references natural features common to all parts of the world in order to emphasize the idea of global citizenry and the commonalities that unite all people under Mother Nature. Additionally, “Todos juntos” articulates a social vision that neither fully fits with nor fully clashes with either *música típica* or *nueva canción*. On one hand, “Todos juntos” calls for an active transformation of society, not unlike *nueva canción* music. On the other hand, at a moment when leftists aggressively attacked upper-class privilege and demanded social revolution, “Todos juntos” made a plea against any social conflict. The lyrics of “Todos juntos” reject all forms of militancy and call for transformation only through love and mutual understanding, in the hopes all people might coexist peacefully.

Todos Juntos

*Hace mucho tiempo
Que yo vivo preguntándome
Para qué la tierra es tan redonda,
¿Y una sola no más?
¿Si vivimos todos separados
Para qué son el cielo y el mar?
¿Para qué es el sol que nos alumbra,
Si no nos queremos ni mirar?*

*Tantas penas que nos van llevando a todos al final.
Cuantas noches, cada noche, de ternura tendremos que dar.
¿Para qué vivir tan separados,
Si la tierra nos quiere juntar?
Si este mundo es uno y para todos,
Todos juntos vamos a vivir.*

All Together

*I have lived a
Long time, asking myself*

*Why is the earth so round,
And there is only one and no more?
If we all live separated
Why is there a sky and a sea?
Why is there a sun that shines upon us
If we neither love nor look at each other?*

*So much pain that is bringing us all to an end
So many nights, each night, of tenderness we will have to give.
Why live so separated,
If the earth wants us to unite?
If this world is one and for all,
All together we will live.³³*

Musically, “Todos juntos” resembles many of the *psychedelic rock* songs of the late 1960s and early 1970s that Chilean and North American or European musicians produced: an electric guitar with heavy reverb plays long instrumental solos and improvisations backed by keyboards and strong percussion. However, Los Jaivas also incorporated into their music a local, folkloric flavor by utilizing altiplanic instruments such as the *quena* and *charango*; as Catherine Boyle and Gina Cánepa’s 1987 essay on Los Jaivas explained, Los Jaivas broad repertoire mixed “the new with the traditional, the creole guitar with the electric guitar; quartz lights with quenans from the Andean highlands, amplifiers with the *trutruca* of the mapuche region of the south of Chile; synthesizer with the *charango* from the Quechua-Aymara region, echo chamber with the *cultrún*, a type of shamanic drum from Mapuche ritual.”³⁴ Drawing on Andean *huayno* rhythms, “Todos juntos” begins with an extended Andean flute solo that eventually cedes

³³ A recording of “Todos juntos” by Los Jaivas can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zWKqatBLX58>

³⁴ Catherine Boyle and Gina Cánepa, “Violeta Parra and Los Jaivas: Unequal Discourse or Successful Integration?” *Popular Music*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May 1987), 235-240.

the melody to vocals and electric guitar solos. At the conclusion of the song, the Andean flute returns in a closing duet with an electric guitar. Additionally, a combination of *charango*, piano, and various percussion instruments provide the primary accompaniments for the vocals as well as the background for the Andean flute and electric guitar solos. Although the incorporation of “non-Western” instruments into *psychedelic rock* was not uncommon among North American and European musicians, those musicians generally utilized Asian instruments such as the *citar* and the *tabla*. The integration of altiplanic influences into a *psychedelic rock* song was a clear distinction between *nueva canción* musicians’ effort to reproduce “authentic” folklore and Los Jaivas’ effort to blend folk music with contemporary rock music. Moreover, this blend of folklore with *psychedelic rock* represented the complexity of Los Jaivas, both musically and politically: they drew predominantly on North American and European influences to create music rooted in *hippie* culture, yet they also utilized local components tied to *nueva canción* music and drew upon the notion of altiplanic identity that remained most strongly linked to the political left.

Some of the more musically progressive members of the *nueva canción* movement, such as Víctor Jara, entertained the possibility of integrating electric guitars and other *psychedelic rock* influences into *nueva canción* in a manner not unlike what Cuban and Brazilian musicians had done. However, such endeavors garnered little enthusiasm from a Chilean left that maintained a strong opposition to *hippies* and their practices. As Jorge Couón of Inti-Illimani explained:

I had little contact with it [the *hippie* movement], my militancy had already enveloped me in other activities. I always saw it as a manifestation of cultural dependency. ...I believe that they took it more as a pastime than as a real instance of rebellion against their own affluence.³⁵

Reinforcing the prevalence of this perspective among leftists, Los Blops member, Juan Pablo Orrego, recalled that when Los Blops performed at a handful of Popular Unity events, members of the audience always pointed out what they perceived to be contradictions in the music: “Although we were not partisan or part of the cannon of political music, they [Popular Unity] permitted us to perform our music in front of the workers. It was very crazy because after we played there were forums and somebody always would say that they had been taught that these [rock] instruments were imperialist.”³⁶ Ultimately, despite potential points of collaboration and agreement, the tensions and contradictions between the left and Chilean *hippies* proved too great for any profound musical or political reconciliation between the two movements during the Popular Unity era. Instead, Chile’s *hippie* youth remained as a countercultural segment of society in conflict with both the right and the left.

Post-Election: Nueva Canción as the Music of the State

Although variations and exceptions existed, as Allende’s government began to implement many of its proposed reforms, Chilean society polarized for and against Popular Unity and the political identity it was fostering. By early 1971, the new

³⁵ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Ilumani y la generación de los 60*, 58-59.

³⁶ David Ponce, *Prueba de sonido*, 128

government had started to expand the Agrarian Reform process, nationalize industry, and strengthen governmental ties with Cuba. Additionally, the Popular Unity government initiated a reform of Chile's educational system, which it believed to be critical to creating a "new culture" that would further the transformation of society by evoking "the best national traditions, [with the] development of manifestations of humanism and of social responsibility".³⁷ As noted in previous chapters, educational reform was an area of particular concern for many centrist and rightist Chileans, who feared that Chile's leftist government would use the education system to indoctrinate children. In an effort to quell this fear, Allende's government made among its initial post-election promises to the Christian Democrats, who it initially hoped not to alienate, specific guarantees regarding the educational policy that the new administration would pursue:

Education imparted through the national system will be democratic and pluralistic and will not have an official partisan orientation. Its modification will also be accomplished in a democratic way, through a prior free discussion in the competent organs of pluralistic character.³⁸

However, the Allende government also viewed a reorientation of the education system as fundamental to its broader vision for the revolutionary transformation of Chilean society. Whereas the Frei administration had undertaken extensive educational reforms and literacy campaigns, it sought to improve education within the existing structures of Chilean society; Frei's educational policies focused on increasing economic output by

³⁷ "Por una nueva cultura," *El Siglo*, 25 July 1973.

³⁸ Fernando Silva Sanchez, *Constitución política de Chile*, Texto actualizado (1973), 14. (cit. Rudecindo Vivallo Jara, *Education in Chile Under the Allende Government*, Ph.D. dissertation (Temple University, Philadelphia, 1978), 145.)

allotting greater funds to construct schools, hire teachers, and provide school books and materials. In contrast, Allende's agenda sought a deeper overhaul of the Chilean education system that would "produce a change in the concept and scope of education [by] using the whole society as a classroom and modifying the orientation of the educational system toward the fulfillment of the complete man by means of the work he does and toward the economic development of the country by means of a polytechnical education"³⁹

Allende possessed a dual-faceted vision for educational reform that operated both within Chile's schools and in the broader public space. Allende outlined this vision during his first presidential speech on education in March 1971, explaining that his government would develop two educational systems: a school system with pre-school, pre-secondary, secondary, and post-secondary public and private institutions, and a parallel, non-school system that would operate within communities to meet the educational and cultural needs of the whole public. Both systems would operate under the Ministry of Education, with the non-school system developing educational and cultural initiatives through childcare centers; adult education; INACAP (National Institute of Training); educational programs linked to the Ministries of agriculture, labor, health, and justice; university extension schools; and cultural programming at Casas de Cultura and other community events.⁴⁰ Moreover, both systems would operate with the basic objective of creating a "new culture" that would, as Rudecindo Vivallo Jara has

³⁹ Ibid., 136.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 154-155.

explained, be “committed to human labor as the highest value, to national affirmation and independence, and to education of the new generations of children so that they can act with a critical view.”⁴¹

Within Chile’s schools, a key component of the Popular Unity government’s education reform was the development of new curriculum. One significant area of curricular transformation was new historical curriculum that the Ministry of Education set forth for Chile’s schools. Unlike previous curricula, the new instructional content incorporated Chilean popular history, including episodes of labor repression, such as the Santa María de Iquique Massacre, and emphasized a fall of Western Hegemony in the post-World War II era.⁴² In the discipline of music, the Ministry of Education established curriculum that incorporated the study of Chilean folk music that was “representative of the different regions of Chile” and asserted that students should learn to identify the “characteristics of Chilean folklore and their regional differences (instruments, forms, songs and dances).”⁴³ As a 1971 report from Musical Coordinator of the Communist Party’s National Assembly of Cultural Workers explained, such endeavors promoted Popular Unity’s larger goal of “noticeably improving [musical] education, giving it revolutionary content and completing the organization of artistic education.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid., 151.

⁴² Teresa D., personal interview, 8 April 2009. Also see: “Programa de Ciencias Historicas,” *Revista de Educación* (October 1970).

⁴³ “Programa de educación musical,” *Revista de Educación* (October 1970).

⁴⁴ *La revolución chilena y los problemas de la cultura: documentos de la Asamblea Nacional de Trabajadores de la Cultura del Partido Comunista*, 11-12 September 1971, 85.

Outside of the classroom, the Allende government and its Ministry of Education developed a wide variety of projects and performances to educate the broader public in a similar manner. In the realm of children's literature and television, leftist scholars Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart published their famous essay, *Para leer Pato Donald* (*How to Read Donald Duck*), in Chile in 1971. The essay argued that Walt Disney comics were not simply benign entertainment for children, but were an active reflection of capitalist ideology that discretely promoted North American cultural values, including the accumulation of individual wealth, U.S. superiority, and the exploitation of developing nations, to Chile's youth.⁴⁵ While, as Alan Woll has noted, conservatives adamantly defended Disney comics and cartoons by arguing that "one of the objectives of the Popular Unity coalition was the creation of a new mentality among the youth", and that Disney comics were "keeping the nation's children from becoming Marxists", the Allende government worked to combat cultural imperialism among Chile's youth by publishing materials such as the *La Firme* comic books.⁴⁶ In *La Firme*, rudimentary, human characters replaced the elaborate Disney animals and shifted the focus of comic texts from money-making endeavors, buffoonery, and fairy tale endings to impart a Popular Unity ideology rooted in simple values and basic desires, such as health, happiness, security, hard work, and communal cooperation. In a similar manner, *Plaza Sésamo* (Sesame Street) also became a target of intense criticism among Chilean leftists

⁴⁵ Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *Para leer al pato Donald* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 1972).

⁴⁶ Alan Woll, "The Comic Book in a Socialist Society: Allende's Chile, 1970-1973," *The Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (5 March 2004), 1042.

when, in the midst of 1973 debates over the creation of a National Unified School structure in the Chilean education system, the conservative television station, Channel 13, began airing *Plaza Sésamo* during prime time; Mattelart, summarizing the left's objections to *Plaza Sésamo*, argued that the program depicted the existing division of labor as natural, encouraged children to obey instructions and social arrangements without question, relied on central adult characters who were all middle-class entrepreneurs, and thereby imposed middle-class values and pursuits upon working-class children.⁴⁷

Beyond children's literature, the Popular Unity government published a wide range of materials to compliment its adult literacy efforts through Quimantú, a publishing house formerly known as Editorial Zig-Zag that the Popular Unity government took over. Quimantú, which published a diverse array of low-cost texts, released some five million books during the Popular Unity period, twice the amount that had been published in all of Chile over the previous seventy years.⁴⁸ In addition to producing materials that presented and analyzed the social theory behind the Popular Unity government, such as the writings of Marx, Engels, Trotsky, and Lenin, Quimantú also published a series of writings entitled *Nosotros los chilenos*. *Nosotros los chilenos* included basic texts that described, in simple terms, the history, customs, and geography of Chile, from the northern Atacama Desert to the southern Straits of Magallanes to Easter Island in the

⁴⁷ Armand Mattelart, *La cultura como empresa multinacional* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era 1974).

⁴⁸ Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy, and Popular Education in Chile, 1964-1990* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), 137.

South Pacific. Quimantú also published writings and biographies of popular Chilean intellectuals who shared the broader notion of identity that *Nosotros los chilenos* evoked, such as Violeta Parra and Pablo Neruda. Neruda, who besides being a Communist Party member, Nobel Prize winning poet, and sometimes politician, possessed an especially strong sense of pan-Latin American identity. This pan-Latin Americanism was particularly evident in *Canto general* (1950), Neruda's famous, popular history of the Americas, which the *nueva canción* group Aparcoa put to music in 1971 and which Quimantú re-published in full in 1973. Further evoking and stimulating pan-Latin American and even trans-Atlantic identity, Quimantú also made accessible to all Chileans the literary works of prominent international authors, such as Ernest Hemingway, Nicolás Guillén, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, and Victor Hugo and Emile Zola, thereby helping to enshrine the ideas, perspectives, and images of authors from throughout Latin America and beyond in Popular Unity's cultural pantheon.⁴⁹

For those less inclined towards high literary texts, the Popular Unity government produced various other publications. For example, the government published *Zig Zag*, a variety magazine aimed broadly at working-class sectors of Chilean society. It also distributed 60,000 copies per week of *Paloma*, a magazine dedicated to women's issues; 80,000 copies a week of *La Chiva*, a workers' magazine that the government provided free in workplaces and union offices; more irregular, 50,000 copy installments of *Educación*

⁴⁹ Ibid., 138.

Popular, a magazine designed to promote among adults the study of current issues, such as Chile's labor movement, agrarian reform, nationalization of copper, and Marxist-Leninist perspectives; as well as other magazines that included *Cabrochico*, *Onda*, *La Quinta Rueda*, *Mayoría*, *Estadio*, and *Historietas Q*.⁵⁰ Despite these significant levels of distribution, conservative publishers, particularly those linked to the Edwards group, retained a majority share of the newspaper and magazine market. In 1971, the conservative press had grown to six newspapers that roughly 340,000 Chileans read, while the left's five national newspapers and two government-sympathizing provincial papers reached only 250,000 Chileans; in October 1972, the right controlled forty-one of the sixty-one provincial newspapers and its readership had grown to 540,000, while the left controlled only eleven provincial newspapers and had a total readership of only 123,000 people.⁵¹ The right also controlled seven weekly magazines that reached 250,000 Chileans, and it held the distribution rights to North American comics that sold an average of 750,000 copies per month, indicating that Popular Unity's publications ultimately struggled to supplant the appetite that Chileans had for U.S. commercial products.⁵²

Beyond these endeavors, Popular Unity extended its non-school educational initiative into various non-print media as well, a strategy that was particularly critical for communicating with illiterate populations (approximately 6.3 percent of Chileans in

⁵⁰ Ibid., 137.

⁵¹ Mike Gonzalez, "Ideology and Culture Under Popular Unity," 115.

⁵² Ibid.

1970) and semi-literate populations.⁵³ In 1970, U.S. productions dominated Chilean television and cinema, with programs of U.S. origin, including "Mission Impossible", "Mod Squad", "Superman", and "The FBI", making up fifty percent of all Chilean television programming, and North American films making up sixty percent of all commercial films shown in Chile.⁵⁴ The United States Information Agency (USIA) contributed to this saturation of the Chilean marketplace with North American cultural products, as it distributed a half million copies of its publications throughout Chile during 1970, free films that were watched by an average of 180,000 Chileans per month and an estimated total of 16 million total Chileans in 1970 alone, and Voice of America programming that even in February of 1971 still occupied 255 hours of weekly broadcasting time on eighty-five Chilean radio stations⁵⁵. In an effort to combat U.S. influence in non-print, cultural media, the Popular Unity government attempted to cultivate the development and dissemination of Chilean films and television programming as an additional branch of its public education initiative.

Prior to the late 1960s, Chile had neither a large number of movie theaters nor a large number of filmmakers. However, with tepid support from the Frei government, including a council to promote Chilean films and a 1967 agreement to grant local producers a percentage of box office earnings, a fledgling Chilean film industry began to

⁵³ 6.2 percent is the "probably rate of illiteracy" calculated by Robert Austin on page 318 of his book, *The State, Literacy, and Popular Education in Chile, 1964-1990*.

⁵⁴ Rudecindo Vivallo Jara, *Education in Chile Under the Allende Government*, 29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

develop. Among the five feature-length movies that Chilean filmmakers produced by the end of the Frei administration were Raúl Ruiz's *Tres tristes tigres* (Three Sad Tigers), Helvio Soto's *Caliche sangriento* (Bloody Nitrate), and Miguel Littín's *El chacal de Nahueltoro* (The Jackal of Nahueltoro). As a series of interviews conducted by Michael Chanan in the mid 1970s reveals, the nuances of Ruiz, Soto, and Littín's political philosophies varied, as did the nuances of political philosophies among many Chileans who fell under the umbrella of the Popular Unity coalition.⁵⁶ This reality translated into the production of independent films that were not always in lock-step with official Popular Unity policy. In particular, Ruiz, a Socialist Party militant, expressed in his films strong criticisms of the Socialist Party's shifting political positions, of petty-bourgeois intellectuals whose social realities left them talking more about change than fighting for it, and of Popular Unity's promotion of a government-led, popular culture, which he referred to as "Quilapayún" culture.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Chile's filmmakers remained generally aligned with the Popular Unity movement, and their films reflected this overarching political orientation. *Caliche sangriento*, for example, presented a revisionist history of the War of the Pacific by characterizing the outcome of the war as a self-indulgent partnership between British commercial interests and the Chilean oligarchy that paved the way for British (and later U.S.) exploitation of Chile's natural resources.

⁵⁶ Michael Chanan, *Chilean Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1976).

⁵⁷ John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 2000), 177.

El chacal de Nahueltoro, which generated the highest viewership of this era with some 500,000 Chileans attending its screenings, related the true story of a Chilean man who, in a state of drunkenness, murdered a homeless woman and her five children; in contrast to the Chilean press, which had depicted the man as a “jackal” in the early 1960s, Littín’s film emphasized the harsh social conditions that had created the environment for such crimes.⁵⁸

After Allende’s election, government support for Chilean filmmakers increased with the founding of Chile Films, the cinematic body in charge of pursuing Popular Unity’s educational initiatives through film. Bureaucratic issues, inter-party squabbles, and a stronger fixation among government officials on educating the populace through other cultural media hampered the production of Chile Films, which despite releasing a significant number of documentaries, ultimately failed to produce a single feature-length film during the Popular Unity Period; however, progressive-minded Chilean filmmakers continued to produce independent films that supported the general objectives of the Popular Unity movement.⁵⁹ For example, Littín’s 1972 historical fiction film, *La tierra prometida*, related the story of a small group of working-class Chileans who establish an agricultural co-operative in the early 1930s. Upon receiving the news that Socialist Marmaduke Grove has assumed the Chilean presidency, the group mobilizes and takes over the municipal government of a nearby town, only to be driven out of power and

⁵⁸ Ibid., 173.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 175.

massacred by the military shortly thereafter, when the middle-class mobilizes against them, Grove loses power, and the armed forces set out to “restore order” to the country by slaughtering Chilean citizens. Evoking a similar message, Chile Films produced two short documentaries by Claudio Sapiain and Angela Vásquez that, similar to the new history curriculum in Chilean schools and Quilapayún’s “Cantata popular Santa María de Iquique”, attempted to integrate the Iquique massacre as a central event in Chile’s historical cannon.

Although the Popular Unity movement created films that imparted its basic tenets, educating the public through cinema depended upon both significant infrastructure and a willing public. Despite the growing public access to cinema, the circulation of Popular Unity-endorsed films remained limited as a result of restrictions to both the dissemination and reception of these productions. Popular Unity’s efforts to cultivate a national cinema industry that could compete with, and ultimately replace, Hollywood productions fell well short of its objectives. In response to Popular Unity’s accusations that U.S. distributors sought a monopoly in Chile and to Allende’s nationalization of the copper industry, U.S.-backed distribution companies withdrew from Chile in 1971. On one hand, this situation reduced the number of U.S. films circulating in Chile; on the other hand, however, the loss of U.S. film imports coupled with the low output of Chile Films created a cinematic vacuum in Chile. In attempt to deal with the shortage of films that developed in Chile, the government supplemented the few productions that Chile Films

release with independent Chilean films that fell in line with the Popular Unity agenda; films from Communist Bloc countries such as Bulgaria, Poland, the U.S.S.R., and Czechoslovakia; and a handful of old Hollywood films that the government was able to purchase on the cheap. However, these remedies were insufficient to satiate the demands of a Chilean public, and the vast majority of Chileans, as noted by *Revista del domingo* in 1973, strongly preferred Hollywood films for their “rich, varied, and opulent production”, which “satisfies the appetite not only of a large and voracious population like [that of] the country of the north, but practically of all the world.”⁶⁰ As the number of films from U.S production companies fell in Chile from 225 in 1970 to 40 in 1971 to none in 1972 and 1973, the public simply stopped attending Chilean cinemas, despite an eight to twenty escudo cost of admission, which the leftist press referred to as “a great bargain, almost ridiculous”.⁶¹ Moreover, Chileans even began to turn to international cinematic tourism, with those who could afford it traveling to Buenos Aires to watch Hollywood films, and those who lived near Chile’s Argentine and Peruvian frontiers taking cinema excursions across the international boarder.⁶²

A similar phenomenon occurred in television. Chile’s four national television channels were Channel 7 (the National Network), Channel 9 (University of Chile),

⁶⁰ David Vásquez, “Los espejos suspendidos: Imágenes de la víspera: cine y cotidianeidad en 1973” in Rolle, Caludio, ed., *La vida cotidiana de un año crucial* (Santiago: Planeta Historia y Sociedad, 2003), 139-141, 144.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 144..

Channel 13 (Catholic University of Santiago), and Channel 4 (Catholic University of Valparaíso). Channel 13, which maintained relations with the United States Information Agency and *El Mercurio*, as well as received 45 million escudos in monthly subsidies from the conservative Society for Industrial Development (SOFOFA), owned the rights to the most popular U.S. television series, such as “Bonanza” and “Combat”.⁶³ With most Chileans preferring U.S. television series, Channel 13 attracted the lion’s share of the national viewing audience and complimented their foreign-based entertainment programming with anti-government news broadcasts and talk shows. The intensity of Channel 13’s anti-government programming grew over the course of the Popular Unity period, and that station’s attacks on Allende and his government became pervasive and unabashed by 1973; among these attacks were increasingly slanted news reports, claims that Allende’s administration held power illegally because it had violated the constitutional guarantees that it had made when it took office, and Father Raul Hasbun’s 1973 demand that Allende either “rectify or resign”, a mantra that conservatives adopted and repeated in the media and at political protests.⁶⁴

In contrast to Channel 13, Channels 7 and 9 remained predominantly government-friendly stations during the Popular Unity era. While primarily Popular Unity officials ran Channel 7, Channel 9, which was under the auspices of the University of Chile, struggled to maintain its leftist political orientation; those who operated Channel 9 were

⁶³ Mike Gonzalez, “Ideology and Culture Under Popular Unity”, 120.

⁶⁴ Edy Kaufman, *Crisis in Allende’s Chile* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), 94.

in constant battle with conservative university administrators, such as Rector Edgardo Boeniger, over issues of content and funding, a struggle that led workers to occupy Channel 9 for six months in 1970 and subsequently for right-wing Patria y Libertad members to attempt to seize the Channel 9 studios by force. However, the greatest limitation on Channel 7 and 9's programming stemmed from the Allende government's decision not to exert state control over the media beyond what the Constitution allowed, a decision which meant that Allende's government could combat rightist media outlets only with lawsuits and that Chileans, therefore, had multiple viewing options when they turned on the television or attended the cinema.⁶⁵ While Channel 9, the more assertively leftist of the two stations attempted to air more staunchly leftist programming throughout the Popular Unity era, including government friendly news reports, leftist-oriented talk shows, and cultural programming that included performances by *nueva canción* artists, the government run Channel 7 initially took a pluralist approach to its programming that sought to provide space for cultural, artistic, economic, and political perspectives from a variety of coexisting ideologies. However, as the Popular Unity era progressed and political polarization grew, Channel 7 joined Channel 9 in expanding its partisan programming, generating anger among conservatives who remained on the programming and administrative staff. In addition to broadcasting increasingly partisan news and talk programs, Channel 7 programmers, for example, led off all newscast appearances of

⁶⁵ Mike Gonzalez, "Ideology and Culture Under Popular Unity", 119-121.

government officials while seen on tour with the Popular Unity anthem, “Venceremos” and canceled the popular discussion program “A tres bandas”, one of few programs on any station that still offered some semblance of open pluralist discussion, after Popular Unity critics on the show unleashed several particularly scathing attacks on government officials.⁶⁶ Yet, the efforts of Channel 7 and Channel 9 to support the Popular Unity government through their programming yielded limited impact, because the majority of Chileans still preferred to watch Channel 13 and its popular U.S. series. Channels 7 and 9 attempted to attract viewers with North American-influenced series and with soap operas imported from other Latin American countries, but even these efforts had little effect: in 1970, 50 percent of viewers watched Channel 13, 40 percent watched Channel 7, and only 10 percent watched Channel 9, and in 1971, 60 percent watched Channel 13, 30 percent watched Channel 7, and 10 percent watched Channel 9.⁶⁷ In effect, as was the case with most of Popular Unity’s efforts to reshape cultural media in Chile, the government’s efforts decreased the amount of North American commercial products that entered Chile, but they were unable to prevent the products that continued to reach Chile from dominating the local marketplace. Although, as Patricia Fagen noted, watching foreign programs and soap operas did not “seriously ‘corrupt’” those Chileans who

⁶⁶ Edward John Tassinari, *The Chilean Mass Media During the Presidency of Salvador Allende Gossens*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Miami, Miami, 1982), 191-196.

⁶⁷ Armand Mattelart and Michele Mattelart, “Ruptura y continuidad en la comunicación: puntos para una polémica,” No. 12 (April 1972), 102-103. (cit. Edward Tassinari, *The Chilean Mass Media During the Presidency of Salvador Allende Gossens*, 232.)

already possessed a well-developed political consciousness and commitment to the left, “the traditional ‘apolitical’ broadcasts of international television helped to spread a middle-class cultural framework and value set which could be exploited by Allende’s political opposition.”⁶⁸

Further limiting the impact of Popular Unity film and television programming was the fact that despite the increased availability of televisions and cinemas during the early 1970s, much of Chile still did not have consistent access to either communication technology. Out of Chile’s three national television stations, only Channel 7 could be viewed throughout the country in 1970, and Channel 9’s signal covered a significantly smaller geographic area than Channel 13.⁶⁹ Additionally, even though the government’s subsidized production of the Chilean-made Antú television set increased the number of low-cost televisions in Chile, the country had only fifty television receivers per 1000 inhabitants in 1971, had a total of only 993,000 televisions in 1973, and the vast majority of Chile’s movie theaters remained in its urban centers.⁷⁰ Although the left exerted much effort to expand Channel 9’s broadcasting range during the Popular Unity era, many

⁶⁸ Patricia Fagen, “The Media in Allende’s Chile,” *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (March 1974), 68. Patricia Fagen basis this claim on studies conducted during the late Popular Unity period; however, the military destroyed the statistical data that these in-process studies generated during the 1973 coup.

⁶⁹ Edward Tassinari, *The Chilean Mass Media During the Presidency of Salvador Allende Gossens*, 187.

⁷⁰ James W. Wilke and Paul Turovsky, eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (Los Angeles: University of California Latin American Center, 1976), 140. Also see: Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples* (London: Constable, 1984), 343.

Chileans who did not themselves own a television gathered in the homes of friends or neighbors to watch T.V., and Popular Unity often screened public films prior to its political rallies and speeches, government-friendly film and television programming ultimately failed to reach, both physically and ideologically, a large percentage of the Chilean populace.

Hoping to offset some of the shortcomings that limited the impact of the television and film branches of Popular Unity's public education efforts, the government utilized additional initiatives to extend its educational campaign to a broader audience through forms of media that did not require television or film technology. For example, the Brigada Ramona Parra (BRP) and the Brigada Elmo Catalán undertook a massive mural painting campaign on walls throughout Chile. These mural brigades, which had worked clandestinely prior to Allende's election, operated with the government's endorsement during the Popular Unity era. Unlike Mexico's famed Revolutionary muralists, Chile's revolutionary muralists were generally students, laborers, and slum dwellers who worked as a team under the direction of a trained artist. They made their murals quickly on unprepared walls with ordinary house paint, and they often revised or altered the murals to fit changing political conditions. The purpose of these murals, which often included particularly accessible symbols, such as the star of the Chilean flag, doves of peace, hammer and sickles, hands with open or clenched fists, and images of workers and well-known revolutionary figures such as Allende, Manuel Rodríguez, Luis

Emilio Recabarren, Ché Guevara, and Angela Davis, was to create an affordable system of communication that would educate and inform the public outside the boundaries of standard media.⁷¹ One of the largest and most famous of these murals was *El río mapocho* (The Mapocho River), a quarter mile long production that the Brigada Ramona Parra made in 1972 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Chilean Communist Party. Running along the Mapocho River in downtown Santiago, the mural began with Pablo Neruda's words, "You have given me the fatherland as a new birth", and depicted a long chain of images of marches, flags, Chileans being "reborn" under the Popular Unity government, a mining village, martyrs, a large "NO" to fascism, and scenes celebrating Chile's copper industry.⁷²

In contrast to newspapers, magazines, movies, and television programs, murals appeared in public spaces throughout Chile, thereby asserting a strong, public presence that conservatives could not easily ignore. Similar to the transformations that Popular Unity pushed in the curriculum of Chilean schools, the murals made conservatives feel as though the Popular Unity government and its educational efforts were intruding into their daily lives. A similar phenomenon occurred within the realm of music, where unlike the field of Chilean cinema and television, conditions were more conducive to the creation of, and popular demand for, Chilean songs; not only were recordings easier, cheaper, and less

⁷¹ Jaqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 287-288.

⁷² *Ibid.*

time consuming to produce than films and television series, but Chile already possessed recording and production infrastructure (EMI and RCA each had a production plant in Chile), talented musicians, and a tradition of Chilean folk-based music that had long been an integral component of Chilean national identity. As with other cultural industries, the Chilean public had a strong appetite for foreign produced and foreign-influenced, commercial pop culture; however, even though foreign music—namely *rock and roll*, *bolero*-style ballads, Caribbean dance music, and Mexican *rancheras*—comprised a majority share of the Chilean market, it coexisted with other forms of Chilean music to which much of the populace remained attached: *música típica*, *nueva canción*, and *neo-folclore*. The left's music, which contrasted sharply with *música típica*, *neo-folclore*, and North American-influenced pop, and which expressed a pan-Chilean and pan-Latin American identity that was identical to the basis of the new curriculum in Chilean schools, thereby became arguably the most prominent and pervasive branch of Popular Unity's public education initiative. While Allende's government in 1971 nationalized RCA Victor, or the Industria de Radio y Television (IRT), in order to promote the growth of *nueva canción*, *nueca canción* had already gained significant popularity in Chile, as EMI-Odeon's successful reorientation of its business model indicates. EMI-Odeon avoided RCA Victor's fate in large part because, with the rise of Popular Unity, EMI directors noted the growing popularity of *nueva canción* music and added *nueva canción* to its catalog of mainstream, commercial pop music, thereby becoming the first capitalist

company to pursue profits through the production anti-capitalist music in Chile.⁷³ In fact, as an EMI official explained in an interview cited in Roger Wallis and Krister Malm's *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*, EMI realized some of its largest profits during the Popular Unity era:

Many products had fixed prices at the time. Records were regarded as basic necessities and the price was fixed at a low rate. Despite small profit margins we sold so much that business was fine. When Allende came to power the factor was working at 50 per cent of its capacity. One way of decreasing unemployment at the time was to give factories the impulse to produce more. This policy gave quite an impetus to the record industry. 1970-1972 were the best years ever in the history of this [Chilean EMI] plant—we were running at full blast. Our success was the result of volume, not high profit margins.⁷⁴

While EMI's successes during the Popular Unity period were not just the result of including some *nueva canción* music in their broad catalog, the company's decision to produce *nueva canción* music both demonstrated and furthered the popularity of the style. As the Popular Unity era progressed, many Chileans willingly purchased *nueva canción* records in stores, listened to *nueva canción* songs on the radio, attended *nueva canción* concerts, and made or re-made *nueva canción* music on their own, a tendency that caused these musical sounds to carry through the air of public spaces and even into homes where it was unwelcome. In doing so, the left's music furthered the notion among conservatives that Popular Unity was invading both public and private spaces.

⁷³ Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*, 100.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

As part of the government's effort to spread its favored music, the Ministry of Education envisioned artistic groups such as the Folkloric Ballet, which had come under the direction of the Ministry of Education's Division of Culture in 1968 and expanded during the Allende years, as a means to educate the Chilean public about "the traditions of popular dances, typical dress, instruments, costumes, and languages, fauna and flora of [various] regions...with the greatest possible authenticity" through performances "related to the history of the salitre, dances from the extreme north of the country, works that recognize the campesino folklore of the central zone, marine mythology of the archipelago of Chiloé and diverse regional dances...[as well as] Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, and México."⁷⁵ In a similar fashion, the production of *nueva canción* music, the musical core of Popular Unity's public education campaign, accelerated after the 1970 elections, thereby heightening the already rising tension and polarization in Chile. Fueled in part by a growing sense of excitement and triumph among leftists and in part by DICAP's increased resources, post-election *nueva canción* music expressed a strong confidence about Chile's future. It invited moderate conservatives to join the Popular Unity movement, playfully criticized or poked fun at the right, and celebrated the Chilean worker. In doing so, post-election *nueva canción* songs

⁷⁵ "Reseña labor del año 1971 el Departamento de Cultural y Publicaciones del Ministerio," *Revista de Educación* (May 1972). The National Folkloric Ballet (BAFONA) grew out of the Ballet Folklórico Nacional Aucamán. Inspired by European folkloric ballets, and that of the Soviet Union in particular, Physical Education teachers and students founded the Ballet Folklórico Nacional Aucamán began 1965. In 1968, Aucamán formed the Ballet Folklórico Nacional (National Folkloric Ballet), under the direction of the Ministry of Education's Division of Culture. With onset of the Dictatorship period, the National Folkloric Ballet underwent a restructuring.

both drew upon and facilitated further enthusiasm and momentum for Chile's "revolution". While musicians including Inti-Illimani, Payo Grondona, Patricio Manns, Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, Rolando Alarcón, Tiempo Nuevo, and Tito Fernandez released new albums in 1971, Quilapayún and Víctor Jara produced the two of the most prominent albums of that year.

Quilapayún's "Vivir como él" ("Live Like Him, 1971") album included a rendition of the Popular Unity anthem "Venceremos" as well as the cantata "Vivir como él". Cuban Frank Fernández composed the later of these two works in homage to Vietnamese guerilla fighter Nguyen Van Troi, who the South Vietnamese army captured and executed after his 1963 assassination attempt on U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Arguably the most popular track on "Vivir como él", however, was "La batea" ("The Washboard"). "La batea", like many of the more overtly political songs from the early Popular Unity period, expresses a dramatic confidence and sense of unity among the Popular Unity community and those who might join it, while at the same time isolating those who reject Popular Unity. The song juxtaposes an image of the left's constructive excitement and positivity with an image of deconstructive negativity linked to the right-wing opposition: the Popular Unity movement "is moving forward", while the opposition has "lost its sanity" and is "plotting", "fleeing", and attempting to "sabotage agriculture". Although "La batea" thereby condemns the Popular Unity opposition in no uncertain terms, it focuses its criticisms on the right wing Patria y Libertad Party and the "momiaje" (a derogatory term that leftists used to describe conservative reactionaries), as opposed to the more moderate

Christian Democrat conservatives that Allende's administration, during its initial months in power, had hoped not to alienate. At the same time, the song reaches out to and expresses solidarity with the Chilean working-class and its way of life by utilizing the washboard as a thinly veiled metaphor for the traditional Chilean social hierarchy, upon which the shifting droplets of water denote growing social upheaval.

La Batea

*Mira la batea,
Como se menea,
Como se menea
El agua la batea.*

*El gobierno va marchando,
¡Qué felicidad!
La derecha conspirando,
¡Qué barbaridad!
Va marchando, conspirando,
Pero el pueblo ya conoce la verdad.*

*Mira la batea,
Como se menea,
Como se menea
El agua la batea.*

*Por el paso de Uspallata,
¡Qué barbaridad!
El momiaje ya se escapa,
¡Qué felicidad!
En Uspallata hacen nata,
Que se vayan y no vuelvan nunca más.*

*Mira la batea,
Como se menea,
Como se menea
El agua la batea.*

*Ya perdieron la cordura,
¡Qué barbaridad!*

*Sabotear la agricultura,
 ¡Qué fatalidad!
 Que chuecura las verduras,
 ¡Los culpables son de Patria y Libertad!*

*Mira la batea,
 Como se menea,
 Como se menea
 El agua la batea.*

*La batea, la batea,
 ¡Qué barbaridad!
 Se menea, se menea,
 ¡Qué felicidad!*

*Mira la batea,
 Como se menea,
 Como se menea
 El agua la batea.*

The Washboard

*Look at the washboard
 Look at how it shakes
 Look at how it shakes
 The water on the washboard.
 (Repeat)*

*The government is moving forward,
 What joy!
 The right wing's plotting
 What barbarity!
 They are marching, conspiring,
 But the people already know the truth.*

*Look at the washboard
 Look at how it shakes
 Look at how it shakes
 The water on the washboard.
 (Repeat)*

Through the uspillata's path⁷⁶

⁷⁶ A location on the boarder between Chile and Argentina.

What barbarity!
The “momiaje” is fleeing
What joy!
Uspallata, “the show offs”,
Let them go and never come back.

Look at the washboard
Look at how it shakes
Look at how it shakes
The water on the washboard.
(Repeat)

They already lost their sanity
What barbarity!
They sabotage agriculture
What destruction!
What a dirty thing to do
The guilty ones are from “Patria y Libertad.”

Look at the washboard
Look at how it shakes
Look at how it shakes
The water on the washboard.
(Repeat)

The washboard, the washboard
What barbarity!
Look how it shakes
Look how it shakes
What joy!
(Repeat)

Look at the washboard
Look at how it shakes
Look at how it shakes
The water on the washboard.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ A live performance of Quilapayún’s “La batea” can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LDzHqFZfCo>

Quilapayún encountered “La batea” while touring Cuba, and they decided to develop their own version of the Cuban song.⁷⁸ Despite altering “La batea’s” lyrics to fit the political situation in Chile, Quilapayún’s “La batea” retained much of its original musical structure and utilized Cuban *congas*, *claves*, *guiros*, and rhythms, thereby blending musical symbols and sounds that evoked pan-Latin American identity with Chilean-specific references and events. The song’s structure also utilizes specific musical techniques to energize listeners and to purvey particular messages associated with the Popular Unity movement. The drums and guitars establish a lively, syncopated rhythm in conjunction with a low-pitched guitar, a *clave*, and a *guiro*, which resembles the clatter of a washboard. While a single, lead voice sings the stanzas, a chorus of voices joins in to articulate each exclamation of “what barbarity,” “what joy,” and “what destruction” as a means of separating and emphasizing these positive and negative emotions. The circular construction of the melody and verses also makes the lyrical refrains easy to remember and conducive to audience participation. Additionally, a call and response interaction among the musicians and the audience, along with a break towards the end of the song in which the hand-clapping holds the song’s pulse, further incorporate the audience in the performance and foster a sense of collaborative group unity in this shared participation. Finally, informal shouts, such as “qué rico”, “yay”, “ahora”, and “La batea”, occur throughout the song, a characteristic that furthers a comfortable, informal atmosphere and a party-like energy around a song that Cecilia A

⁷⁸ Eduardo Carrasco, *Quilapayún: la revolución y las estrellas*, 178.

recalled “made me feel very happy—lots of people sang it at events and parties, but only among leftists.”⁷⁹

“La batea” acquired tremendous popularity among Chilean leftists, especially among younger segments of the left, both for its political statements and for what Daniela B described as its “very danceable rhythm”.⁸⁰ Between 1971 and 1973, “La batea” became a song that Chileans from the left and right associated strongly with Popular Unity and by extension, their perceptions of that political party. For example, Daniela B noted that she associated the song with the Popular Unity movement, and that hearing “La batea” during the Popular Unity era filled her with feelings of “enthusiasm and hope”.⁸¹ In contrast, Héctor Z, a moderate conservative who also associated the song with supporters of the Popular Unity movement, recalled that the song always made him think of the frustratingly long lines for bread and other goods during the Allende era.⁸² Héctor Z also noted that in the early 1970s, he had associated “La batea” with the protests and social confrontation that the Popular Unity movement sparked during that time.⁸³ In effect, Chileans developed an association between songs such as “La batea” and the Popular Unity movement; by extension, the opinions and emotions that individuals held towards Popular Unity became embedded in the meaning that they derived from the song, and visa-versa.

⁷⁹ Cecilia A., personal interview, 20 April 2009.

⁸⁰ Daniela B., personal interview, 12 May 2009.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Héctor Z., personal interview, 11 May 2009.

⁸³ Ibid.

Another of the most prominent *nueva canción* albums of 1971 was Víctor Jara's *El derecho de vivir en paz* ("The Right to Live in Peace"), which included several of his most well know songs: "El derecho de vivir en paz", "Abre la ventana" ("Open the Window"), "Plegaria a un labrador", "Las casitas del barrio alto" ("The Houses of the Wealthy Neighborhood"), "Ni chicha ni limoná" ("Neither chicha nor limoná"), "A Cuba" ("To Cuba"), and "Brigadas Ramona Parra" ("Ramona Parra Brigades"), the last of which was a celebration of the Ramona Parra Brigade muralists. "Ni chicha ni limoná" (alternatively translated as "Neither Fish nor Fowl"), which became a "top ten" hit in Chile, expresses many of the same themes as "La batea" and similarly takes into consideration the political allegiances of the Christian Democrats; however, unlike "La Batea", "Ni chicha ni limoná" speaks more directly to Christian Democrats themselves.⁸⁴ On one hand, Jara criticizes more conservative Christian Democrats for their political opportunism and refusal to take a principled stance, referring to them with phrases such as "Yes, you who have the habit/ Of jumping from one side to the other", "You, who are the most wishy-washy/ Now want to lead the dance", and "Just like the nosey ones,/ No smell escapes them." On the other hand, Jara clearly shared Allende's belief that securing Christian Democrat support for the Popular Unity government was important to the administration's survival, as the song also incorporates an encouraging, inviting tone that asks moderate Christian Democrats to "Stop messing around/ Come and make up for your errors" and to "Come on over here/ Where the sun is nice and warm"... "It won't do

⁸⁴ There is no precise English translation for "Ni chicha ni limoná," but translators commonly use the phrase "neither fish nor fowl", because it also expresses the idea of not being one thing or the other.

you any harm/ To be here where it's all happening.” Furthering this invitation and combining it with a sense of excited confidence for the momentum of the Popular Unity movement, Jara asserts that “this fiesta's already begun”, “things are about to get cooking”, and “If we want more fun,/ First we must work/ And we shall make for us all/ Shelter, bread and friendship.” Additionally, the lines “And we shall make for us all/ clothing, bread, and friendship” invoke the “Pan, techo, y abrigo” campaign slogan of Popular Front President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, a middle-class populist, small landowner, and member of the Radical Party who received Communist and Socialist support as he defeated rightist candidate and banker Gustavo Ross in the 1938 election, a contest which leftists viewed as a precursor to Allende's victory.

Although “Ni chicha ni limoná” includes encouraging overtures to moderate Christian Democrats, it also, like “La batea”, dilutes this conciliatory tone by incorporating sarcasm and insults directed at those who oppose the Popular Unity movement. In addition to his use of lines such as “ni chicha ni limoná”, which refers to a grape-based alcoholic drink consumed by peasants at harvest time and imported North American lemonade or soda-pop drinks, and “fondling your own self-esteem”, Jara mockingly speaks to conservatives in the formal “usted” linguistic construction, thereby emphasizing the gap he perceives between conservatives and the left. Additionally, Jara closes the song with playful, yet harsh threats towards those who reject the left, stating “this thing is going forward, don't think of turning tail” and “I've got no hidden dagger, but if you go on mud slinging we'll have to expropriate you, with your guns and your tongues and everything else you've got.”

Ni chicha ni limoná

*Arrímese más pa' ca
 Aquí donde el sol calienta,
 Si uste' ya está acostumbrado
 A andar dando volteretas
 Y ningún daño le hará
 Estar donde las papas queman.*

*Uste' no es na'
 No es chicha ni limoná
 Se lo pasa manoseando
 Caramba zamba
 Su dignidad.*

*La fiesta ya ha comenzao
 Y la cosa está que arde.
 Uste' que era el más quedao
 Se quiere adueñar del baile
 Total a los olfatiillos
 No hay olor que se les escape.*

*Uste' no es na'
 No es chicha ni limoná
 Se lo pasa manoseando
 Caramba zamba
 Su dignidad.*

*Si queremos más fiestoca,
 Primero hay que trabajar
 Y tendremos pa' toítos
 Abrigo, pan y amistad.
 Y si usted no está de acuerdo
 Es cuestión de uste' no má',
 La cosa va pa' delante
 Y no piensa recular.*

*Uste' no es na'
 No es chicha ni limoná
 Se lo pasa manoseando
 Caramba zamba
 Su dignidad.*

*Ya déjese de patillas
 Venga a remediar su mal
 Si aquí debajito 'el poncho
 No tengo ningún puñal.
 Y si sigue hociconeando
 Le vamos a expropiar
 Las pistolas y la lengua
 Y toíto lo demás.*

*Uste' no es na'
 No es chicha ni limoná
 Se lo pasa manoseando
 Caramba zamba
 Su dignidad.*

Neither Chicha, Nor Limoná
*Come on over here
 Where the sun is nice and warm.
 Yes, you, who have the habit
 Of jumping from one side to the other,
 It won't do you any harm
 To be here where it's all happening.*

*You're nothing,
 Neither fish nor fowl,
 You're too busy fondling
 Caramba zamba
 Your own self esteem.
 (Repeat)*

*This fiesta's already begun
 And it's getting hot.
 You, who are the most wishy-washy,
 Now want to lead the dance.
 Just like the nosey ones,
 No smell escapes them.*

*You're nothing,
 Neither fish nor fowl,
 You're too busy fondling
 Caramba samba
 Your own self esteem.
 (Repeat)*

*If we want more fun,
 First we must work
 And we shall make for us all
 Clothing, bread and friendship.
 And if you don't agree
 That's your own business,
 This thing is going forward,
 Don't think of backing away.*

*You're nothing,
 Neither fish nor fowl,
 You're too busy fondling
 Caramba samba
 Your own self esteem.*

*Stop messing around
 Come and make up for your mistakes.
 Yes, here under my poncho
 I've got no hidden dagger,
 But if you go on mud slinging
 We'll have to expropriate you,
 Your guns and your tongue
 And everything else you've got.*

*You're nothing,
 Neither fish nor fowl,
 You're too busy fondling
 Caramba samba
 Your own self esteem.⁸⁵*

Musically, “Ni chicha ni limoná” is an up-tempo, Chilean *parabién*-style song with a simple construction of repeated patterns that follow the lyrical phrasing of each verse. Each eight-line stanza begins with two lines in which Jara sings in a relatively even pitch and with an even inflection on the lyrics. During the second two lines, Jara’s

⁸⁵ A recording of a live performance of “Ni chicha ni limoná” by Víctor Jara can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TC1U1EkMPs>

voice crescendos, the pitch rises, and he slurs his words emphatically across notes. In the first two stanzas, this formulation coincides with Jara addressing specifically the audience with a personalized statement. In the final four lines of each stanza, Jara lowers his pitch, decrescendos his voice, and speaks in a clearer and more even tone, making sure he communicates the focal points of his message. However, the most distinctive element of Jara's performance of "Ni chicha ni limoná" is his use of an accent characteristic of the rural working-class. Unlike the song "Las casitas del barrio alto", in which Jara mimics the speech patterns of the conservative upper class with a sharp, clear, overly articulated and "proper" accent, in "Ni chicha ni limoná", Jara clips the ends of words such as "usted," "nada," and "dignidad", slurring his pronunciation and running words together as a means to reach out linguistically to, and express solidarity with, workers in rural Chile and in the new, urban slums.

In contrast to the music of Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, and other *nueva canción* groups, Jara's "Ni chicha ni limoná" has a relatively simple composition and instrumentation. Jara performed the song on his own, accompanying his singing of the lyrics only with an acoustic guitar. This style of performance, which the individual *nueva canción* artists commonly utilized, exhibits a stark difference from the songs of the larger groups and fosters a sense that the song is an individualized communication between Jara and the listener. In this manner, both the music and lyrics of "Ni chicha ni limoná" establish a personal, but confrontational, discourse between Jara and moderate Christian Democrats.

Jara also mixed playful encouragement with confrontation and controversy in many of the other songs on his “El derecho de vivir en paz” album, yet tracks such as “A Cuba” took a particularly inflammatory and abrasive tone that would increasingly mark the *nueva canción* movement as the Allende era progressed into 1972. “A Cuba”, which originally became popular during Allende’s presidential campaign, directly referenced the Cuban Revolution as a model of camaraderie and social revolution. In the two verses of the song, Jara pays homage to the Cuban Revolution and glorifies its ideals. In the first verse, he states, “Heart to heart, foot with foot, hand in hand/ As one talks to a brother/ If you need me, here I am.” The song communicates a connection between Jara and the Cuban experience, thereby stressing the camaraderie between Cubans and Popular Unity supporters. While the first stanza is a somber, heartfelt profession of solidarity and faith in the Cuban Revolution, the chorus further alludes to a desire for pan-Latin American unity by addressing Chileans in a colloquial and relatively lighthearted manner and by instructing them to “get to know” Cuba, Martí, Fidel, and Ché.⁸⁶

Despite expressing strong support for the ideals of the Cuban Revolution in “A Cuba”, Jara also maintained a degree of measured restraint in his lyrics. Just as songs such as “La batea” and “Ni chicha ni limoná” attempted to criticize Popular Unity opposition while still leaving an opening for moderate conservatives to join the Popular Unity movement, “A Cuba” stopped short of a full-scale embrace of Cuba. Jara divides

⁸⁶ A recording of “A Cuba” by Víctor Jara can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTPLSED67fE>

the song into sections: some sections speak to a Cuban audience and some sections that speak to a Chilean audience. This structure enables Jara to commend the ideals of the Cuban Revolution, while also asserting autonomy for Chile's own revolutionary process. In the close of the second verse, Jara distances himself slightly from the connection to Cuba that he establishes earlier in the song, as he distinguishes between the Cuban Revolution and "our own revolution". He further emphasizes distinctions between the two revolutionary projects, and he attempts to placate conservative fears of a "Marxist dictatorship" in Chile by stating, "I don't play the 'son'" and "our battlefield will be the election". However, in the context of the early 1970s, the Cuban Revolution's radical character, its use of violence, the assault it made on the old Cuban state and on Cuba's social hierarchy, and the tremendous symbolic significance it held during the Cold War, the emotional power of a song celebrating the Cuban Revolution largely overshadowed these nuanced qualifications. Chileans who heard "A Cuba" fixated largely on its connection to Cuba, as both those on the left and those on the right focused on what they considered to be the revolutionary character of prose in homage to the Cuban Revolution and the political implications of performing a song in a Cuban *son-guaracha* musical style. Leftists, such as Daniela B, recalled that these characteristics caused her to feel a strong identification with the song and its embrace of the Cuban Revolution, while conservatives, such as Pablo T, recalled that these characteristics caused them to feel a strong distaste for the song and that they had associated it with the Popular Unity government and its "obvious desire to turn Chile into another Cuba".⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Pablo T., personal interview, 3 June 2009.

Dissemination, Segregation, and Polarization

With the force of the state now behind it, *nueva canción* became the official music of the Chilean government and made significant inroads towards overcoming the dissemination issues that previously hampered its growth. As noted by the National Cultural Commission of the JJCC, increased financial resources allowed DICAP to grow exponentially after the Popular Unity government took power: “In the last year, DICAP has experienced a growth that exceeded all our expectations...making it possible to unify and amplify the Chilean *nueva canción* movement, which has transformed itself into a true front in the ideological fight and has landed sound punches against the enemy.”⁸⁸ In addition to the growth of DICAP, the Popular Unity government undertook several initiatives to boost and expand the popularity of *nueva canción* music. In one of its first actions, the new government attempted to promote greater dissemination of *nueva canción* music in January 1971 through Decree Number One of the OIR. The Decree required that twenty-five percent of radio programming be “Chilean music” and fifteen percent of radio programming be “folkloric” music in particular.⁸⁹ At face value, the Decree did not necessarily discriminate against one form of Chilean folk-based music in favor of another; however, many conservatives viewed the act not only as an act of censorship, but also as a means to replace what they believed to be authentic Chilean music with the foreign and politically compromised *nueva canción*. While the

⁸⁸ *La revolución chilena y los problemas de la cultura: documentos de la Asamblea Nacional de Trabajadores de la Cultura del Partido Comunista*, 11-12 September 1971, 74.

⁸⁹ “En vigencia resolución en favor de nuestra música,” *El Siglo*, 2 January 1971.

conservative newspaper *La Prensa*, for example, commended the idea of promoting “Chilean music”, especially at the expense of “soul music”, it sharply criticized the type of music that the Decree considered to be Chilean and expressed a concern that Chileans might exchange their own superior music for the music of inferiors—of Peruvians, Bolivians, and Indians that Chileans had defeated in the War of the Pacific:

If one looks at the repertoires of the neofolcloric [nueva canción] groups linked to the [Allende] regime, you can see that they are very politically committed, but also that the bases of the rhythms that they sing are not Chilean, but Bolivian or Peruvian or salteñas. Nobody has anything against Bolivian or Peruvian music, on the contrary, they are very beautiful melodies and rhythms. But it is something else to exchange what is Chilean for what is foreign. The “politically committed” aspects of these new folklorists are especially evident...All those that have been to a government-sponsored public event have had to listen to one of these groups, that with a bombo, charango, quena and a guitar lost beneath a black poncho, sing in an altiplanic or hypoxemic style with much ‘Uhuhuhu’...The authentic admirers of Chilean music are alarmed by this avalanche that has come down upon them, they do not believe that they will be able to adjust to having to say state hacienda instead of rancho in tonadas...or to having to replace “priest of my pueblo” with commissary of the pueblo.⁹⁰

Despite such controversy, the Decree had relatively little impact on the dissemination of *nueva canción* music. Those stations that chose to play *nueva canción* music were stations aligned with the Chilean left and likely would have broadcast *nueva canción* music regardless of the Decree. In this sense, the Decree benefited *música típica* artists the most, because it increased the dissemination of *música típica* on conservative

⁹⁰ “Folklore y revolución,” *La Prensa*, 16 February 1971. Note that until Radio El Conquistador began broadcasting on March 1, 1972, there were no major FM stations operating in Chile.

stations that had classical or foreign popular music formats. Such stations refused to broadcast *nueva canción* music, but still needed to fulfill the established Chilean and folkloric programming quotas; accordingly, they filled those quotas with *música típica*. In order to meet their programming obligations, some classical music stations even inserted *tonadas* that sang about “copihues” and “tri colored *mantas*” between the movements of symphonies.⁹¹ In this sense, the Decree’s greatest impact was not that it befitted a cultural Left, but that it segregated musical styles even more and further polarized musical preferences.

Although Decree Number One did not in itself facilitate tremendous growth in the dissemination of *nueva canción*, another Popular Unity initiative did do so. As previously noted, as late as 1964, conservative economic interests maintained such control over the radio industry that not a single major station actively supported leftist political campaigns.⁹² Although this monopoly no longer existed in late 1970, only approximately forty of the one hundred and fifty-five AM stations in Chile identified with the left.⁹³ Moreover, the majority of anti-Popular Unity radio stations were organized in national chains, including eight stations that were owned by the Cooperative Vitalicia of the Sociedad Chilena de Comunicaciones, which was affiliated with the Pan American Broadcasting Company; these stations, which included the Christian Democrat Party’s Radio Balmaceda and the National Agriculture Society (SNA), were especially

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Edward Tassinari, *The Chilean Mass Media During the Presidency of Salvador Allende Gossens*, 1982.

⁹³ Ibid.

aggressive in airing conservative propaganda and ultimately encouraging conservatives to act against the government.⁹⁴ Realizing the political disadvantage of such inequity in broadcast media and the difficulties that inequity posed to Popular Unity's cultural programs, Allende's government sought to increase its influence in the communication industry. The Popular Unity Program made this point clearly:

The mass media are fundamental in helping to develop the new culture and a new type of man. For this reason it is necessary to redefine their purpose, putting emphasis on their educative role and ending their commercialization, and to adopt measures which will allow social organizations the use of these communication media, eliminating the harmful effect of the monopolies. The national system of popular culture will be particularly concerned with the development of the film industry and the preparation of social programs for the mass media.⁹⁵

In pursuit of these goals, Allende faced a difficult dilemma: his government needed to enhance its media presence, but the measures required to do so would stoke fears among Christian Democrats that Allende intended to establish a Cuban-style dictatorship. Publicly, the Popular Unity government declared that it would not intervene in the freedoms of the press, as the Minister of Exterior Relations, Clodomiro Almeyda, proclaimed: "The press constitutes a bulwark which always will be respected by the government whenever there is partisanship."⁹⁶ Yet, as the comments of Carlos Jorquera,

⁹⁴ Edy Kaufman, *Crisis in Allende's Chile*, 95.

⁹⁵ Quoted from *The Popular Unity Programme* (cit. "Official Chileans Documents and Background Papers" in Ann Zammit, ed., *The Chilean Road to Socialism* (Great Britain: The Kensington Press, 1973), 274-275.)

⁹⁶ "Declaraciones de Clodomiro Almeyda," *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), 21 January 1971. (cit. Thomas P. MacHale, "El Frente de la Libertad de Expresión" (Santiago: Ediciones Portada, 1972), 33.)

Chairman of Advertising of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, demonstrated, the government's intentions actually were otherwise: "The influence of our political party upon the means of mass communications has increased a great deal. We have new 'cells' in newspapers and radio and TV stations."⁹⁷ In addition to assuming control automatically over government stations after the 1970 elections, Popular Unity gradually increased its radio broadcasting presence between 1970 and 1973 through several means: the purchase of radio stations by the government or Popular Unity supporters; strikes among workers in radio-related fields that demanded concessions, such as leftist programming; the exertion of legal and political pressure upon those stations controlled by Popular Unity opposition; and the institution of a government monopoly over the import and distribution of equipment and replacement radio transmitters. In combination, these practices drastically increased the number of Popular Unity-friendly radio stations. According to Rene Cristoso-Garces' analysis of Chilean radio stations, eighty-four stations supported the Popular Unity government in 1972, while fifty-nine stations opposed the government, seven were run by the Catholic Church, four had unknown political leanings, one was run by the Chilean navy, and twenty-four were independent.⁹⁸ Although Cristoso-Garces' findings differ significantly from a claim made by Asociación Nacional de Radiodifusores President Daniel Ramírez in 1972, which asserted that Popular Unity controlled sixty of the one hundred and forty radio

⁹⁷ "Informe Central Asamblea Nacional de Propaganda del P.C.," *El Siglo*, 13 December 1970. (cit. Fernando Rene Cristoso-Garces, *Control of Radio Stations in Chile: 1970-1973*, Master's thesis (University of Mississippi, Oxford, 1977).)

⁹⁸ Fernando Rene Cristoso-Garces, *Control of Radio Stations in Chile: 1970-1973*, 60.

stations in Chile, both claims demonstrate the underlying point that Popular Unity and its opposition maintained significant networks of radio stations at that time.⁹⁹

The political affiliations of Chile's radio stations were especially important because they corresponded directly with the type of programming that each station aired, a trend that caused an increase in the dissemination of *nueva canción* music after 1970, but that also further divided *nueva canción* and *música típica* into separate socio-political spheres. Although playlists from the late 1960s and 1970s no longer exist, those who worked in the radio industry recall that extreme segmentation existed among right-leaning and left-leaning stations and the type of music that each broadcast. For example, Guillermo E, a journalist and former radio employee at Radio Minería, explained:

All of the programming of this period was planned, and it was planned specifically according to the references and objectives of the left and the right. The radio stations were completely divided by their politics and on the right there were stations like Minería and Agricultura that played music like Los [Huasos] Quincheros and other neo-folclore groups, while on the left there were stations like Corporación, Balmaceda, Portales, Cooperativo, and Santiago that played music of groups like Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún—all the stations were influenced by their politics.¹⁰⁰

The entrenchment of this segmentation occurred as station directors, station employees, and station listeners drifted towards those stations linked to their political beliefs and programming preferences. Station directors mandated that their stations play music that reflected their political orientation, proclamations that management and employees happily carried out because “everything was so polarized...that people who

⁹⁹ “La UP posee ahora 60 radios en todo Chile,” *La Segunda*, 25 February 1972.

¹⁰⁰ Guillermo E., personal interview, 29 May 2009.

worked at stations only worked there if their political beliefs fell in line with the political beliefs of the station's boss."¹⁰¹ The songs affiliated with different stations shifted over time, but as a general rule, the division of programming became increasingly strict over the course of the Popular Unity era, and it progressed to a point that Guillermo E likened it to a politically-driven, hyper-polarized version of the contemporary segmentation of radio stations according to music genres.

The final initiative undertaken by the Popular Unity government to promote increased dissemination and popularity of *nueva canción* music was its effort to increase the number of musical festivals and tours in Chile, an endeavor that resulted, similar to the radio station initiative, in both the increased dissemination of *nueva canción* and the increased segregation of *nueva canción* music and supporters from their *música típica* counterparts. Now supported with governmental funds, "folkloric" festivals increased exponentially throughout Chile in 1971 and 1972. As Daniel S, one of the individuals in charge of the *Festival Folklórica de Patagonia* in Punta Arenas explained, the Chilean government and DICAP provided the majority of the resources for these festivals during the Popular Unity era:

The Popular Unity was the movement for the artists—the government was very interested in promoting music, books, and poetry... One hundred percent of the economic help for festivals came from Chile's state institutions, although we were especially lucky in Punta Arenas because unlike other festivals, the Argentine government sent extra funding just for our festival. DICAP sent the best of its equipment to Punta Arenas and recorded the whole festival from under the stage. We weren't politically correct, we wanted to bring in the Inti-Illimani's and the Quilapayún's,

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

and the government helped us to do that... We cut with the cueca and wanted something new, just like with the politics, the history and the economy.¹⁰²

Daniel S recalled that these folkloric festivals were politically segregating events. Although he acknowledged that a handful of local conservatives occasionally went to such festivals simply because they liked music, especially music of local folkloric styles, the “strong majority of people there were definitely progressives.”¹⁰³ As such, government sponsored folkloric festivals became sites at which leftists alone shared musical experiences that reflected and strengthened their own sense of community and common cultural identity.

The Popular Unity government also promoted musical tours with Popular Unity affiliated artists. In addition to employing *nueva canción* artists as its “cultural ambassadors” and helping to facilitate tours abroad, Popular Unity organized domestic tours to help popularize *nueva canción* throughout Chile. One of the initial acts of the newly formed Presidential Department of Culture, a department that the new government created and placed under the direction of Waldo Atías in order to fulfill its objective of fomenting artistic activities for all Chileans, was the Tren de la Cultura (“Cultural Train”). The idea of sending *nueva canción* musicians on tours into rural areas of the provinces was not new. René Largo Farías, for example, had organized a musical tour with Quilapayún in the rural, southern-central region of Chile in 1967. However, as Eduardo Carrasco explained, lack of funding, poor facilities, and limited publicity

¹⁰² Daniel S., personal interview, 2 July 2009.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

hampered the success of such endeavors to the point that Quilapayún on multiple occasions had “to cancel the show or to sing in front of four nobodies who listened to us dying of cold and of boredom.”¹⁰⁴ In contrast, the Train received more significant government support, received widespread publicity, and included an extensive contingency of well-known performers. A group of approximately sixty actors, dancers, folklorists, writers, and musicians, including Rolando Alarcón, Los Emigrantes, and Nano Acevedo, comprised the Train, which traveled across the southern-central Chile with the specific task of “bringing culture and recreation to the laboring masses, [and] establishing solid channels of relation between the artists and the pueblo.”¹⁰⁵ With the assistance of local labor unions and other organizations that supported the Popular Unity government, such as the CUT and CORA, the Train stopped in various towns and cities to give live performances and facilitate talks that *La Nación* noted as having “the unmistakable stamp of Popular Unity, as for the first time artists and writers went to meet with the pueblo under the auspices of the government.”¹⁰⁶ The government intended for the Train’s artists to interact with the populace and lay the foundation for “Centros Locales de Cultural Popular”, a network of local cultural centers that would continue the Train’s efforts to help “art reach the pueblo” and foster widespread cultural transformation. With further assistance from the Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP), these cultural centers would start to take root by mid-1971 in agrarian zones in central-southern Chile.

¹⁰⁴ Eduardo Carrasco, *Quilapayún: la revolución y las estrellas*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ “Tren de la Cultura,” *La Nación*, 15 February 1971.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

The Cultural Train departed Santiago's Estación Central to fanfare on February 16, 1971, with Salvador Allende and his wife, Hortensia Bussi, attending the large public send-off. Speaking to the crowd, Allende linked the Train's mission to the success of Agrarian Reform, noting the importance of strong ties between the government and rural campesinos, both of whom he asserted, needed to have confidence and faith in each other for Agrarian Reform to succeed. Allende continued by expressing his strong belief that for the Chilean "revolution" as a whole to succeed, it was "necessary to break not only the economic dependency, but also the cultural dependency, to which until now our pueblo has been subjected."¹⁰⁷ In closing, Allende thanked the Train's organizers and participants for "giving them [Chileans] the spiritual bread that so many need", and for their efforts to help "bring education and culture to the pueblo through their songs, poems, and other artistic manifestations."¹⁰⁸ The Train then proceeded southwards on a month-long journey. At each stop, local populations welcomed the artists at the train station, and according to local accounts, the artists' performances generally were well attended. However, the majority of those who welcomed the artists and attended the events were local authorities, union members, neighborhood organizations, students, and other individuals who supported Popular Unity.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, although the Train may have made progress towards its objectives of bringing its culture to the pueblo, it did so primarily among only those populations already supportive of the Popular Unity movement.

¹⁰⁷ "A liberar la batalla de la cultura y del arte," *El Siglo*, 17 February 1971.

¹⁰⁸ "Allende despidió a los artistas del tren de la cultura," *El Mercurio*, 17 February 1971.

¹⁰⁹ This assertion is based on various accounts of the Tren in local periodicals.

The growing segregation of the folk-based music linked to the left and the folk-based music that linked to right crystallized distinctions and divisions between these styles and the significance that they held for Chileans. As a result, those instances in which musicians who performed styles of music associated with one political faction came into contact with audiences from the opposing faction became even more inflammatory and combative. Most notably, Chile's largest and most well attended music festival, the *Viña del Mar Music Festival*, became the site of violent controversy between 1971 and 1973. The 1971 Festival acquired a controversial tone with the presence of Cuban singer Elena Burke and U.S.-born Communist, Dean Reed. Reed, in particular, received a cold reception from conservatives at the festival, as *El Mercurio* reported that his performance sparked emotional outrage from conservative attendees who vehemently rejected the politically oriented music of the "foreigner". The newspaper emphasized the public's rejection of Reed's "political" performance and chastised both his "dull" routine and his superficial efforts to relate to the audience as "huasitas" or "huasitos" with his marked American accent. According to *El Mercurio*, after Reed's "songs with [political] messages" drew little support from the crowd, the singer returned to his traditional selection of English-language songs and subsequently drew only scattered applause.¹¹⁰

While the presence of Reed and Burke caused significant controversy at the festival, tensions escalated to an even higher level at the 1971 festival when the *nueva canción* group Tiempo Nuevo performed: as Tiempo Nuevo took the stage and began to

¹¹⁰ "Público protesta por folklore comprometido," *El Mercurio*, 9 March 1971.

perform, conservatives in the audience jeered, screamed insults, and even hurled rocks at the musicians. The precise extent of the dissent and violence directed towards Tiempo Nuevo is difficult to discern. On one hand, the conservative press characterized the episode as a widespread repudiation of Tiempo Nuevo:

While the artists protested from the stage against capitalism and the bourgeoisie and make calls to arms in order to initiate guerilla warfare, the public protested in the seats against the coarse Marxist propaganda, making the singer flee under a shower of projectiles. For the first time in the music festival a group of singers received so violent a repudiation.¹¹¹

On the other hand, the leftist press downplayed the incident and claimed that “the majority of the galleries, the modest public, ... protested against these actions.”¹¹² In either event, it is clear both that the performance of Tiempo Nuevo angered at least some conservatives to the point of physical violence and that the episode was controversial enough to set off an uproar in the Chilean press. Conservative periodicals such as *El Mercurio* attacked Tiempo Nuevo’s performance as a despicable corruption of music and art for political ends. Objecting strongly to the inappropriate use of music “in the service of revolutionary ideas”, one editorial stated that musicians increasingly “utilized their artistic capacities as part of a profuse propagandistic wheel,” and that such “hybrid protest songs” contained “Marxist doctrines” and were therefore “distant from true art.”¹¹³ In contrast, the leftist press produced numerous articles commending the performance of Tiempo Nuevo and criticizing the conservative response. One editorial

¹¹¹ “Sorpresas de festival,” *El Mercurio*, 22 February 1971.

¹¹² “Un festival de la canción realmente popular,” *La Nación*, 18 February 1971.

¹¹³ “Repudio a las canciones de protesta,” *El Mercurio*, 10 February 1971.

condemned the *Viña del Mar Music Festival* and argued that Chile needed a “true Festival of Música Popular, with affordable prices, where the singers interpret the interests of the pueblo with their art.”¹¹⁴ Another article cited a lengthy array of negative reactions to the festival from members of the general public, such as University of Concepción sociology student María Eugenia Saavedra:

This festival is very bad because it exerts a rightist pressure on the public. We have instances of songs of Tiempo Nuevo that endured the jeers of the public because they [members of the audience] do not like that these songs tell the truth. They have always entertained themselves with songs without content, without importance. It is the fruit of the capitalist system that has served to alienate the people and because of that...[the festival] should be suspended or change its structure.¹¹⁵

The events and responses to the 1971 *Viña del Mar Music Festival* demonstrated the growing politicization and polarization among Chile’s folk-based musical styles and the public’s response to them. *Nueva canción* music and its wider dissemination had effectively excited, engaged, and mobilized supporters of Popular Unity; however, this success also antagonized conservatives and helped to fuel a growing polarization of society that would pose significant impediments to the Popular Unity government in the future.

¹¹⁴ “Un festival de la canción realmente popular,” *La Nación*, 18 February 1971.

¹¹⁵ “Opinión del público: un festival enajenante,” *La Nación*, 15 February 1971.

Stagnation: Algo anda mal

Despite the successful growth of *nueva canción* during the 1970 campaign and in the aftermath of Allende's ascension to the presidency, the *nueva canción* movement lost much of this momentum by the second half of 1971, as the movement failed to attract new followers at the same rate as it had during the previous few years. Leftists began to note this loss of momentum in the first half of 1971, with artists such as Los Curacas observing that issues such as sectarianism, a need for a more common theme, and a general lack of clarity within the *nueva canción* movement were retarding its growth.¹¹⁶ The decreasing momentum of the *nueva canción* movement became significantly more obvious and heavily discussed after disappointingly low public turnout at the *Third Festival of Nueva Canción* in late 1971.

In contrast to previous festivals, over which the Catholic University had presided, the Presidential Department of Culture took charge of the third enactment of the *Festival of Nueva Canción* and gave it a more decisively political tone than its predecessors. With Salvador Allende accompanying Fidel Castro on a tour of southern Chile, Waldo Atías gave the festival's opening remarks:

In the name of the President of the Republic, compañero Salvador Allende, I want to welcome the Third Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena. At the same time, I want to excuse the absence of compañero Salvador Allende, because as all of you know, he is at this time traveling in the extreme south of the country with the great visitor who is in our country...¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ "El ángel de Los Curacas," *Onda*, No. 9 (January 1971), 18-19.

¹¹⁷ "Ambiente de fiesta se vivió en el Festival de la Nueva Canción," *El Siglo*, 1971.

As Atías concluded his sentence by exclaiming “Fidel Castro”, festival attendees broke into frenzied applause and chants of “Fidel, Fidel, Fidel...”¹¹⁸ This tone permeated the festival, as artists performed a wide array of socially conscious and politically explicit songs that represented *nueva canción*’s growing emphasis on what Isabel Parra explained as poetic support for “the new man, for the operator of the nationalized textile factory...for the combatant muchacha, for the fisherman and the land.”¹¹⁹ The performances of such songs fostered an excitement and energy among the audience that observers likened to the “environment of a party”.¹²⁰

The excitement that occurred within the confines of the Estadio Chile, however, did not mask the fact that a mere three thousand people had arrived by the start of festival, leaving much of the large stadium empty for a festival that included prominent artists such as Patricio Manns, Quilapayún, and Cuban musicians Manguaré; the low attendance even forced Ricardo García to ask those in attendance to move down and gather closer around the stage in order to fill up the front sections prior to the opening songs. Even leftists expressed concern over what they perceived to be the *nueva canción* movement’s loss of momentum, with fans at the festival lamenting generally that “something is happening, something is failing.”¹²¹ The leftist press noted and addressed this trend as well. For example, the magazine *Ahora* explained that the *nueva canción* movement “was an artistic phenomenon that took root especially among leftist

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ “Tercer año de la nueva canción,” *Ahora*, No. 32 (23 November 1971), 49.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ “Nueva canción: algo anda mal,” *Ahora*, No. 33 (30 November 1971), 40-41.

intellectuals, [and was] closely linked to the popular sector. Its creations emerged as a reaction to the “folklore” of the huasos and chinas, and a bit as a reaction also to the “neofolklore” popularized by groups such as Los Cuatro Cuartos, Los de Los Andes, [and] Las Cuatro Brujas.” However, with the early growth of *nueva canción* and the triumph of Allende, *nueva canción* singers had “decided to take a more optimistic tone in their creations...and [created] works dedicated to the workers of nationalized textile factories, to the miner, or in praise of Chilean and Cuban revolutionaries. A valiant initiative that failed in its execution.” *Ahora* contended that the difficulties that *nueva canción* had encountered since Allende’s election stemmed from a lack of artistic creativity in “works that left behind a bit the poetry and the music, resulting in an excess of pamphleteering.”¹²²

Ahora’s analysis touched on the fundamental issue facing the growth of *nueva canción*: its political significance. However, like many members of the Popular Unity government and the *nueva canción* movement, *Ahora* failed to consider the causes and ramifications of this characteristic. Both artists and party officials maintained a general confidence that *nueva canción* music embodied the traditions, experiences, and perspectives of the laboring classes. Therefore, they reasoned, if the *nueva canción* movement was able to overcome dissemination difficulties and expose Chileans to *nueva canción*, the masses would embrace this music, because it was far more authentic and of the Chilean people and their traditions than *música típica* or pop music. In effect, they reasoned that the “authentic” and “traditional” character of *nueva canción* meant that the

¹²² Ibid.

masses would come to recognize *nueva canción* music as a representation of their own lives. This process would be part of a cultural transformation that would help the masses to understand the importance of their engagement in the Popular Unity “revolution” and mobilize them in support of Popular Unity’s political projects.

This conception of *nueva canción* relied on three mistaken assumptions that limited the music’s popularity. First, it mischaracterized the significance of *música típica* in Chilean society. Much of the leftist intelligentsia believed that *música típica* was either a musical style rooted exclusively in the songs of the rural elite and/or a corrupted, inauthentic stylization of true folkloric music. Although *música típica* may have drawn significantly on music and images celebrated traditionally by the rural elite, such music and images were also cultural hybrids that, as previously noted, were neither derived exclusively from nor embraced exclusively by the elite. Moreover, while it is true that the songs and images of the Central Valley underwent various alterations and stylizations as commercial musicians began to perform and record them during the first half of the twentieth century, by 1970 stylized and commercial *música típica* songs had existed for several decades. During that time, Chileans of all political persuasions and social classes had undergone a variety of personal experiences with *música típica*, and they therefore derived a variety of personal meanings from the music and, in many cases, had come to define this decades-old musical style as “authentic” and “traditional” in its own right. Second, as previously explained, *nueva canción* artists believed that songs with leftist political content were inherently connected to the pueblo, because they viewed the Popular Unity movement as being an expression of the pueblo’s interests and desires.

This conviction, of course, overlooked the fact that a significant portion of the working class, especially in rural areas, aligned itself with the Christian Democrats and accordingly did not view the explicitly Popular Unity-linked, political content embedded in many *nueva canción* songs as being an expression of the pueblo. Finally, reminiscent of Patricio Manns' contention that the music of Violeta Parra was simply an extension of Chile's folkloric practices and traditions, as opposed to being a "new song", the leftist intelligentsia believed that *nueva canción* music was an authentic and direct amplification of Chilean folklore, and the populace, accordingly, would recognize it as such and embrace it. However, the reality was that many Chileans, particularly those outside of leftist intellectual circles and outside of urban centers, or those who had not experienced the gradual evolution of *nueva canción* from its folk roots through Violeta Parra and into the music of Patricio Manns, Víctor Jara, and subsequently Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, did not interpret *nueva canción* in this manner.

Although some music associated with the *nueva canción* movement resembled the rural folk music that pre-dated the development of *nueva canción* more than other music associated with that movement, even the music of folklorists such as Violeta Parra and Margot Loyola differed significantly from the rural folk songs that they attempted to replicate. Accordingly, for many Chileans, the sounds of *nueva canción* music were at least as much a "new music" as they were performances of existing folk music. This tendency was particularly true among individuals who encountered in *nueva canción* those folk-based sounds from regions other than their own—music that was not already a part of their musical vocabulary. This occurrence was particularly prevalent in Chile,

because more-so than many countries, Chile's folk traditions varied widely by geographic region. As Dale Olsen has explained, geographic regionalism had a tremendous impact on folk music in Chile:

In Chile a very rich musical folklore is presented in one of two ways, depending on the geographic location. Many festivals of central Chile include a minimal amount of dancing with much of the music performed by vertical flutes that are capable of producing only one note (two groups of instruments alternate in hocket) and drums. The emphasis here is on verbal proclamations of faith directed at the Virgin...In contrast to central Chile, the north features many dancing groups, accompanied by panpipe players, fifers and drummers or brass bands, with the emphasis placed here on the dancing as a physical confirmation of faith. The music of the northern festivals is characterized by the typical Andean rhythm and by scales varying from the tritonic to the melodic minor.¹²³

Little continuity existed in Chilean musical culture, with substantial differences in form and practice existing among the Argentine-influenced folklore of Chile's southernmost provinces; the drum and wooden horn-based music of the indigenous Araucanians; the popular "polka alamana" in the southern-central provinces of Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue; the varied guitar, voice, and "folk harp"-based folk music of central Chile; the altiplanic and *huayno*-influenced music of northern Chile; and the wind (Clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, trombone, and tuba) and *orquesta típica* (clarinets, harps, and violins) ensembles of the northern Andes. Prior to the late 1960s and the spread of the *nueva canción* movement, rural inhabitants of southern-central and southern Chile, for example, had little or no exposure to folkloric sounds of northern Chile. Because they

¹²³ Dale Olsen, "Folk Music of South America" in *Music of Many Cultures*, Elizabeth May, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 410-414.

had no previous experience or history with northern sounds, when these individuals encountered northern sounds in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the meaning and significance that individuals in these regions derived from such sounds emanated solely from the current politically-divided context in which they experienced them. On one level, the dissemination of a style of music that for many residents of these regions was entirely different from music that they had previously encountered helped communicate Popular Unity's ideology and optimism. On another level, with Popular Unity supporters producing and performing *nueva canción* often in conjunction with efforts to rally political support for Popular Unity, the context in which many Chileans first encountered and interpreted *nueva canción* was closely intertwined with leftist politics. Accordingly, Chileans encountered and interpreted *nueva canción* as a political expression, embracing or rejecting *nueva canción* along political lines. As southern Chilean native Miguel D explained, he and his friends embraced *nueva canción* not because of a strong, pre-existing connection to the music, but primarily because they were leftists and they associated the new and often northern sounds of *nueva canción* with a political vision that they shared with the Popular Unity party:

We identified with our local folkloric traditions because they were our traditions and represented who we were. We identified with the northern music of groups like Inti-Illimani not because it fit that style, but because it was political and we identified with the politics it represented and the political ideas it expressed.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Miguel D., personal interview, 1 December 2009.

With most Chileans interpreting the “new” sounds of *nueva canción* through a political lens that associated those sounds directly with Popular Unity, individuals embraced or rejected the music according to their opinions of the Popular Unity government. Chileans developed a deep association between the musical sounds of *nueva canción* and Popular Unity, an association so deep that minor alterations to the lyrics or “quality” of *nueva canción* songs could not change it. Accordingly, the potential popularity of *nueva canción* within Chile had a threshold that corresponded closely with the number of Popular Unity supporters in Chile, and the pace at which the *nueva canción* acquired new followers therefore slowed after most Chileans initially encountered the music and developed their opinions for or against it between the late 1960s and the early months of the Allende presidency. Despite these limitations, as *Ahora* and many individuals associated with the *nueva canción* movement pointed out, particular musical content or lyrics often generated a deeper excitement among Popular Unity supporters and more strongly endeared them to *nueva canción* music; however, just as these elements embedded in *nueva canción* a tremendous capacity to excite Popular Unity supporters, they also embedded in *nueva canción* a tremendous capacity to enrage the opposition, and these tendencies would become increasingly evident and problematic during the remaining months of the Popular Unity era.

Chapter VI: Disorder, Violence, and Collapse (1972-1973)

Despite growing political divisions and discontent among conservatives, Chile remained relatively stable both socially and politically during Allende's first months as President. Its extensive foreign debt aside, the Popular Unity government had successfully promoted many initial reforms and helped real incomes to rise, achievements that gained momentum for Popular Unity and helped the party to increase its votes in the April 1971 Municipal Elections. However, this same momentum also further concerned conservatives, who viewed Popular Unity political achievements as paving the way for Chile's descent into a full-fledged, left-wing dictatorship.

As historians have noted, much of the chaos and turmoil that began to consume Chile by the second half of 1971 stemmed from efforts by the far right, with support from the United States, to sabotage social and political stability in Chile and, as Richard Nixon notoriously stated, to "make the economy scream."¹ Such efforts included the hoarding of goods; the staging of politically-fueled strikes, such as the infamous camioneros (truck owners association) strikes in 1972 and 1973; and the mobilization of conservative media outlets in a fear and misinformation campaign against the left. Combined with the loss of investment capital from non-nationalized foreign companies, the U.S.-led economic and political embargo against Chile, and C.I.A. efforts to promote a seizure of power by Chilean military officers, the actions of the far right placed a great strain on Allende's ability to maintain stability, govern effectively, and implement his proposed reforms.

¹ *Church Report: Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973*. Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. United States Senate (Washington D.C. 1975).

However, the left also faced many difficulties of its own making. The combination of price freezes with increased government spending and wages contributed to the widespread inflation and shortages of goods. Additionally, Popular Unity lacked effective public relations strategies to counter the right's propaganda, which claimed Allende was against religious piety, family, and traditional gender relations. Most importantly, Allende proved unable to hold together a post-election coalition of the left, and internal competition and disagreements over the manner in which the Popular Unity "revolution" should precede led to infighting and disruptive actions that weakened Allende in his crucial dialogue with the Christian Democrats. Allende urged patience and a gradual implementation of the Popular Unity agenda in accordance with constitutional parameters, and he focused initially on the nationalization of large corporations and monopolies, as opposed to smaller factories and farms; however, more radical segments of the left demanded immediate transformation from top to bottom and often took matters into their own hands due to their frustration with the pace of the "revolution". As Miguel Enríquez, General Secretary of the MIR, stated in 1971:

The Popular Unity government has dealt a blow to the interests of the ruling class. But by not bringing the masses into the process and not striking at the state apparatus and institutions, it has become increasingly weak. Despite its positive measures and the process it has made, the weakness and concessions, the temptation in some of its sectors to assume the role of arbiters of the class struggle, leave the workers no alternative but to withdraw some of the confidence they had placed in [the government] and, while supporting its positive measures and opposing its concessions, to define themselves the road they must take.²

² Gabriel Smirnow, *The Revolution Disarmed, Chile 1970-1973* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 50.

The frequency of unsanctioned seizures of factories and property increased over the course of the Allende administration, and the number of unofficial takeovers of private agricultural lands by rural farmers grew from 148 in 1969 to 456 in 1970 and 1,278 in 1971.³ These seizures, coupled with acts of violence linked to the radical left, including the June 1971 assassination of former Christian Democrat Interior Minister, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, and escalating street fights between members of the MIR (far left) and Patria y Libertad (far right) factions, generated an impression that Allende was unable to maintain order even within his own ranks. This perception contributed to a polarized, downward spiral of violence in the streets of Chile. Those who supported the general trajectory of socialist reform blamed the current hardships and struggles on the right's efforts to sabotage the government, and they increasingly used popular mobilizations and more aggressive displays of physical strength to preserve and further the "revolution" and to deter attempts to unseat the government. Those who opposed the general trajectory of socialist reform saw growing aggression by leftists as causing Chile to slip further into political and economic chaos; these conceptions reinforced conservatives' belief that Chile was falling apart and that action must be taken to halt that process.

Against this backdrop, when Popular Unity opposition fell short in the March 1973 congressional elections of gaining the two-thirds majority in Congress necessary to remove Allende from office before the end of his six-year term—a result that indicated that neither the intense efforts of Popular Unity nor those of its opposition were shifting

³ Ibid., 94.

enough opinions to break the political standoff between Allende and Congress—popular emotions exploded for and against the president. Although the left made some electoral gains between 1970 and 1973, the various strategies that Popular Unity and its opposition had each undertaken to win new supporters had failed to convert enough Chileans to give either side an electoral majority; rather, these strategies had served primarily to entrench existing supporters within their chosen political camps and to polarize one side against the other, thereby setting the stage for a dramatic showdown between the left and the right.

In the aftermath of the March 1973 elections, new political conflicts broke out around the government's extension of educational reform through the new Unified National School (ENU) initiative and the government's decision to extend agrarian land seizures beyond the Agrarian Reform Law to include farms of forty to eighty hectares.⁴ Allende found himself caught between leftist groups that increasingly demanded that the revolution push forward and rightist groups that openly plotted against the government. Despite Allende's effort to temper leftist militancy and unsanctioned land and factory seizures, placate the military, and reach out to Christian Democrats, there was little willingness among the left or the right to reconcile their differences. As Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela have explained, "politics had become so divisive that friends stopped speaking and wedding parties deteriorated into raging arguments."⁵ The

⁴ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 352-353.

⁵ Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 27. Also see Arturo Valenzuela's section in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore: Johns

volatility of popular political discourse reached new heights, and while the leftist press referred to Supreme Court justices as “old shits” and leftist graffiti threatened rightists with firing squads, the right pressured the military to overthrow Allende and conservative militants graffitied the word “Djakarta” on walls, a reference to the Indonesian military’s massacre of some 300,000 or more Communists.⁶

In late June, Chile’s Second Armored Regiment rebelled, and although additional regiments failed to join the uprising and General Prats successfully crushed the renegade regiment, this so-called *tancazo* (tank coup) precipitated an even greater unraveling of political stability. When the *tancazo* began, Allende made a public call over the radio for the working-class to pour into the center of Santiago in a display of “popular power”; although Chilean workers mobilized, they did not march on the center of Santiago, but rather they seized numerous factories in Santiago’s industrial belt. Even after the *tancazo* ended, most of the factories seized during the event remained in the hands of workers, a development that for Allende’s opponents further confirmed their belief that he had neither the desire nor the capacity to protect private rights.⁷

In the aftermath of the *tancazo*, Allende requested emergency powers from Congress, a request that Congress quickly rejected. He then attempted to de-escalate tensions by integrating military personnel into his cabinet and by making final attempts at compromise with Christian Democrat leader Patricio Aylwin; however, Chileans on the

Hopkins University Press, 1978) as well as Sergio Bitar, *La caída de Allende y la huelga de El Teniente* (Santiago: Ediciones Ornitorrinco, 1986).

⁶ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 353.

⁷ Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 173.

left and on the right had lost their appetite for compromise. As National Party senator Francisco Bulnes later recounted, “We were heading into either a military or a Marxist dictatorship.”⁸ On one side, crippling, conservative-sponsored strikes continued to destroy an already failing economy, and on the other side, leftists continued to seize property and militants both murdered a young army lieutenant and attempted to stoke mutinies on two naval ships and at the Talcahuano naval base.⁹ For the middle-class in particular, such episodes combined with the left’s ongoing claims of “popular power” to generate fears of militant workers “marching into their homes, robbing and raping them.”¹⁰ As the MIR publicly called for a “dictatorship of the people”, Patria y Libertad publicly called for a “total armed offensive”.¹¹

In late July, Allende’s naval aide, Commander Arturo Araya, was assassinated, and on August 22, a conservative coalition in Congress passed a resolution that condemned the government for tolerating armed military groups, appropriating property, and refusing to abide by judicial decisions; it also demanded that the military members of Allende’s cabinet “put an immediate end to all the *de facto* situations...which infringe the Constitution and the laws.”¹² Left with few other political solutions, Allende proposed a national plebiscite; however, this measure was too little, too late, as the military had already undertaken plans to overthrow the beleaguered president in early September.

⁸ Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet*, 29.

⁹ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 355-356.

¹⁰ Lois Hecht Oppenheim, *Politics in Chile*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 95.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 181-182.

¹² Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 356.

Intensifying the Campaign: Nueva Canción in 1972 and 1973

Although the trajectory of the Popular Unity cultural project and the *nueva canción* movement experienced few changes in 1972 and 1973, previous trends intensified and eventually reached a point where music became an explosive source of controversy and even precipitated outbreaks of violence. During 1972 and 1973, the *nueva canción* movement continued to expand, as prominent new artists emerged and as established musicians produced new works. Newer groups such as Illapu became widely known and released multiple albums, while the more established Quilapayún produced several spin-off performance groups that raised the total number of “Quilapayún” artists to thirty-six, including an all-female Quilapayún under the direction of the sister of one of Quilapayún’s original members.¹³ Other established artists, including Inti-Illimani, Víctor Jara, Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, Rolando Alarcón, Tito Fernández, and Payo Grondona also released new albums during this period. Among these albums, “Canto para una semilla”, a compilation by Luis Advis, Isabel Parra, Inti-Illimani, and the actress Marés González that re-interpreted the poetry of Violeta Parra, achieved particular success in 1973; however, no newly released music was more influential, widely disseminated, and reflective of the final months of the Popular Unity government than Quilapayún’s 1973 recording of “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido”.

“El pueblo unido” represented and furthered a dramatic increase in the emotional intensity that divided rightists and leftists in 1972 and 1973. In the aftermath of a right-

¹³ “El año musical ’72: los mejores discos aparecidos,” *Onda*, No. 36 (19 January 1973), 15. Also see: “Quilapayún femenino,” *Ritmo de la Juventud* (16 January 1973), 6.

wing and United States sponsored general strike that further hampered Chile's struggling economy and caused Allende to integrate military representatives into his cabinet as a means of deterring a coup, relations between the left and the right further deteriorated. As Alan Woll's study of *La Firme* has asserted, the content of this Popular Unity comic shifted from an "elevated and humorously educational tone" that attempted to teach the working-class about Popular Unity reforms and promote enthusiasm for Chilean production, to a new emphasis on attacking those that the Popular Unity government viewed as the enemies of Chile: the upper-class, the opposition parties, and the United States.¹⁴ Woll notes that from 1972 onwards, *La Firme* depicted the middle and upper classes as harsh, overly-embellished caricatures of ornate female figures with minks, jewels, full-length dresses, and empty pots and double chinned, pot bellied, long sideburned males; North Americans and multi-national businessmen appeared in dark or pin-striped suits and spoke Spanish with constant grammatical errors.¹⁵ In one telling example, *La Firme* depicted two campesinos visiting Congress before the March 1973 elections and hearing Popular Unity legislators defend the building of new hospitals in rural zones, while opponents call the project "foolishness".¹⁶ After watching this display, one peasant states, "If we do not take advantage of the elections and win them for the people, the opposition will continue in the majority." This peasant then explains

¹⁴ Alan Woll, "The Comic Book in a Socialist Society: Allende's Chile, 1970-1973," 1044.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1044-1045.

voting qualifications to the reader, after which the second peasant sighs and remarks, "The heart of the matter is the *rich* against the *poor*, and the poor will win because there are more of them."¹⁷

The shifting tone that Woll notes in *La Firme*'s content also emerged in other branches of Popular Unity's political discourse and educational initiatives. In particular, 1972 and 1973 *nueva canción* songs such as "El pueblo unido" exemplified this trend as they shifted towards more aggressively confrontational and militant expressions of support for the Popular Unity government and its objectives. Sergio Ortega composed the music of "El pueblo unido", and Quilapayún wrote the lyrics and recorded the song in mid-1973. Declaring repeatedly "A people united will never be defeated", the lyrics maintain a stern tone of revolutionary motivation and destiny, a stark contrast from the playful discourse and more lighthearted optimism of many songs from the 1970 and 1971 period. Whereas earlier songs also extended encouragement and invitations towards moderate Christian Democrats in order to construct a wider political coalition, "El pueblo unido" focuses strictly on purveying an image of unity among an already solidified movement that embraces a "red dawn". While the prose on one level appears to express an overwhelming unity of all Chileans and optimism for the future, the reiteration of the mantra that the people are united is so prevalent that it simultaneously evokes a degree of insecurity about the lack of unity among the "pueblo". Moreover, by employing imagery such as "fiery army," "marching," and "flags advancing", the lyrics break from many

¹⁷ Ibid.

earlier *nueva canción* songs that expressed specific social criticisms or made specific claims on political agendas. “El pueblo unido” expresses a strong and aggressive image of a popular left-wing militancy and attempts solely to mobilize leftist audiences by generating among them a sense of community and heroic militancy in the pursuit of a vague conception of a better future and the attainment of “happiness”.

Quilapayún’s “El pueblo unido” also evokes a sense of powerful, masculine strength that imparted Popular Unity’s social and political agenda. This deep current of masculinity ran through much of the *nueva canción* movement, an interesting trend given the strong influence that both Violeta Parra and Margot Loyola had on the early formation of *nueva canción*. As with many of the *nueva canción* movement’s leading musicians, Quilapayún cultivated a visual aesthetic of masculine strength with their heavy beards and long, black ponchos. The lyrics of “El pueblo unido” reinforce this visual image in two primary ways. First, like most *nueva canción* music, “El pueblo unido” emphasizes class-based solidarity with little representation or concern for issues specific to women. Second, and more explicitly, the sole reference that the lyrics make regarding women defines females as part of the Popular Unity movement only in specific, gendered terms; after emphasizing and celebrating popular mobilization and militancy for several verses, the lyrics abruptly address women and their role in the Popular Unity movement: “Women, with fire and courage you are here already, together with the worker.” In doing so, these lyrics not only imply that women and workers are mutually exclusive categories, but they also cast women as a supportive appendage, albeit an important one, in a “struggle” driven fundamentally by male workers. This

characterization parallels the broader orientation of Popular Unity leadership concerning gender, which despite successful right-wing efforts to cast Allende and his government as social radicals who sought to eliminate traditional gender roles and the nuclear family structure, remained strongly conservative on issues of gender and family.¹⁸ For example, as Heidi Tinsman has revealed, while Popular Unity leadership viewed women as critical components in the enactment of its Agrarian Reform agenda, party leadership also confined women to gendered and secondary roles in party activities as well as implemented an agrarian socio-economic system rooted in traditional, nuclear family structure with husbands serving as breadwinners.¹⁹ In this vein, “El pueblo unido” reflected and reinforced among Popular Unity the dominant party vision that Chileans must unite to pursue class-based structural transformations while adhering to conceptions of traditional, patriarchal hierarchies.

El pueblo unido jamás será vencido
El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.
El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.
El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.

De pie, cantar
Que vamos a triunfar.
Avanzan ya
Banderas de unidad.
Y tú vendrás
Marchando junto a mí.
Y así verás
Tu canto y tu bandera florecer

¹⁸ See Margaret Power’s *Right-Wing Women in Chile* for a particularly detailed discussion of this phenomenon.

¹⁹ Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950-1973* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2002.

*La luz
De un rojo amanecer
Anuncia ya
La vida que vendrá.*

*De pie, luchar
El pueblo va a triunfar.
Será mejor
La vida que vendrá
A conquistar
Nuestra felicidad.
Y en un clamor
Mil voces de combate se alzarán,
Dirán
Canción de libertad.
Con decisión
La patria vencerá.*

*Y ahora el pueblo
Que se alza en la lucha
Con voz de gigante
Gritando: “¡Adelante!”*

*El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.
El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.*

*La patria está forjando la unidad
De norte a sur
Se movilizará
Desde el salar ardiente mineral
Al bosque austral
Unidos en la lucha y el trabajo
Irán
La patria cubrirán
Su paso ya
Anuncia el porvenir.*

*De pie, cantar
El pueblo va a triunfar.
Millones ya,
Imponen la verdad.
De acero son
Ardiente batallón,*

*Sus manos van
Llevando la justicia y la razón.
Mujer,
Con fuego y con valor,
Ya estás aquí
Junto al trabajador.*

*Y ahora el pueblo
Que se alza en la lucha
Con voz de gigante
Gritando: "¡Adelante!"*

*El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido.
(5 veces)*

A People United Will Never Be Defeated

*A people united will never be defeated.
A people united will never be defeated.
A people united will never be defeated.*

*Stand up, sing
We are going to triumph.
Flags of unity are advancing now
And you will come
Marching together with me.
In this way you'll see
Your singing and your flag unfurl.
The light
Of a red dawn
Announces
The life that will come.*

*Stand up, struggle
The people will triumph.
It will be better
The life that will come
To win
Our happiness.
And in a clamor of
A thousand embittered voices will rise,
They will speak
A song of freedom.
With determination*

The homeland will win.

*And now the people
Rising up in the struggle
With a great voice
Shout: "Forward!"*

*A people united will never be defeated.
A people united will never be defeated.*

*The homeland forging unity
From north to south
Will be mobilized
From the fiery salt mine
To the southern forest
United in struggle
They will go
They will cover the country,
Their step already
Announces the future.*

*Stand up, sing
People will triumph
Millions now
Impose the truth.
The fiery army
Is of steel,
Its hands
Carry justice and reason
Women,
With fire
And courage,
Already you are here
Together with the worker.*

*And now the people
Rising up in the struggle
With a great voice
Shout: "forward!"*

A people united will never be defeated.

*(Repeat 5 times)*²⁰

Musically, “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” mirrors its lyrics through a composition that reiterates the message of party unity and attempts to mobilize Popular Unity supporters. The song begins with a droning, a cappella chant: “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido.” A singular voice begins the chant, and other deep, baritone voices subsequently join to form a masculine chorus and a thick wall of sound; any higher-pitched or female voices simply blend into the chorus or are drowned-out by the low-pitched baritones that dominate the chorus. The building of this thick wall of sound establishes a sense of growing group participation, and this thickening musical texture demonstrates an increasing strength, power, and confidence. Even when instrumental accompaniments join the chant, these elements serve only to support the highlighted vocals by reinforcing the steady, march-like rhythm with low-pitched guitars and a single bass drum. In this sense, while the vocal harmonies in the foreground emphasize the chorus of human voices, the steady but sharp guitar and drum beats maintain a constant, accentuated pulse that is conducive to audience hand clapping or marching. The juncture at which the singers recite the lines “And now the people...” includes a crescendo accompanied by additional voices that join the chorus. This increased vocal participation and the growing power of the sound both imply and encourage mass involvement in the creation of the music. When the exclamation “forward!” concludes the short refrain, both

²⁰ A recording of a live performance of “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” by Quilapayún can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N0YGO0QX0C0>

the music and the crescendo halt, and the song abruptly reverts to the chant, “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido.”

The most prominent features of “El pueblo unido” are the song’s invitation to mass participation and the song’s accessibility to public participation, two characteristics that formed bridges among Quilapayún and their audiences through the joint, communal production of music. The “catchy” chant “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” proceeds in monotone and according to a simple, repeated rhythm. As such, large crowds could follow the lead of Quilapayún’s masculine chorus by adhering to the established structure of the refrain; the musical simplicity of the chant allows crowds to sing along clearly and without great difficulty, while also clapping or stomping to the song’s measured pulse easily and in unison. The focus on a vocal melody without wide ranges in pitch removes the need for instrumentation and allows anyone to recreate the song effectively in any environment, not just in the presence of professional musicians or recordings.

Additionally, on the recording of “El pueblo unido”, the use of echo, vocal reverberation, and group song evokes the sound and sentiment of a live performance for the individual listening to the music in a private setting. Particularly for those who had participated in a live production of “El pueblo unido”, these musical qualities on the recording would be likely to generate the sensation of creating music as part of a large community and allow that ritual, or at least the sentiments attached to it, to be reconstructed in any setting.

Despite the ongoing establishment of new *nueva canción* songs and artists in 1972 and 1973, the *nueva canción* movement during this period concerned itself less with new creations of music and more with the construction of events and structures to integrate

better the masses into Popular Unity's proposed cultural transformations. This orientation did little to diminish concerns about the content and quality of *nueva canción* during the Popular Unity period. Ricardo García, for example, asserted in 1972 that *nueva canción* artists continued to struggle with the transition from Allende's campaign into the Popular Unity era, finding that they lacked a plan of innovative "artistic creation" and suffered from "doubts, rivalries, and an objective that before was clear [but now] is diluted."²¹ He believed that much of the music had not evolved to find an innovative manner by which to reach Chileans, and that it instead relied on "excessive pamphleteering" and on the notion that "to mention the word 'revolution'... would make a song revolutionary."²² Although García's assertions pertaining to the content and quality of *nueva canción* were not necessarily inaccurate, he failed to consider the biggest impediment to the expansion of *nueva canción*'s popularity. The Chilean populace viewed *nueva canción* as fundamentally attached to the Popular Unity movement, a reality that overshadowed questions of musical "quality" and an association that the actions of the Ministry of Culture and the *nueva canción* artists in 1972 and 1973 further entrenched.

In 1972, an interviewer asked Víctor Jara "What is, definitively, 'politically committed music', 'revolutionary music', 'protest music', or 'nueva canción'?" Jara responded in a statement that demonstrated the degree to which all music performed by

²¹ "Nueva canción perdió su ritmo," *Ramona*, Vol. 2, No. 18 (29 February 1972), 12-14.

²² *Ibid.*

artists associated with the *nueva canción* movement had become intertwined with

Popular Unity:

Why so many names? Let's stick with one: 'popular song'. Popular because the fundamental objective of its existence is to interpret the pueblo, the working class in its group, narrating its individual and collective histories that the official history has ignored and ignored. A song is politically committed when the work and the action of the creator identify themselves with popular sentiments. It is revolutionary because it fights against the penetration of cultural imperialism and looks to rescue and revitalize the cultural values that are our own and that give us an identity as a country. And it is NEW, because submerged in the environment of these values, there is also a destiny to create a new society where music is removed from commerce and realizes, in form and content, the most noble modifications of the human family.²³

With intensified efforts to promote *nueva canción* in conjunction with the Popular Unity government, the conception of the music as fundamentally tied to the laboring classes and to revolution continued to grow, as did the belief among the left that, as *El Siglo* proclaimed, "today more than ever the songs we create help the [revolutionary] process."²⁴ Building on the Cultural Train's forays into southern-central Chile, the left established numerous cultural centers between late 1971 and 1973, believing that it was "necessary and urgent to realize the 40 Measures of the Popular Unity Program", and that this objective required "the creation of thousands of Local Centers of Popular Culture

²³ "Una canción vale más que diez discursos," Archive, Fundación Víctor Jara.

²⁴ "Hoy más que nunca se crean canciones que ayudan al proceso," *El Siglo*, 25 May 1973.

across the entire country.”²⁵ The Popular Unity government sought to achieve this goal by tightly binding cultural events and education with political campaigning through cooperation with local government-friendly associations and organizations:

Every union, neighborhood organization, asentamiento, campesino cooperative, mothers’ center, municipality, school, association, etc. should serve as a base for these new organizations... The fundamental labor of the Federations and, especially, of the CUT will be the formation of cultural promoters or organizers among their labor leaders, campesinos, employees, slum dwellers, etc. But we do not understand this work simply as artistic advisors or organizers of shows, but as political and ideological mentors.²⁶

In pursuit these ends, for example, the Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP) and the Confederación Ránquil established a series of cultural centers in rural sectors of central and southern-central Chile to offer programs and courses in topics such as theater, mural painting, folk-based music.²⁷ The Popular Unity government also founded Popular Culture Centers in urban working-class neighborhoods and in outlying regions of Chile to combine, in a similar manner, cultural events and education with efforts to increase political support for the government’s social and economic agenda in cities. In order to attract publicity and enthusiasm for these centers, *nueva canción* artists

²⁵ *La revolución chilena y los problemas de la cultura: documentos de la Asamblea Nacional de Trabajadores de la Cultura del Partido Comunista*, 11-12 September 1971, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ “Ránquil e INDAP iniciaron: actividades culturales en el campo,” *El Siglo*, 10 October 1972. “Employees” is a translation of the term “empleados” and “slum dwellers” is a translation of the term “pobladore”.

often visited them to give performances or hold discussions dealing with both music and politics, endeavors directed in large part by Chile's Communist Youth.²⁸

Nueva canción artists increased their support of the Allende administration by participating in a variety of concerts and tours throughout Chile that were closely linked to specific Popular Unity objectives and during elections, by aiming even sharper rhetoric towards conservatives. For example, prominent *nueva canción* musicians participated in several new, large-scale events in late 1972. Coinciding with the 1972 Fiestas Patrias, Rene Largo Fariás sponsored a "Chile Ríe y Canta" tour that brought *nueva canción* musicians to hospitals, community centers, and Agrarian Reform Centers in central and northern Chile to support the Popular Unity Program and, as *El Siglo* noted, to project "in front of diverse audiences a reaffirmation of his [proposed] trajectory for our music and dances."²⁹ Also during this period, *nueva canción* artists started to mobilize at events against what Popular Unity had begun to describe as the "fascism" and "criminality" of the right, especially members of Patria y Libertad and the National Party. In this vein, artists including Rolando Alarcón, Quilapayún, and Nano Acevedo gathered with large groups of workers at various sites around Santiago and its outlying areas to celebrate the first anniversary of Allende's inauguration with musical performances that they interspersed with energizing speeches that attacked conservative "momias" and "fascists", who they believed to be intent on impeding the "revolution" by facilitating the

²⁸ "Se unen para trabajar." *Ramona*, No. 37 (11 July 1972), 41.

²⁹ "'Chile Ríe y Canta' realizó diversas presentaciones en provincias," *El Siglo*, 20 September 1972.

camioneros' strikes and other acts of economic and political sabotage.³⁰ Both participants and the leftist press referred to such events as "examples" for the right and as part of a campaign against "fascism", signifying two strategies employed by Popular Unity from mid 1972: first, artists and Popular Unity operatives designed large public concerts as a means of deterring potential attempts to topple Allende through displays of popular support and energized mobilization, and second, Popular Unity supporters evoked the term "fascist" in conjunction with efforts to emphasize the right as "undemocratic" and "anti-patriotic", thereby countering the right's depiction of Allende as an aspiring "Marxist dictator".

Popular Unity and *nueva canción* artists furthered these trends at the Maratón Cultural Anti-Fascista (Anti-Fascist Cultural Marathon) in late 1972. Organized by the "Unión de Trabajadores de la Cultura" (Cultural Workers Union, UTC) and the Sociedad de Escritores de Chile (Chilean Society of Writers), the Marathon's stated purpose was "forming a front to fight against fascism" and "Nazi-fascism", as well as against the "antipatriotic attitude of fascist groups" that sought to subvert the Chilean constitution and democratic process.³¹ As *El Siglo* noted, the event articulated not only a general argument against fascism and rightist subversion that "follows the example of Hitler", but also an argument that Popular Unity's opposition sought to destroy Chile's traditions and culture.³² Festival organizers expressed a need to come to "the defense of our cultural

³⁰ "Artistas celebran Segundo año del gobierno popular," *El Siglo*, 6 November 1972.

³¹ "Hoy es la gran maratón cultural antifascista," *El Siglo*, 11 October 1971.

³² "La maratón cultural antifascista: un ejemplo par alas hordas fascistas," *El Siglo*, 14 October 1972.

patrimony” in the face of “those sectors that work in the shadows to destroy all that our pueblo has created.”³³ In accordance with these beliefs, an extensive list of *nueva canción* artists, including Rolando Alarcón, Tiempo Nuevo, Inti-Illimani, Richard Rojas, Cuncumén, the National Folkloric Ballet, the Student Federation Choir of the Technical University, and Grupo Lonqui took the stage to perform for twenty-two continuous hours. With the additional presence of poets, writers, actors, dancers, and popular theater performers, the festival took the form of a left-wing, Woodstock or Piedra Roja-inspired event that attempted to mobilize young Chileans, and it succeeded in attracting to Santiago’s Plaza de la Constitución an audience that *El Siglo* described as being “the largest in recent years”.³⁴

In addition to such efforts to promote the Popular Unity government domestically and to further a “cultural revolution”, *nueva canción* artists also placed themselves and their music further in the service of the Popular Unity government by extending their presence abroad. *Nueva canción* artists often attended foreign music festivals or participated in foreign tours with the support of the government. Such endeavors raised awareness and support for Popular Unity among foreign populations and sought to export the philosophies behind the *nueva canción* “revolution” to other countries. Moreover, the travels of Chile’s musicians occasionally even overlapped with other international cultural initiatives, as was the case with Quilapayún’s stop-over in Cuba in 1971 during an exhibition at Cuba’s Casa de las Américas of “Chilean popular art”, which consisted

³³ “Hoy es la gran maratón cultural antifascista,” *El Siglo*, 11 October 1971.

³⁴ “La maratón cultural antifascista: un ejemplo par alas hordas fascistas,” *El Siglo*, 14 October 1972.

of a variety of artisanal handicrafts (baskets, figurines, pots, drums, boots, ponchos, tapestries, etc.) from various regions across Chile.³⁵ As the Folklorist Coordinator asserted in a report to the Communist Party's National Cultural Workers Assembly in 1971, leftist officials believed that these efforts had made progress towards their objectives:

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 principle labor, and have inflicted serious blows upon the right in the area of youth and popular preferences. This movement that has nourished itself in Chilean and Latin American culture, has been an influence that has surpassed the frontiers of Chile and has transformed into a powerful tool of operation truth in Europe and principally in South America.³⁶

Supporting this claim, for example, the government sent a large delegation of musicians to the *Third Festival of Political Song* in Berlin in 1972, with Allende's stated purpose for the trip being a means for the artists to further "international solidarity" and to share with other youth the musical testimonies of their "love for life, for peace, and condemnation of fascism and imperialism."³⁷ Europe, of course, had strong Socialists and Social Democratic parties that paid close attention to developments in Chile, and the Chilean musicians received an enthusiastic reception in Berlin. Quilapayún generated similar excitement and interest during a stopover in France after the Berlin festival, and

³⁵ "Arte popular chilena," *Granma*, 20 March 1971.

³⁶ *La revolución chilena y los problemas de la cultura: documentos de la Asamblea Nacional de Trabajadores de la Cultura del Partido Comunista*, 11-12 September 1971, 94.

³⁷ "Allende a delegados al Festival de Berlin," *El Siglo*, 24 July 1973.

their concert in Paris attracted thousands of French students and sparked “delirious applause from the French public” and chants of “Chile...Chile...Chile!” and “Allende...Allende...Allende!” throughout the concert.³⁸ Moreover, as Ricardo García noted, such *nueva canción* tours and concerts across Europe in 1972 and 1973 triggered much interest in the *nueva canción* movement among foreign youth, who constantly inquired about the lessons that *nueva canción* musicians could offer them about creating similar forms of popular musical expression in their own countries.³⁹

Nueva canción artists performed in various countries during 1972 and 1973, but their international efforts focused in particular on Communist countries and on less developed countries, or those locations where conditions appeared ripest for popular revolutions. They traveled to and performed in countries such as the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, and Czechoslovakia at the behest of those countries; however, more commonly, *nueva canción* musicians traveled throughout Latin America in an attempt to spread their philosophy across their home continent, an objective reflected musically in the *nueva canción* anthem “Canto para el hombre nuevo”: “In Latin America we open a certain road/ our brothers watch us/ we must be an example/ that nobody can say that here/ the seed was carried away by the wind/ in this corner of America/ the future will be born.”⁴⁰ The musicians commonly performed in front of and held seminars with audiences comprised of students, campesinos, laborers, and local folkloric musicians as a means to

³⁸ “Brigitte Bardot furiosa con el Quila,” *Ramona*, No. 23 (4 April 1972), 6-7.

³⁹ “La nueva canción da la vuelta al mundo,” *Ramona*, No. 97 (4 September 1973), 11-13.

⁴⁰ Unknown artist. Lyrics cited in “Nueva canción: del patito feo a su verdadero sitio,” Archive, Fundación Víctor Jara.

encourage folk-based musical production, a sense of pan-Latin American identity, and cultural revolution throughout the region. Such ventures essentially amounted to a Chilean-sponsored cultural wing of the economic, military, and political support that the Soviet Union and Cuba dispensed in order to spark and support new leftist revolutions. While *nueva canción* musicians often pursued these ends informally, they institutionalized their efforts in late 1972 in conjunction with other politically active, Latin American musicians at the *Encuentro de Música Latinoamericana* in Havana.

The *Encuentro de Música Latinoamericana* was a series of seminars and discussions attended by musical representatives from eleven Latin American countries, with the ultimate objective of determining the appropriate character of Latin American song and the artistic activities that would best promote it. As representatives of what had become, along with the Cuban *nueva trova* movement, the most active revolutionary music movement in Latin America, Chilean musicians such as Víctor Jara, Isabel Parra, Luis Advis, and Sergio Arellano assumed a central role at the event. The Chilean contingency spoke of their experiences integrating musical styles that “recapitulated traditional songs of the campo” and their incorporation of songs from other countries of Latin America.⁴¹ Jara, for his part, was so busy with various responsibilities and endeavors at the *Encuentro* that the normally accessible musician lacked any time to fulfill interview requests from the Cuban press. Among these responsibilities and endeavors was a featured demonstration of Chilean *nueva canción* music that Cuban newspapers described as “transporting the mind to the Magallanic Steps, to

⁴¹ “La canción de Chile y la voz de la ‘Jota’,” *El Siglo* 24 September 1972.

Chuquicamata, to Iquique, Concepción, Punta Arenas and Santiago communities.”⁴²

Jara’s songs and the political commentaries that he interspersed between them drew numerous ovations from the crowd, as he reiterated musically and verbally his “denouncement of the ‘momios’ and yankee imperialism, and his defense of the Cuban Revolution and the revolutionary process in Chile.”⁴³ The *Encuentro* concluded with the production and ratification of a mission statement that made official the collaboration between Chilean *nueva canción* musicians, their Cuban *nueva trova* counterparts, and other like-minded Latin American musicians. Those who signed the document pledged their dedication towards the promotion of music that would “remove the penetration of imperialism and colonization” through collaborative tours, exchanges, festivals, concerts, recordings, classes, and scholarships.⁴⁴

Although *nueva canción* musicians achieved significant success abroad, foreign populations did not embrace *nueva canción* universally. In the 1970s, the music of Chile’s “cultural ambassadors” became strongly associated with Allende’s government and its leftist politics. With their performances often taking place in front of progressive-minded crowds and working-class communities, *nueva canción* artists generally garnered enthusiastic receptions from foreign audiences. However, the musicians’ presence also antagonized conservatives in the countries they visited. For example, in 1971, Inti-Illimani visited Colombia during the Pan-American Games in Cali as part of the Allende

⁴² “A Víctor Jara le debíamos una entrevista,” *Diario Cubano*, 6 October 1973.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ “Cuba: declaración del encuentro de música latinoamericana,” *El Siglo*, 1 November 1972.

government's official delegation.⁴⁵ The Games, which Colombia's conservative President, Misael Pastrana Borrero, viewed as a unique opportunity to showcase his country to the world, took place in an already tense political environment. Fears of a growing "wave of terrorism" across Latin America had generated calls from the conservative Colombian press to "put a final end to the constant threat of subversion and...prevent the spread of anarchy in all our [Latin American] countries."⁴⁶ The Colombian government shared these concerns and wanted to avoid being embarrassed while "the gaze of the whole hemisphere and of the rest of the world [were] going to be fixed for two weeks on the progressive and cultured city of Cali." Accordingly, it implemented intense security measures for the Pan-American Games as a means to repress "any activity by the antisocial elements that intend to disrupt the peaceful progress of the magnificent sporting tournament."⁴⁷ Nonetheless, an array of controversial events transpired at the 1971 Games, including reported fights between Cuban athletes and the public; a labor dispute among workers at the athletes' village; the defection of several Cuban athletes and reports that over forty more also had planned to defect; and a brawl between U.S., Canadian, and Cuban athletes that began when Canadians took down and destroyed the Cuban flag that flew in the Plaza of Flags.⁴⁸ In yet another incident, a particularly large student protest erupted on a university campus the same day that Inti-Illimani performed there. While the musicians claimed that they

⁴⁵ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*, 24.

⁴⁶ "Terrorismo en América Latina," *El Colombiano*, 31 July 1971.

⁴⁷ "El orden público en Cali," *El Colombiano*, 27 July 1971.

⁴⁸ *El Colombiano*, 6-14 August 1971.

had known nothing of the protests, the Cali press implicitly cast Inti-Illimani as “foreign agitators” who had stirred up unrest. Moreover, the press reported that as a result of Inti-Illimani’s political agitation, the Chilean musicians had been expelled from Colombia, a widely circulating fallacy that led to in the cancellation of Inti-Illimani’s remaining performances in Colombia.⁴⁹

Despite such examples, *nueva canción* musicians and their quest to re-orient cultural canons and develop shared, cultural identities and transnational solidarities abroad generated international responses that varied not only according to left-right political divisions, but also according to the disparate musical traditions, cultural identities, and political histories that existed in different localities. This reality was particularly evident in Bolivia, where despite generally embracing pan-Latin American solidarity, much of the population viewed Chilean *nueva canción* music with skepticism. As Fernando Ríos’ study of nationalism in Bolivian music has revealed, from the moment that Andean-influenced music had become popular in Buenos Aires during the early twentieth century, Bolivians had adamantly accused their Argentine neighbors of cultural theft; however, with the rise of altiplanic-influenced, Chilean *nueva canción* music, Bolivians reoriented these accusations towards Chile, a country for which Bolivians already possessed much hostility that stemmed from Chile’s seizure of Bolivia’s coastal territory during the War of the Pacific.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Luis Cifuentes, *Fragmentos de un sueño: Inti-Illimani y la generación de los 60*, 24.

⁵⁰ Fernando Ríos, *Music in Urban La Paz, Bolivian Nationalism, and the Early History of Cosmopolitan Andean Music: 1936-1970*.

As it did in many areas of Latin America, the notion of pan-Latin American solidarity became increasingly prevalent in Bolivia during the 1960s and 1970s. The Bolivian newspaper *El Diario*, for example, frequently published articles during this period in support of pan-Latin Americanism, arguing that nationalism had blinded the populations of the Americas to the fundamental geographical, historical, and cultural commonalities that made them one people: nationalism had left South Americans “enclosed within the limits of their own nation; the boarders between countries have been like insurmountable walls that have made the birth of an exciting and enriching neighborliness impossible.”⁵¹ At the same time, however, *El Diario* took aggressive stances towards Chile and towards Chilean performances of altiplanic-influenced music. For example, within days of publishing articles promoting pan-Latin Americanism, *El Diario* printed a scathing editorial that condemned the Chilean appropriation of Bolivian folk music:

Recently, the Catholic University and the State University of Santiago celebrated their annual artistic and sports festival in the completely full stadium of the capital, and on that occasion presented “folklore of Northern Chile”...[which included] “Chunchos”, an exact imitation of the “Diablada” from Oruro, although with much less spectacular suits and masks, as well as “El Trote”, a faithful copy of Bolivian “huayño” in terms of its music and choreography: danced in partners, to the strains of “Ojos Azules”, another of our musics now patented as Chilean. As if that were not enough... a Misa Chilena by Angel Parra will be released, in which the organ will be replaced by [so-called] instruments typical of the Chilean North: the charango and the quena.⁵²

⁵¹ “América y sus áreas culturales,” *El Diario*, 25 May 1966.

⁵² “Doble nacionalidad,” *El Diario*, 18 April 1965.

El Diario continued to assert that something must be done to halt the Chilean appropriation of Bolivian music, and it added in despair that if the current trends continued, Chileans would soon be affirming that “the classic hat of the chola pacaña was an ingenious creation of the Viña del Mar aristocracy and that General Barrientos is from Talca.”⁵³

These sentiments forced Chilean *nueva canción* musicians to operate very carefully when visiting Bolivia, distancing themselves from the deep political tensions between the two countries and publicly giving credit to Bolivian musicians for providing the inspiration for their own music. For example, on her 1966 visit to Bolivia, Violeta Parra asserted to the Bolivian press that she was not “Chilean”, but “American”, and that “the errors of the governments and politicians have nothing to do with the heart of the pueblo”.⁵⁴ She further emphasized to the Bolivian press that she believed that Bolivia should have maritime rights to the Pacific Ocean, and she then carefully presented her music and folk art to Bolivian audiences and invited Bolivian folklorists, Los Choclos and Los Caminantes, to perform in her tent in Santiago, Chile.⁵⁵ In a similar fashion, when Inti-Illimani traveled to Bolivia in the summer of 1969, the group began their tour by giving an interview to the Bolivian press in which they emphasized the Bolivian origin of their music:

Our greatest wish is to deepen our knowledge of Bolivian folklore because we believe that it is the origin of altiplanic folklore...The folkloric music

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ “Corazón del pueblo nada tiene que ver con errores políticos,” *El Diario*, 22 May 1966.

⁵⁵ “Servirá para llevar a Chile a folkloristas bolivianos,” *El Diario*, 26 May 1966.

of the countries that surround Bolivia originate in the melodies, in the notes, tones and musical characteristics of Bolivian Inca music and that is why we come to the central origin of Altiplanic melodies.⁵⁶

Such efforts made some inroads towards appeasing Bolivians, and the Bolivian press subsequently acknowledged that Violeta Parra presented her version of “Ojos azules” as being of Bolivian origin; however, this appeasement neither made Bolivians any less protective of music that they believed to be their own, nor did it endear the broader Chilean public to them.⁵⁷ Bolivians commonly unleashed sharp attacks on Chile over the issue of maritime rights, including a particularly explosive series of anti-Chilean protests, Chilean flag burnings, and inflammatory comments made by Bolivian officials on the centennial of the founding of Antofagasta, a principal, Chilean port city on what had previously been Bolivian land. *El Mercurio* responded to these events by condemning what it viewed as Bolivia’s efforts to generate conflict and by recounting the events of the War of the Pacific through a Chilean, nationalist lens.⁵⁸

In effect, Bolivians remained strongly resentful and suspicious of Chileans, and for Bolivians, it therefore took no great stretching of their imaginations to presume that, just as Chileans had “stolen” Bolivia’s territory in the War of the Pacific, Chileans would also try to steal Bolivia’s cultural patrimony. As the Bolivian press continued to note,

⁵⁶ “Artistas chilenos que cultivan el folklore boliviano llegaron ayer,” *El Diario*, 6 February 1969.

⁵⁷ “Servirá para llevar a Chile a folkloristas bolivianos,” *El Diario*, 26 May 1966.

⁵⁸ “Periódica provocación Boliviana,” *El Mercurio*, 26 October 1968. Also see: “Chile acusa a Bolivia de poner en peligro la paz,” *El Mercurio*, 25 October 1968.

even if Chilean musicians acknowledged Bolivia's influence on their music, Chileans still considered altiplanic influences to be of Chilean origin:

Our folklore is considered in Chile as being of the north of that country. Huayño receives the name trote, and Bolivian instruments like the charango and the pinquillo are likewise taken as Chile's own.⁵⁹

In response to such perceptions, groups such as the Club Social Boliviano, a social club comprised of Bolivians living in Santiago, sought to lay claim to those traditions it viewed as Bolivian by disseminating more "authentic" representations of Bolivian folklore on Chilean radio, on Chilean television, and at international contests.⁶⁰ The irony of this situation was that Chilean conservatives took a hard-line stance on asserting control over Chile's northern territories and celebrated the War of the Pacific as central to their national identity, yet they never considered altiplanic-influenced music to be in any way "Chilean"; Chilean leftists, in contrast, who were more empathetic to Bolivia's maritime struggle and who sought to decrease the importance of the War of the Pacific in Chile's national history, considered altiplanic-influenced music to be central to their identity. Nonetheless, Bolivians generally viewed Chileans as a homogenous group, and they remained highly suspicious of them, even though it was the Chilean right that posed the greatest threat to Bolivia's political interests and the Chilean left that posed the only potential threat to their cultural patrimony. While Bolivian perspectives may have shifted slightly over the course of the Popular Unity period, Bolivians' concerns did not

⁵⁹ "Centro Boliviano defiende nuestro folklore en Chile," *El Diario*, 17 February 1967.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

disappear. Not only did folk groups from Bolivia continue to dominate that country's altiplanic-influenced folk scene in the early 1970s, but the Bolivian government has continued even in recent years to protest officially the use of music and dance that it considers to be Bolivian patrimony by non-Bolivian performers.⁶¹

Despite the extensive activities and collaborations *nueva canción* musicians conducted abroad, the *nueva canción* musicians' most important activities took place within Chile. Chileans had always paid close attention to how they were perceived abroad, especially in Europe, and while the *nueva canción* musicians' efforts abroad brought international recognition to Chile's revolution and helped raise its prestige at home, the biggest cultural battle was in Chile. Conservatives had long feared the importation of revolutionary ideas from abroad, and this fear grew with their strong suspicion that Allende privately wanted to follow Castro's revolutionary trajectory. Accordingly, events tying Chile to Fidel Castro and other foreign leftists, such as the Cuban leader's 1971 tour of Chile, heightened these fears. The burgeoning relationship between Chilean *nueva canción* and Cuban *nueva trova* artists had a similar effect, as their collaborations not only propagated the sense of pan-Latin American identity linked to the Chilean left, but also incorporated Cuban musicians into Chilean politics. *Nueva canción* music itself evoked these links through the lyrics and music of songs such as "A Cuba", "La batea", and "Muy bien hecho está": "That the same dignity/ so Cuban/ and so

⁶¹ Among other incidents, Evo Morales' government sent a letter of protest to the *Viña del Mar Music Festival* in 2011 to assert that Calle 13's performance of "La diablo", which they performed with costumes typical of that dance, but with a "morenada" rhythm, had co-opted Bolivian cultural patrimony.

Chilean/ were also Latin American/ but how beautiful it sounds!”⁶² However, Cuban artists’ physical presence and participation in Chilean political events furthered the positive and negative excitement surrounding such music and the prospect of deep Cuban-Chilean solidarity.

Among the multiple visits that Cuban artists made to Chile during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the 1972 presence of Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés, and Noel Nicol at the 7th *Conference of the JJCC* (Chilean Communist Youth) generated particular fervor. On the invitation of JJCC’s Cultural Steering Committee, the Base Violeta Parra (which included *nueva canción* artists such as Isabel Parra, Horacio Salinas, and Gitano Rodríguez), the three Cuban musicians attended the JJCC Conference and participated in a series of additional performances and events in Chile. With some five thousand participants in attendance, including delegates from thirty-eight countries, the Conference celebrations took place in the Estadio Chile in September 1972. Similar to other major Popular Unity-affiliated gatherings and cultural events of this period, the festival had two stated goals: to realize “a manifestation of the Communists in support of the Popular Government and a repudiation of fascism”, and to “affirm their widespread resistance to any coup attempt, [and] to any intent to create chaos, violence and conditions for bringing down the Government of the workers”.⁶³ With Allende, his Minister of State, and Communist Party leadership in attendance, the conference’s events began with a performance by gymnasts from the University of Chile’s Physical Education Institute and

⁶² Unknown artist. Lyrics cited in “Nueva canción: del patito feo a su verdadero sitio,” Archive, Fundación Víctor Jara.

⁶³ “Estadio Nacional,” *El Siglo*, 7 September 1972.

progressed into an extensive musical program that began with performances by the three Cuban artists and concluded with a one hour and ten minute spectacular produced under the direction of Víctor Jara that traced the history of the JJCC: “La juventud comunista de ayer, hoy y mañana” (“The Communist Youth of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow”). In addition to their roles as delegates and performers at the Conference, the Rodríguez, Milanés, and Nicol participated in a series of other activities during their visit to Chile: a performance sponsored by the Chilean Student Federation, a conference at DICAP, and a JJCC fundraiser at the Peña de los Parra with Chilean musicians such as Isabel and Ángel Parra, Víctor Jara, and Inti-Illimani. The strong attendance and heavy publicity surrounding these events demonstrated a high level of enthusiasm among the Chilean left for musicians affiliated with the Cuban Revolution; at the same time, the presence of Cuban musicians at political events in Chile and the embrace that leftist Chileans gave them reinforced among conservatives the belief that “the Communists worked with the Cubans and they wanted to turn Chile into another Cuba.”⁶⁴

The labors of *nueva canción* artists had a significant effect on the polarization of the Chilean populace during 1972 and 1973; the left had successfully politicized its music and acquired an audience at home and abroad. By 1972, various labor organizations affiliated with the left sponsored, with Popular Unity assistance, their own music festivals, such as the *Festival de la Canción del Area Textil* (the Textile Area Festival of Song), the *Festival de la Canción de los Trabajadores del Cobre* (the Copper Workers Festival of Song), the *Festival de la ENAMI Canta* (the National Mining Corporation

⁶⁴ Pablo T., personal interview, 3 June 2009.

Sings Festival), and the *Festival de la Cancion del Carbón* (the Coal Festival of Song). Among the most prominent of these festivals was the *Festival de la Canción Ex Yarur Canta* (the Ex-Yarur Sings Festival of Song) in late 1972. As Peter Winn has revealed, the Yarur factory was a major site of confrontation between factory owners and laborers, and the Yarur confrontations led to one of the Popular Unity government's most famous "interventions", when it appointed a state administrator to run the factory and workers took over production.⁶⁵ The ex-Yarur music festival, which was organized as a celebration of the successes of the ex-Yarur textile workers, represented both figuratively and literally, as one ex-Yarur worker explained, the changes transpiring as the government nationalized Chilean companies: "Now we are able to sing in the industry, and not like before, when the workers were exploited."⁶⁶ The Ex Yarur festival lasted for three days and integrated featured performances by more well-known professional musicians, such as Los Jaivas and the Grupo Folclórico de Cora, with the more numerous performances by amateur working-class musicians.

As Payo Grondona noted in a 1972 interview, the difficulty with the growing number of working-class Popular Unity supporters who had started to convert themselves into amateur *nueva canción* musicians was that neither DICAP nor the government had developed the infrastructure to support such a movement:

It is said that any creative movement at its base should have support with an infrastructure. This has to be made very clear. Because by continuing to make festivals they [amateur musicians] believe that they will become

⁶⁵ Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁶⁶ "Festivalazo en Ex Yarur," *Ramona*, No. 46 (12 September 1972), 28-29.

well known among the brothers of their class, and this is not a bad thing. The songs of Textil Progreso are known in Textil Progreso and in the neighboring zones and in Concepción... The problem with all this is that it is put to little [wider] use.⁶⁷

The question, however, that Grondona's comments failed to answer was "use" for whom. As Peter Winn demonstrated in his study of labor mobilization at Yarur and Heidi Tinsman in her work on agrarian reform, those from below were beginning to make their own opportunities and not waiting for approval from the government or the Popular Unity party. The number of such amateur musicians continued to grow, a sign that young people saw an opportunity at this moment that would not have existed in other times. Their burgeoning numbers became especially evident in 1972, when the CUT sponsored a "workers" version of the Tren de la Cultura. One hundred and thirty workers, many of whom came from the Yarur factory, comprised the Tren de la CUT, which toured six provinces between Santiago and Concepción with the goal of "activating...organically the artistic development of Chilean workers."⁶⁸ Similar to the original Tren de la Cultura, participants from Santiago traveled by train from town to town and held performances, presentations, and discussions for local populations; however, unlike the professional musicians who formed the original Tren de la Cultura, groups on the CUT train generally had little previous performance experience. For example, the group Tanume, which aside from being the only participant from outside Santiago, had formed only two weeks prior

⁶⁷ "Payo Grondona cuestiona la cuestión de la música," *El Siglo*, 26 February 1972.

⁶⁸ "Hoy llegan a Talca los trabajadores-artistas," *El Siglo*, 18 March 1972.

to the train's departure.⁶⁹ Regardless of such inexperience, CUT members and musicians viewed such active participation in the *nueva canción* movement as fomenting confidence and forging urban-rural ties that were fundamental to the success of the Popular Unity government. As one man explained to his young daughter, who he had brought with him to watch the Train's departure, "Rosa, this train is going to revive [the movement]. It is very important...not just for the diffusion of culture that will occur, but also because they will be representatives of the health of the Santiago youth to our compañeros in the provinces."⁷⁰

The popular appropriation and internalization of *nueva canción* by Popular Unity supporters also extended beyond festivals, performances, and tours to more confrontational displays of protest and popular power. Above all, supporters of the left sang or chanted "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" constantly at events that ranged from political rallies to labor strikes to land and factory occupations.⁷¹ As noted in the previous discussion of "El pueblo unido", the song's composition enabled crowds easily to participate in or reproduce independently the performance of the song. Created and utilized in the final months of the Popular Unity government, when polarization approached its apex, the combination of the song's content with the context and manner in which Popular Unity supporters performed it made "El pueblo unido" the song that most fueled emotions within the left and the right. As a result, Chileans associated the

⁶⁹ "Trabajadores viajan al sur cantando sus sentimientos," *El Siglo*, 18 March 1972.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ The documentary film *La Batalla de Chile* includes vivid footage of protesters chanting, "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" at marches during this period.

song with their perceptions of the events occurring during this period, and “El pueblo unido” became an emotional locus for the building tensions that erupted in 1973. For conservatives such as Pablo T, “El pueblo unido” generated in them a feeling of anger towards the song and the actions of the left that he came to associate with it:

I hate that song! To help Chile?—This song was about class warfare, I hated it. I remember this song perfectly, and I identified it with the anarchy that the left caused. When I heard it, I would think about the chaos and the class warfare and all the divisions we had. They claimed this is the “pueblo”?—No, absolutely not. I heard this and I thought of black bread and all the shortages [of goods], and these people were not the pueblo, the pueblo wanted to get rid of them!⁷²

Even very moderate conservatives, such as Claudia L, expressed a similarly strong resentment towards “El pueblo unido” and the events they identified with it:

I don’t like that song at all! It is completely political. That song always reminded me of bad things, all the bad things that the UP caused in that period. It is very ironic because that song talked about the people being united, but nobody was united in that period, the people were totally divided—we certainly didn’t feel united with the leftists who listened to that song!⁷³

As more and more leftists appropriated *nueva canción* music on a deeper level and became more closely tied to the political community that celebrated this music through their engagement in the production and dissemination of *nueva canción*, songs such as “El pueblo unido” generated in Daniela B and other leftists feelings of more profound

⁷² Pablo T., personal interview, 3 June 2009.

⁷³ Claudia L., personal interview, 3 May 2009.

excitement and solidarity with UP supporters in the face of conservative attacks on the

Popular Unity government:

It was definitely a symbol of the UP and it would make you think of the UP immediately—it was certainly a song that anyone on the right did not tolerate. It made me think of marches, masses of people demonstrating for the UP in the streets, and even today it makes me feel extremely emotional—excited at the time, but sad today. This song really motivated people to support the UP and mobilize, because it reminded us of who we were and what our movement was for.⁷⁴

In a similar vein, Michele O, a Socialist Party member, emphasized that hearing “El pueblo unido” filled her with feelings of hope and unity as well as inspired her to work harder to further Chile’s revolution:

That song represents precisely what I felt in my heart. It reminds me of the marches we had—people would sing the song and everybody would get excited and feel united. It generated a lot of hope for us when we heard that song, a hope that our lives could be improved if we worked for change....When you heard this song, it made you want to get up and work harder, and it was an inspiration for all of us....The rich never liked this song and never wanted to hear it because it provided inspiration for the people on the left.⁷⁵

Although a diverse range of perspectives as to the pace and character of Chile’s “revolution” divided the left through 1972 and 1973, the left also united behind general principles, such as its desire for socio-economic equality, its notion of pan-Latin American identity, and its resistance to the growing threat that the right posed to “revolution”. As the right increased its assault on the Popular Unity government, the

⁷⁴ Daniela B., personal interview, 12 May 2009.

⁷⁵ Michele O., personal interview, 17 May 2009.

music and rallies in defense of the government highlighted these commonalities and thereby expressed and reinforced an overarching unity among the left. In doing so, music and rallies energized individuals and contributed to the polarization of the era by setting leftists more fervently and emotionally in opposition to the right. At the same time, the energy created by music and rallies also furthered social chaos by intensifying the differences in political strategies held by factions within the left. Motivated by songs that spoke generally of popular revolution and by rallies or marches that demonstrated “popular power” to an increasingly confrontational opposition, leftists also more urgently advocated for and acted independently upon their beliefs as to how best to overcome resistance from the right and enable the “revolution” to proceed.

In addition to fueling fervor among leftists, the shifts and expansion of *nueva canción*, in conjunction with other branches of Popular Unity’s public education initiatives, fostered growing fear within the right. This trend was especially prevalent when Popular Unity members asserted their party’s ideology in public spaces and in conservatives’ homes. While Popular Unity books, magazines, pamphlets, film, and television antagonized conservatives, conservatives could avoid those forms of media by not reading or watching them. In contrast, the left’s use of more diffusive media, such as murals and music, more heavily saturated public spaces with expressions of Popular Unity ideology, thereby confronting conservatives more directly and more frequently. Moreover, beyond the increasing saturation of public spaces with images and sounds that evoked Popular Unity ideology, murals and music also increasingly invaded conservatives’ private domains in ways that were nearly impossible to ignore. For

example, murals could not technically enter into house interiors, but rapidly produced wall art from the BRP, BEC, and independently produced murals and graffiti often appeared overnight on the exterior of private buildings or the walls that surrounded them. Music could invade private spaces to an even greater extent, as there were few barriers that could prevent the sound of a loud performance, broadcast, or recording from entering nearby homes, particularly in urban environments where apartments and houses were situated in close proximity. As the frequency, intensity, and aggressiveness of Popular Unity's political discourse and public education initiatives grew in 1972 and 1973, these expressions fostered among conservatives a heightened sense of fear, as Popular Unity supporters increasingly confronted conservatives in their homes and in public with leftist propaganda and overzealous, confrontational expressions that threatened revolutionary militancy and popular uprising. For leftists, such actions both furthered Popular Unity's public education initiative and served as a demonstration of popular mobilization that might deter any right-wing effort to overthrow Allende; however, these actions also cultivated a sense of urgency and fear among moderate and radical conservatives alike, as attempts to demonstrate Popular Unity's determination and might made many of the outlandish claims and sensationalist propaganda put forth by the radical right and the United States appear very plausible. Many conservatives thereby became convinced that the left would pursue what they believed to be its ultimate objective of establishing a "Marxist dictatorship" by any means necessary, including armed revolution. This belief, however, was based far more on perception than on reality, and this fact would become strikingly clear in the aftermath of the 1973 coup, when the left put up little armed

resistance to the military takeover, and the armed forces frantic and aggressive efforts to uncover stockpiles of leftist munitions yielded no more than a mere handful of weapons.

Conservative Politics and Expression Under Popular Unity

Between 1972 and 1973, many of the same developments in the production and reception of music popular among leftists also occurred in music popular among the right: new artists and songs emerged; conservative notions of identity became increasingly entrenched and opposed to those of the left; and those who opposed Popular Unity embraced, appropriated, and re-created specific politically partisan sounds. The strong ties between *música típica*, *neo-folclore*, and conservatism continued to intensify in 1972 and 1973, and a new body of music also gained popularity among conservatives as a direct response to the *nueva canción* movement. Situating themselves as the foil of the most explicitly political *nueva canción* groups, such as Quilapayún, musicians linked with conservative segments of the Christian Democratic Party produced music that directly attacked the Popular Unity government and called for regime change. Despite the obvious political commentaries expressed in these songs, conservatives downplayed their political nature and referred to them either as *canciones anti-protesta* (“anti-protest songs”) or more commonly as *música satiría-política* (“political satire music”), labels that implied banality or harmlessness for a music that in reality expressed and reinforced the simmering conservative belief that Popular Unity had created cataclysmic problems for Chile.

Satiría-política songs contained a potpourri of upbeat “jingles” born of the tradition of Chilean presidential campaign songs. Nonetheless, several principle themes united this body of music, and these themes coincided with many of the major claims and complaints that conservatives made against the Popular Unity government: Popular Unity lied to the populace, Popular Unity policies assaulted family values and destroyed the capacity of parents to raise their children in a proper manner, and Popular Unity had allowed the country to slip into chaos. For example, Carlos Alegría and Juan Carlos Gill’s “Miente, miente, miente” (“Lie, Lie, Lie”) directly attacked the left as being full of lies with a chorus that sang “Lie, Lie, Lie/ Lie compañero/ Lie, lie, lie/ You deceive without fear/ Follow your custom, lie compañero”. The verses of the song reinforced the chorus by citing specific examples of lies that the right viewed the left as having made to the public:

*...El pueblo está contento
Lleno de todo
Y no hay otro modo
De ser más feliz.
Ya no existen colas
Ya nadie está pobre
Y con tanto cobre
No hallamos que hacer.*

*El gobierno tiene la distribución,
Y el mercado negro ya se terminó,
Hoy es un templo de puro honradez
No mete las manos tampoco los pies.*

*The pueblo is happy
Filled with everything
And there is no way
To be happier.*

*Lines no longer exist
And no longer is anybody poor
And with so much copper
There is nothing we need to do.*

*The government has the distribution,
The black market is already finished,
Today it is a temple of pure honesty,
Don't raise a finger or a toe.⁷⁶*

The song “Descansa mi cielo” (“Rest, My Love”) emphasized a second major theme in *música satiría-política*: Popular Unity policies assault family values and destroy the capacity of parents to raise their children in a proper manner. “Descansa mi cielo” is a slow tempo lullaby performed by a soothing female voice with the accompaniment of soft electronic chord progressions in the background. Recreating the words of a mother to her sleeping baby, “Descansa mi cielo” expresses the despair and disillusionment of a parent who laments that Popular Unity policies have left her without any means to provide for her children:

*Descansa mi cielo,
No hay nada que hacer.
El pan está negro,
No hay papa pa' usted.*

*El papito creía en el Gobierno Popular.
Le mintieron tanto, tanto
Que por ellos fue a votar.
Hoy nos queda una esperanza
De vivir en libertad.
La Democracia Cristiana
Ser en marzo la verdad...*

⁷⁶ A recording of “Miente, miente, miente” can be heard at www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSmiUf8oZQI

*“Los niños serán siempre nuestra gran preocupación,”
Decían,
Repitiendo
Y con cada de dolor
A mi niño sin futuro
Quieren hacerlo crecer
Ganaron con mentiras
Pero así van a perder.*

*Rest my love,
There is nothing to do.
The bread is black,
There are no potatoes for you...*

*Father believed in the Popular [Unity] Government.
They deceived him so much
To get him to vote for them.
Today there is only one hope
For living in liberty:
The Christian Democrats
To be the truth in March...*

*“The children will always be our greatest concern”
They said.
And repeating
With each regret
To my child without a future
They want to make him grow.
They won with lies
But in that way they will lose.⁷⁷*

Similar to “Descansa mi cielo”, Julio Nasser’s “Eso que se llama Salvador” (“That is Called Salvador”) lacked any actual “satire” in its lyrics and instead expressed a direct criticism of the Popular Unity government. At the same time, however, while “Eso que se llama Salvador”, similar to “Miente, miente miente”, sang about grave political

⁷⁷ A recording of “Descansa mi cielo” can be heard at www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xnX96PAmBE

issues that generated fear and anger among conservatives, it set this commentary to an upbeat jingle. The song begins with an orchestral flourish that combines a thick textured chorus of string instruments with syncopated rhythms played on the piano and maracas. As “Eso que se llama Salvador” progresses, the piano, maracas, and the syncopated rhythms they play become increasingly prominent, helping to generate in this up-tempo song a sensation of playful, festive excitement. Against this musical backdrop, the lyrics attack specific governing structures and emphasize the chaos and difficulties that the right believed those structures had caused:

La prepotencia del JAP⁷⁸

El sectarismo del UP

El montaje del GAP⁷⁹

Nos tiene sin ver la luz.

El pueblo ya se cansó,

La mentira lo aburrió.

Ya que cambiar del patrón,

No, no la revolución.

El fracaso es evidente

Ya no hay ni medicamentos

Tiene hambre toda la gente

Y eso que se llama Salvador.

The arrogance of the JAP⁸⁰

⁷⁸ JAP is an acronym for Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precio. Created as a means to ensure public access to basic household goods at official prices, these price and supply associations became widespread after the October 1972 strike. For conservatives, the establishment of the Juntas de Abastecimiento represented what they perceived to be the growing imposition of socialism on their domestic lives and stoked their fears that the government would soon impose a universal system of food rationing on the public.

⁷⁹ GAP is an acronym for Grupo de Amigos Personales. The Grupo de Amigos Personales was a group of young leftists who served as Salvador Allende’s personal security force. Allende began to rely on the GAP after an apparent attempt on his life in 1970.

*The sectarianism of the UP
 The bullying of the GAP⁸¹
 Have left us unable to see the light.
 The pueblo has had enough
 The lie bored it.
 It is past time to change the master
 No no, the revolution.*

*The failure is evident
 There is no medicine
 Everybody is hungry
 And that is called Salvador.⁸²*

The other commonality that bound *satiría-política* music was that despite the difficulties and suffering expressed by much of this music, songs generally included a sense of hope and optimism for the future. These songs often expressed such hope and optimism musically as playful, up-tempo jingles, but also through their lyrics, as the final verse of “Descansa mi cielo” exemplifies:

*Pronto habrán tiempos mejores
 Se lo puedo asegurar.
 Sin odios entre hermanos
 Con amor y mucha paz.*

*Better times soon will come
 I can assure that
 Without hatred between brothers
 With love and much peace.*

⁸⁰ See footnote in the Spanish text of the song.

⁸¹ See footnote in the Spanish text of the song.

⁸² A recording of “Eso que se llama Salvador” can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pmD43aXvFcY>

Prior to March 1973, however, the *satiría-política* music more often linked its hope and optimism to upcoming Congressional elections in which Allende's opponents hoped to win the two-thirds majority of seats needed to impeach him. For example, "Miente, miente, miente" ended with the lines "In March it will end/ Because the Christian Democratic Party will win." "Descansa mi cielo" expressed a similar belief that the March elections would end the suffering portrayed elsewhere in the song: "Today there is only one hope/ For living in liberty:/ The Christian Democrats/ To be the truth in March." Likewise, "Eso que se llama Salvador" asserted, "The Christian Democrat Party/ Will give him an answer in March." Through such statements, *satiría-política* music expressed and reinforced the belief among conservatives that the March 1973 Congressional elections would bring Salvador Allende's presidency to a close and thereby solve all of Chile's problems. In pinning such intense hopes and confidence on the 1973 congressional elections, the failure of the opposition to win a two-thirds majority in Congress both surprised many conservatives and fostered an intensified sense of despair that all the difficulties expressed in *satiría-política* music would continue until Allende's six-year term expired.

The emergence of *satiría-política* music added a new dimension to the Popular Unity opposition; however, *música típica* remained most strongly attached to and most emblematic of the Chilean right. The link between conservative notions of identity and musical expression became further entrenched in opposition to those of the left with the amplification of conservative-dominated music festivals in 1972 and 1973. The *Festival of the Huaso* continued during these years, and it expanded to include two segments: a

professional division and an amateur division. In 1973, “Corazón corazón”, a *tonada* written by Santiago resident Carlos Fernando González and performed by dentist Geraldo Alday Molina’s group Los Quebradeños, won the top prize in the amateur division, and a song performed by Police Sergeant Hugo Pizarro’s group Los Voces de Tiltit received second place honors. The professional segment of the festival included performances by widely renowned *música típica* musicians, including Los Huasos Quincheros, Manolo Gonzales, the Orchestra Típica of Fabian Rey, and Los Hermanos Campos. As it had been in 1970, the primary objective of the festival was, as Olmué Mayor Hugo Quinteros stated in his closing remarks, to increase the prestige of Olmué and to “promote the customs of the region to the most distant zones of the country.”⁸³ In pursuit of these ends, the festival achieved significant success in attracting public attention and enthusiasm, and over 16,000 people attended in 1973.⁸⁴

Through 1972 and 1973, conservatives increasingly asserted their interest in music festivals that emphasized Central Valley traditions over *nueva canción* themes by actively supporting and defending *música típica* and *neo-folclore* performances in the face of *nueva canción* and its popularity among leftists. For example, after the 1971 controversy at the *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar*, public enthusiasm for the 1972 staging remained low. Conservatives remained upset about the controversies at the 1971 festival and became increasingly concerned as the 1972 version approached about, as *El Mercurio* explained, “the uncertainty over the participation of artists invited by the

⁸³ “El Festival del Huaso,” *Vea*, 1 February 1973

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Government, [and] the possibility that it might become a ‘conscientious’ artistic performance.”⁸⁵ In response, festival organizers and *nueva canción* artists made a partial attempt to alleviate these concerns. *Nueva canción* musicians, such as Grupo Aparcoa, downplayed the politically confrontational orientation of their music, asserting that while they were Communists, “We are not interested in protest song because we consider it pamphleteering... We are investigators of folklore and are interested in the authentic, but if the Government functions poorly, we would also voice our protest in the form of song.”⁸⁶ Festival organizers, for their part, utilized a festival format that classified all Chilean folk-based music into a single category that included both *nueva canción* and *música típica*. However, Popular Unity supporters sharply criticized this decision, and Rolando Alarcón, for example, proclaimed: “It is disillusioning that this year, perhaps to demonstrate that the festival is not polarized, traditional song took precedence. I am not against this type of song, but it seems logical that it should have a segment separate from folklore; it should have been that all areas were represented, the north, the south and the center, *nueva canción* and socially committed themes!”⁸⁷ In the politically polarized environment of 1972, attempts to diffuse political divisions or establish a moderate, depolarized orientation for the festival garnered little public enthusiasm: Popular Unity opposition remained angry about the inclusion of *nueva canción* artists and “scared of the unending protest songs” that they might perform, while Popular Unity supporters

⁸⁵ “Crece entusiasmo del público en Festival de Viña del Mar,” *El Mercurio*, 13 February 1972.

⁸⁶ “‘Bigote’ trata de salvar el festival,” *La Segunda*, 7 February 1972.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

remained angry about efforts to de-politicize the festival and integrate *música típica* and *nueva canción* artists.⁸⁸ Accordingly, the 1972 festival suffered from a lack of public interest and poor attendance, which by some estimates was under half of previous year's turnout.

Following the lack of interest among conservatives in the 1972 *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar*, *El Mercurio* turned its attention to a smaller, first-time folk festival that had been organized as a refuge for “apolitical music”. *El Mercurio*'s coverage of the *Primer Festival Nacional de San Bernardo* promoted the event during the weeks prior to its opening.⁸⁹ In addition to highlighting the widespread participation by “folkloric musicians” at San Bernardo, the conservative periodical emphasized the fact that festival planners created the event with a mission to support and embrace “authentic”, “apolitical” folk music, while rejecting “political” music. In the aftermath of both the Viña del Mar and San Bernardo festivals, *El Mercurio* published a short description of each. The description of the folkloric segment of the *Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar* mentioned without any elaboration only the winners of that festival's folkloric competition. In contrast, the newspaper described the *Festival Folklórico de San Bernardo* as a “great success.” *El Mercurio*'s coverage highlighted the “authenticity” of the music at San Bernardo and stressed this music's “apolitical” nature:

One of the requirements for participating in this [San Bernardo] Festival was, precisely, that all the groups should present folkloric works from the

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ “Festival folklórico en San Bernardo,” *El Mercurio*, 3 February 1972.

province they represent. Neither protest songs nor politically committed music were accepted.⁹⁰

As the government's involvement in the Chilean musical culture increased, conservatives found it more and more difficult to experience live performances of their favored styles of folk-based and popular music. With the outgrowth of new and amateur musicians who supported Popular Unity, *nueva canción* music comprised an ever-increasing share of the Chilean music festival scene, even permeating festivals held within heavily conservative communities. Such episodes fostered unrest among conservatives, who perceived them as government encroachment on their private lives and on their sense of cultural identity; conservatives responded to this trend by emotionally berating any offending musicians. For example, at the *Primer Festival de la Canción y la Nieve* in the upper class sector of Las Condes, Patricio Renán took the stage to perform a Nano Acevedo song entitled "En la casa de José el carpintero" ("In the House of José the Carpenter"). Before Renán even could situate himself in front of the audience and begin to play, the crowd assailed him with hostile jeers and venomous threats. When asked to comment on the crowd's dramatic response to the performance of his song, Acevedo attributed it to the bourgeoisie's rejection of any working class expression: "I believe that it is logical and natural in a class that is in contradiction with another; it is the law of the grandes señores that view the poor developing and defining ourselves as a crime."⁹¹

⁹⁰ "Festivales," *El Mercurio*, 13 February 1972.

⁹¹ "Triunfó la canción popular en Festival de la Nieve," *El Siglo*, 12 September 1972.

In addition to attacking *nueva canción* musicians, conservatives also defended with mounting vigor the artists with whom they did identify. As conservatives shunned what *La Prensa* referred to in 1972 as “the hands of the government” having shaped the 1971 *Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar*, they turned their attention instead towards the *Festival de Valdivia*. Although the conservatives initially viewed the establishment of a festival in Valdivia that would mirror the *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar* with much skepticism, they altered their opinions after what they deemed to be the success of the 1972 *Festival de Valdivia*. With Nelson Catalan, Juan Carlos Gill and Carlos Alegría, and Willy Bascañan earning the top awards, *La Prensa* asserted: “Valdivia has demonstrated that it can compete with Viña del Mar and its festival, and that is important. It is important because this is an event for national artists, where politics do not interfere.”⁹² Objecting to the strong presence of conservative supported artists and their triumphs at the 1972 *Festival de Valdivia*, the Popular Unity Ministry of Tourism removed its support for the 1973 festival, and under pressure from the government, the DICAP, IRT, Odeon, and Philips record companies refused to participate the following year. The National Director of Tourism explained the government’s objection to the festival, arguing, “it is not possible for us to feed piranhas whose only interest is making money and, moreover, disparaging our Government.”⁹³ Elaborating on those comments, *El Siglo* asserted that Carlos Alegría, Juan Carlos Gil, Patricio Liberona, Victoria de

⁹² ““Los dos”, Carlos Alegría, y Marisa, interpretes triunfadores en el Festival de la Canción de Valdivia,” *La Prensa*, 6 February 1972.

⁹³ “Dirección Nacional de Turismo quitó auspicio a Festival de Valdivia,” *El Siglo*, 13 January 1973.

Ramón, and several other musicians had recorded songs that attacked the government of “Compañero Allende” in the studios of the head of the Valdivia Festival, Camilio Fernández, which proved that the festival had subversive objectives.⁹⁴

In response to the Ministry of Tourism’s refusal to support the festival, conservatives accused the government of hypocrisy and contended that such measures demonstrated that the government clearly harbored the dictatorial aspirations that conservatives feared would destroy not only political, social, and economic liberties, but cultural liberties as well. As one particularly poignant letter to *El Mercurio* expressed:

Little by little in all fields, the Government’s people have taken out their claws. Outside of acts of political, social, and economic order, I have here a new demonstration in the cultural plane... The Dirección Nacional de Turismo has found it to be a crime that some artists, like many others, have decided to make contributions to some political campaigns of the opposition... Ah, but always with you, Mr. Artist, you commit yourself to communism, MIR-ism, or Allende-ism. In the case that you are not of that [political mold], it will immediately be considered an insult.⁹⁵

Beyond the popular conservative embrace and rejection of specific musical styles and performers, the conservative masses also created and utilized their own sounds, as public marches and protests mounted during the second half of the Allende administration; like the left, the right used marches and chants. The conservative masses commonly integrated marching songs, such as Patria y Libertad’s “La patria no se vende”, and anthems, such as the “Canción nacional”, into their public protests, just as they did with popular chants such as “Chile is and will be a country in liberty” and “He

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ “La dictadura cultural,” *La Prensa*, 29 January 1973.

who doesn't jump is epé", the later of which was a rightist version of the popular leftist chant, "He who doesn't jump is a momia". Beyond the popular use of such songs and chants at protests and marches against Popular Unity, conservatives also responded to *nueva canción*'s appeals for social equality and structural transformation with "noise". Conservatives generated such "noise" with those tools easily accessible to them, such as the human voice, which they used to create shouts, jeers, and boos during *nueva canción* performances or during Popular Unity speeches and chants. Conservative women used empty pots and spoons to create discordant "noise" and marched in time to chants during the infamous "March of the Empty Pots", to which young Communist, Socialist, and MIR youth responded by hurling rocks and insults at the women and by engaging in street fights with rightist youth who sought retribution for the assaults.⁹⁶ In both cases, these actions utilized auditory representations of conservatives' quotidian experiences and emotions in an attempt to reclaim the acoustic public space from the sounds of the Popular Unity movement that increasingly saturated it. By employing a strategy that attempted to "drown out" Popular Unity sounds with "noise", these efforts represented the opposition's refusal to engage in any conversation with Popular Unity during this period; the time for any potential, meaningful discussion and reconciliation had passed, and conservatives now had no intention of allowing any reform to proceed under Allende. Moreover, the use of disorderly "noise" to disrupt Popular Unity sounds created a chaotic

⁹⁶ Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*, 47-48. For further background on the Marches of the Empty Pots, see Margaret Power's *Right Wing Women in Chile* and Julia Baldez's *Why Women Protest*.

overlap of competing voices that acoustically represented and reinforced the image of a society in complete disarray.

Passions Erupt

Just as attachments and divisions over musical styles intensified during the final year of the Popular Unity government, so too did battles over avenues of dissemination. Censorship remained an ongoing issue for the right and the left. Leftists continued to protest what they considered to industry-wide efforts to undermine the *nueva canción* music. Ricardo García vented his growing frustration in July 1973:

It is curious that Isabel Parra or Ángel or Víctor Jara, Tito Fernández or Inti-Illimani continue with their recitals. Where they perform, there is always the same fervor, the same enthusiasm, enthusiastic applause....Then one looks on the radio for their voices and if you find them...you win a prize....Three years ago we created the Nueva Canción festivals for that reason. The situation does not seem to have changed.⁹⁷

García's complaints had substance, as stations and labels linked to conservative interests even more intensely refused to promote *nueva canción* music as the Popular Unity era progressed. Even the few remaining non-partisan or "free radio" stations would not play controversial albums such as Tiempo Nuevo's "El que no salta es momio", which despite being a sharp attack on conservatives, *El Siglo* argued was simply music "representative

⁹⁷ "En Onda comenta: Ricardo García," *Onda*, No. 48 (8 July 1973), 39.

of the Chilean sector with a embedded content of flavorful imagination and humor with an authentically Latin American rhythm.”⁹⁸

At the same time, the right expressed a similar frustration with what it considered to be the left’s discrimination against *satiría-política* music in particular. In addition to the previously noted complaints that the government employed a double-standard for “politically committed music” against the right, Christian Democrat leadership entered into a highly publicized fray with Odeon after that record label refused to release the album “DesUPelote” by Juan Carlos Gil and Carlos Alegría, the latter of whom had only two years earlier participated (albeit somewhat controversially) in the *Second Festival of Nueva Canción Chilena*. The songs recorded by Alegría and Gil had become quite popular among conservatives, and conservative radio stations across the country had been airing the songs “profusely” without generating any legal claims that might dissuade recording companies from producing the music for legitimate “non-political” reasons.⁹⁹ However, in early 1973 the left took a strong stand against the two musicians, with *Puro Chile* asserting that the music Alegría and Gil wrote was fundamentally “propaganda” and that the musicians “arranged their lyrics and music in favor of the douche bag Onofre Jarpa and the big-nosed Frei” (leaders in the National Party and the Christian Democratic Party, respectively).¹⁰⁰ The conservative press contended that the sort of hostile sentiments expressed by *Puro Chile* were common among Popular Unity officials and

⁹⁸ “Disco ‘El que no salta es momia’ no lo tocan las radios ‘libres’,” *El Siglo*, 10 October 1972.

⁹⁹ “Odeon atenta contra libertad de expresión,” *La Prensa*, 28 January 1973.

¹⁰⁰ “Fiesta de la pilucheas,” *Puro Chile*, 25 January 1973.

had led them to “pressure the record company Odeon not to edit the long play [“DesUPelote”].”¹⁰¹ In response to the Odeon controversy, the Christian Democratic Party sent a letter to the Director of Odeon to demand an explanation for the company’s refusal to release “DesUPelote”. Odeon replied that it would not produce songs that contained a “lack of respect and a slight to the authorities of the country”; this claim set off further conservative protest in *La Prensa*:

It is unacceptable that a commercial label, especially one that is foreign, consider itself authorized to exercise censorship over the freedom of expression... The reasons set forward by the company support the belief that their determination is the fruit of pressures by sectors of the government. Additionally, voluntarily or involuntarily the management of the Odeon company has changed into an totalitarian instrument for attacking liberty of expression.¹⁰²

With both the left and the right making similar complaints regarding efforts to prevent the dissemination of their favored music, radio stations aligned with the right or left became sites of controversy and violence, as each faction attempted to increase its share of channels. For example, in late 1972, leftists cut energy and phone lines at Radio Arica, the only station in that region not linked with Popular Unity. The action prevented the station from broadcasting for two days, until a mobilized force of conservatives repaired the damage caused by what they referred to as “an unacceptable offence against liberty.”¹⁰³ In another episode in the central Chilean town of Los Angeles, campesinos

¹⁰¹ “UP inició persecución en contra de cantantes de disco ‘El Desupelote’,” *La Prensa*, 29 January 1973.

¹⁰² “Odeon atenta contra la libertad de expresión,” *La Prensa*, 28 February 1973.

¹⁰³ “Radio ‘Arica’ reinició sus transmisiones,” *El Mercurio*, 12 October 1972.

refused to relinquish control over a seized conservative station. In a letter to the President of the CUT, they asserted, “The workers of the Hacienda Canteras will not permit the station to be returned to the momios. It should be in the service of the workers, passing in direct form to the Central Unión de Trabajadores, with the name Emisora 11 de Julio.”¹⁰⁴ Conservatives were involved in numerous acts of sabotage and violence against radio stations during this period, including an especially dramatic 1973 explosives attack on Radio Corporación in Linares. In this instance, the attack completely destroyed the station’s transmission center and caused roughly two million escudos in damage.¹⁰⁵

Although television had arrived in Chile, radio remained the most widespread form of mass communication, and violent attacks on radio stations served the dual purpose of eliminating an opposing faction’s means of disseminating information to its followers and its means of disseminating auditory cultural programming. Additionally, partisan violence triggered specifically by music also bubbled over during the second half of the Allende presidency, culminating with a dramatic episode on a national stage that generated an outpouring of accusations and anger among Chileans and demonstrated how severe the political polarization in Chile had become. In response to the public apathy towards the 1972 *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar*, festival organizers in 1973 yielded to public desires and invited Quilapayún and Los Huasos Quincheros as a means to reinvigorate the interest of both the leftists and rightists, respectively. However, even in

¹⁰⁴ “Que la radio momia quede en manos de los trabajadores,” *El Siglo*, 20 September 1972.

¹⁰⁵ “Fascistas volaron Radio Corporación,” *El Siglo*, 20 July 1973.

doing so, organizers remained wary of the political controversy these musical groups might cause, and they requested to both groups that they refrain from stirring political emotions. In the case of Los Huasos Quincheros, organizers asserted their desire that the group not make “any expression that would signify an attack on established powers.”¹⁰⁶ In particular, they requested that Los Huasos Quincheros eliminate the song “El patito”, a relatively good natured political satire whose original version Los Huasos Quincheros had composed twenty-six years earlier and which the group had performed at numerous previous festivals, from their repertoire at Viña del Mar.¹⁰⁷ However, before Los Huasos Quincheros had the opportunity to take the stage at the 1973 festival, Quilapayún performed and political tensions erupted.

In the days leading up to the festival, conservatives became tremendously apprehensive towards what *El Mercurio* viewed as the “incomprehensible miscalculation” by festival organizers to include on its schedule Quilapayún, “a group that performed songs of undeniably social-political content.”¹⁰⁸ At the same time, excitement for the performance built among the left, and the Popular Unity coalition parties distributed an estimated three thousand free tickets to their supporters in order to create a band of Quilapayún supporters in what traditionally was a conservative majority festival audience. According to *La Prensa*, distributors of the tickets also instructed those who received them to “take over the Quinta Vergara [venue] as a means of shutting

¹⁰⁶ “Surge voz de protesta,” *La Segunda*, 8 February 1973.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ “Incidentes por provocación UP—suspendido el festival,” *El Mercurio*, 6 February 1973.

up the insolent momios, something that until now has been totally and absolutely impossible, leading to the enormous disproportion of [Christian] democrats and totalitarians in the country at this moment.”¹⁰⁹

Aware that the Quilapayún performance might provoke strong reactions from the crowd, festival organizers installed the media and broadcast crews close to the stage so that the sounds of applause and jeers would not affect television broadcasts of the show. However, Quilapayún had decided to begin their set with three of their most controversial and inflammatory songs, “El cobre”, “Las ollitas”, and “La batea”, and as soon as Quilapayún began to perform, the crowd met them with a shower of boos so loud that it drowned out the performance entirely. After completing their first song against the deafening jeers from the audience, one of the musicians grabbed a microphone to denounce the attitude of the crowd. This action further antagonized conservatives in the audience. As Quilapayún completed two more songs against the rising tumult, fights began to break out in the audience, with Popular Unity supporters physically attacking the jeering opposition and the opposition retaliating in kind. As the chaos continued to increase, officials halted the concert after the third song and festival organizers decided for the first time in the festival’s history to suspend proceedings.¹¹⁰

Rather than condone the behavior of conservatives at the Quilapayún performance, *El Mercurio* condemned the incident as an event that “nobody who loves

¹⁰⁹ “Escándalo político en el Festival del Viña del Mar,” *La Segunda*, 5 February 1973.

¹¹⁰ This recreation of the festival events is based on coverage of the events in a politically diverse array of Chilean newspapers.

the festival will want to remember.”¹¹¹ The newspaper even criticized the largely conservative crowd’s behavior before Quilapayún had taken the stage, noting that the audience jeered a song written by Nobel Prize winning Chilean poet Pablo Neruda because of Neruda’s affiliation with Popular Unity, while applauding another “apolitical”, “foreign singer” who “meddled in Chilean themes”.¹¹² Nonetheless, *El Mercurio* cast the blame for such outrageous and “anti-national” behavior not on the conservative spectators themselves, but on Quilapayún and the festival organizers who allowed the group to perform: “the calculated provocation of the communist singers in Viña del Mar had a pre-visible response on the part of the public.”¹¹³ In addition to implying a conspiracy in which festival organizers and Quilapayún baited conservatives into poor behavior, *El Mercurio* seized the opportunity to reiterate the notions that Chileans rejected the “ideological manipulation of folklore” for political uses and that *nueva canción* music represented a “Marxist” corruption of true Chilean folklore.

Having temporarily suspended the 1973 festival, organizers concluded that only the cancellation of any further performances that might be interpreted as political could prevent the complete degeneration of the festival. As a result, the mayor of Viña del Mar informed a representative of Los Huasos Quincheros that the festival had decided to rescind its invitation to the group. Citing security concerns, festival organizers reasoned that leftist Quilapayún supporters would likely seek revenge at the Los Huasos

¹¹¹ “Incidentes por provocación UP—suspendido el festival,” *El Mercurio*, 6 February 1973.

¹¹² “Incidentes en Festival de la Canción,” *El Mercurio*, 6 February 1973.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

Quincheros performance for the treatment conservative attendees gave Quilapayún. In response to their exclusion from the festival, Los Huasos Quincheros released an extensive public statement that emphasized the group's apolitical character and expressed their outrage at the festival's decision to remove them from the line-up. The statement argued, "Los Huasos Quincheros have been, and will continue to be apolitical. During their thirty-five years of existence, they have remained outside all political activity," as indicated by "declarations in the press, on the radio, and on TV, [which] have solidified their position that artistic expressions should not be linked to politically determined ideologies."¹¹⁴ Further elaborating on these claims, the statement also asserted:

Art, cult or popular, should be the expression of transcendental values, permanent and common to a great number of people. The theme of the songs of Los Huasos Quincheros represents love, the landscape, the customs, the history, the folklore and everything that constitutes the foundation of our nationality and idiosyncrasy. All these values, sung with beauty, with grace, with tenderness and at times with bite by our authors have no relation with the political contingent and have been received by all the public and in all the times with happiness, with kindness and with ardor....The attitude of the majority of the Regidores of the Municipality of Viña del Mar in their order to eliminate Los Huasos Quincheros from the Festival de la Canción indicates, along with a grave error and a conceptual confusion, a deep blow to the group and, even more difficult, for that which the group represents as an affirmation of national values that all Chileans should come together to support.¹¹⁵

In protesting their expulsion from the 1973 *Festival de Música del Viña del Mar*, Los Huasos Quincheros evoked a pre-coup expression of what Brian Loveman and

¹¹⁴ Sergio Sauvalle, "Los Quincheros en la quinta vergara" in Jaime Ferrer Mir ed., *Quincheros: andanzas de cuatro guitarras*, 144-145.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 145-147.

Thomas Davies, Jr. have identified as the Pinochet military regime's "politics of anti-politics":

In the 1960s and 1970s, professional military officers in Latin America scanned the panorama of Latin American history and blamed the ineptitude and corruption of civilian politicians as well as the imported institutions of liberal democracy for the wretched conditions in Latin America. In much of Latin America, professional military officers concluded that only an end to 'politics' and the establishment of long-term military rule could provide the basis for modernization, economic development, and political stability. This determination...led to explicitly antipolitical military regimes in most of Latin America.¹¹⁶

As Loveman and Davies have argued, the post-coup military regime attempted to "exorcise the evil of 'politics' from the political process" by characterizing citizenship as acting only to "honor the fatherland, defend its sovereignty, and contribute to the preservation of national security and the essential values of Chilean tradition".¹¹⁷

Benjamín Mackenna's words clearly illustrate that the politics of anti-politics was part of conservative behavior in the pre-coup period as well: conservatives commonly asserted that *música típica* and *neo-folclore* were music devoid of political statements or significance. Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the Viña del Mar Music Festival, Los Huasos Quincheros played a series of concerts that attracted particularly large crowds of supporters who expressed their solidarity with the musicians for what they perceived to

¹¹⁶ Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies Jr., eds.. *The Politics of Antipolitics* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 270. The characterization of citizenship that Loveman and Davies use in this passage comes from Article 22 of the Chilean Constitution ratified under Augusto Pinochet.

be the unfair treatment that the musicians had received at Viña del Mar.¹¹⁸ Moreover, polarization in the final months of the Popular Unity era escalated to a point where even within the realm of music, a realm in which conservatives had so adamantly emphasized their belief that explicit political expressions were entirely inappropriate, conservatives began to embrace emotionally the type of direct attacks on the Popular Unity government exhibited in *música satiría-política*.

In response to the events at the 1973 *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar*, Christian Democrats during the following month planned the “Show de DesUPelote” also at Viña del Mar’s Quinta Vergara.¹¹⁹ More than seven hours before the start of the show, the public began filling the area outside the venue, enthusiastically chanting “Chile is and will be a country in liberty...” and “Él que no salta es epé...” By show-time, somewhere between 45,000 and 100,000 people had arrived in hopes of watching a concert line-up that included Carlos Alegría, Juan Carlos Gill, Los Camperos, Romilio Romo, Carlos Alberto, Los Banana Cinco, Ramón Aguilera, Pedro Messone, César Antonio Santis, Nano Parra, Manolo González, and Ginette Acevedo. With the amphitheater packed to capacity, the thousands who had not arrived early enough to enter the arena filled the woods around Quinta Vergara and spilled out onto the surrounding streets. Those who had been involved with the *Festival de Música de Viña del Mar* observed that the attendance at the *Show de DesUPelote* surpassed that of any staging of the *Festival de*

¹¹⁸ César Albornoz, “Los sonidos del golpe” in Caludio Rolle, ed., *La vida cotidiana de un año crucial*, 170-171.

¹¹⁹ The word “desupelote” means “chaos”; the title “DesUPelote” attacked Popular Unity by capitalizing the letter “P” and adding a “U” in front of it, thereby inserting “UP” (the acronym for Popular Unity) in the middle of the word.

Música de Viña del Mar, and as former Viña del Mar Mayor, Juan Andueza, remarked, “I have never seen anything like this, not even in the finals of the [Viña del Mar] song festivals. You could not overestimate the number of spectators here.”¹²⁰ When the show finally began, the master of ceremonies energized the crowd with a rousing welcome that expressed the angst of the Popular Unity opposition:

Greetings to all of Chile, which waits anxiously for this festival of festivals. From Arica to Antarctica, they receive a fraternal embrace founded in one cry that expresses our liberty. In this moment we launch the characteristic war cry of the Christian Democrat youth.¹²¹

The judges awarded the festivals top three awards to Carlos Alegría’s “El interventor”, Julio Nasser’s “Otra vez, Federico”, and Carlos Alegría and Juan Carlos Gills’ “Miente, miente, miente” (interpreted by Fernando Alegría). However, as *El Mercurio* noted, the real impact of the festival was that it was a “great success for the youth, for the anti-protest songs and served to elevate the spirit of thousands and thousands of Chileans that have been inundated by the almost suffocating economic problems.”¹²² Excited by what he called the “extraordinarily positive” success of the event, Carlos Alegría called for a subsequent festival to be held in the larger Estadio Nacional. Additionally, he announced that he would soon release a follow-up to his “DesUPelote” album. Among other songs, the new album would include a march entitled “La marcha del DesUPelote” (“The DesUPelote March”) with a repeated chorus

¹²⁰ “El Desupelote: canciones políticas en Quinta Vergara,” *La Segunda*, 2 March 1973.

¹²¹ “Extraordinario éxito tuvo el Festival Satírico de V. del Mar,” *El Mercurio*, 1 March 1973.

¹²² *Ibid.*

very similar to that of the forthcoming “El pueblo unido”: “To the UP-ists, may the scruff of their neck burn each time that they hear DesUPelote!”¹²³

The Final Song

As the level of chaos and violence in the streets of Chile escalated to an unprecedented level, governmental pleas to avoid “civil war” fell on deaf ears. For the Popular Unity opposition, democratic process was no longer an option, and Popular Unity supporters engaged in what was becoming a defensive struggle to prevent a “civil war” or a military coup. As part of this defensive struggle, *nueva canción* musicians headlined the *Anti-Fascist Cultural Offensive* in a further attempt to depict the right as “anti-patriotic” fascists and as responsible for the now daily outbreaks of civilian violence. Additionally, *nueva canción* musicians intensified efforts to build solidarity with foreign populations as a means to deter conservative efforts to overthrow Allende. As part of this endeavor, *nueva canción* musicians including Inti-Illimani, Ángel and Isabel Parra, Tito Fernández, Charo Cofré, Illapu, Aparcoa, Víctor Jara, and Quilapayún celebrated the *Primer Festival Internacional de la Canción Popular* in Valparaíso with like-minded folk-based musicians from countries ranging from Uruguay, Argentina, and Cuba to Finland. In addition to promoting folk-based popular song, the event also aspired to “fight for world peace, oppose fascism and the burning, sinister forces of war, [and]

¹²³ “Aparecerá otro DesUPelote,” *La Segunda*, 2 March 1973. “Scruff of their neck” is an approximate translation of the word “cogote”, which more specifically is a somewhat crude manner of referring to the neck of chickens and other animals.

support the pueblos that fight for their liberation and for their future.”¹²⁴ For those not in attendance, Popular Unity-allied radio stations, including Radio Magallanes, Radio Pacífico, Radio Corporación, Radio Luis Emilio Recabarren, and Radio Portales, broadcast the music of festival performers.¹²⁵ Following the *Primer Festival Internacional de la Canción Popular*, Chile sent an extensive delegation of professional and amateur *nueva canción* musicians to the 10th *World Festival of Youth and Students* in Berlin, and many of those musicians proceeded to conduct international tours in the festival’s aftermath.

Within Chile, thousands of Popular Unity supporters gathered in the streets of Santiago in early September 1973 to commemorate the third anniversary of Allende’s election and to deter with a demonstration of “popular power” another attempt to overthrow Allende. While the Popular Unity “revolution” had struggled since its inception to overcome both competing internal visions for its direction and the growing civil disorder that defined the Allende era, the left remained predominantly united in its defense of the government against conservative rebellion, and the sounds and actions of events such as the anniversary commemoration represented this reality. Indicating both the deep determination of leftists to halt the right’s aggression and the continued, underlying disjointedness of Popular Unity supporters at that moment, Joan Jara wrote, “Everyone understands that we are fighting for our lives, but we don’t seem to know by what means, with what weapons. We only know that it is necessary to demonstrate

¹²⁴ “Zitarrosa y el festival,” *El Siglo*, 27 June 1973.

¹²⁵ “En el Fortín Prat de Valparaíso comienza hoy Festival Internacional,” *El Siglo*, 27 June 1973.

clearly that Popular Unity is a great force to be reckoned with, that the people are beside their government in spite of all its problems.”¹²⁶

In what would turn out to be the last great expression of mass support for the Popular Unity government, supporters marched through the streets of Santiago, singing and chanting “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” and other common Popular Unity refrains such as “Allende, Allende, the pueblo will defend you!” and “Without sugar, without coffee, I give my life for the UP!”¹²⁷ As the tremendous mass of Popular Unity supporters arrived before Salvador Allende and his Ministers at La Moneda, loudspeakers set up in the streets surrounding the presidential palace broadcast live performances by more than forty *nueva canción* affiliated musicians, including Tito Fernández, Los Emigrantes, Grupo Lonqui, Nano Acevedo, and Conjunto Cuncumén. The musicians sang songs that “spoke of the nationalization of copper, the agrarian reform, the second independence that began in September 1970, the [failed coup attempt on the] 29th of June (“el tanquetazo”) and other folkloric themes and popular melodies.”¹²⁸ However, the display of unity in defense of the Popular Unity government ultimately proved insufficient to prevent the opposition from seizing power.

Only days later, Chileans awoke on September 11 to learn that the military had begun a coup that would end with Allende dead and the country in the hands of the military by that same afternoon. As the military took control of the streets of Santiago,

¹²⁶ Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, 218.

¹²⁷ “La calle es del pueblo,” *El Siglo: Revista Semanal* (September 1973). The full, direct translation of the chant is “Without sugar, without coffee, I give my life for the UP!”

¹²⁸ “Gran fiesta popular en la Avenida Bulnes,” *El Siglo*, 7 September 1973.

laying siege to La Moneda, cutting transmissions from radio stations associated with Popular Unity, and rounding up Popular Unity supporters throughout the capital, supporters of the coup proclaimed their enthusiasm for the military take-over by opening their windows or placing speakers on their windowsills in order to blast broadcasts of military marches and *música típica* into the streets.¹²⁹

In addition to executing Víctor Jara, the military destroyed the DICAP studios and any recordings of “subversive” music they found, shut down *peñas*, and arrested Ángel Parra. Many of the prominent members of the *nueva canción* movement, including Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, performing abroad on September 11, and others such as Patricio Manns and René Largo Farías escaped into exile, but those *nueva canción* affiliated musicians who remained in Chile faced strict censorship. As Nancy Morris has noted, *nueva canción* had become so associated with Popular Unity that playing the music or even using northern instruments “was considered tantamount to subversion.”¹³⁰ Meeting with those musicians whom the military had not arrested in the immediate aftermath of the coup, Secretary General Pedro Ewing and a group of heavily armed soldiers informed the *Sindicato de Folkloristas* that, as Héctor Pavez explained in 1973, “they would be very tough, that they would watch our attitudes [and] our songs with a magnifying glass, that we could play nothing with a flute or quena or charango because they were

¹²⁹ Irutta, Carlos. “Las horas de Ave Fénix” in Matías Rivas and Roberto Merino, eds., *¿Qué hacía yo el 11 de septiembre de 1973?* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1997), 117.

¹³⁰ Nancy Morris, “Canto porque es necesario cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983”, 123.

instruments of social content songs.”¹³¹ Elsewhere, in prison camps set up around the country for suspected Popular Unity supporters, the military reasserted the conservative notion of national identity and *Chilenidad*, broadcasting *neo-folclore* and *música típica* over loudspeakers to those it viewed as its greatest remaining enemies.¹³²

¹³¹ Letter from Héctor Pavez to René Largo Farías. Paris, 3 July 1975. (cit. Leonard Kosichev, *La guitarra y el poncho de Víctor Jara* (Moscow: Editorial Progreso, 1990), 239.)

¹³² Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilena: continuidad y reflejo*, 102.

Epilogue: After the Coup: Legacy and Conclusion

With the military having imposed its heavy hand upon Chile, a dramatic shift occurred in the country's musical landscape. *Nueva canción* all but vanished from public space, existing inside Chile only clandestinely within the homes of those who dared to possess such "subversive" (and now illegal) material. The legacy of *nueva canción* would survive more prominently in the music of those exiled musicians who no longer resided within Chile and through the emergence *canto nuevo*, which adopted the basic philosophies of *nueva canción* and re-crafted those philosophies as contemporary resistance music through the late 1970s and 1980s. Within Chile, *música típica*, with the backing of the state, re-established itself as Chile's predominant folk-based music and the central embodiment of Chilean identity.

From the immediate aftermath of the coup, conservatives expressed an outpouring of *chilenidad* and national pride. The popular music magazine *Ritmo*, for example, in its first post-coup issues emphasized its nationalism, going so far as to gush in editorials over Chile's attributes with prose that read almost like the lyrics of a *música típica* song:

We had so many things that are so good and so special, and the answer is not to look to the foreign... What country has the luxury of a mountain range as beautiful as ours? None! What country has the luxury of copper in such quantities and quality as ours? None! What country has demonstrated that we alone can solve our problems? None! In what other country is the youth so cool like in ours? I believe none! In what country are the women so dedicated and sincere? In none! And in what country, tell me, are the men so, so special, macho, sensational, and loving? None!¹

¹ "Lo que es chileno, es bueno!" *Ritmo de la Juventud* (November 1973).

While the government banished, imprisoned, and executed *nueva canción* musicians, other Chilean musicians continued their labors with striking vigor. As *La Prensa* noted on September 17th, 1973: “Chilean artists have not been inactive. They have programmed presentations within the permitted hours and almost all are planning their next debuts.”² Both the military leadership and musicians who supported it believed that musical presentations were necessary to relieve the “stress and pressure” that Chileans felt during this period. Various *música típica* and pop music artists, including Dúo Rey Silva, Giolito y su Combo, and Ginette Acevedo, volunteered to take part in musical caravans to spread their music and “a message of happiness”, while other musicians performed tributes for various military regiments. As the now entirely conservative press emphasized, in contrast to many concert events prior to the coup, the audiences at such performances were “excellent, serious, and disciplined.”³ Additionally, within two months of the coup, Radio Minería, in conjunction with Los Huasos Quincheros, announced the *Primer Concurso de la Canción Tradicional Folklorica Chilena* (First Competition of Chilean Traditional Folk Song) as a means to encourage and popularize the creation of *música típica* style music among amateur and aspiring musicians. As Radio Minería Director Gustavo Palacios explained, “conscious of the new era in which our country is in, Radio Minería and Los Huasos Quincheros have

² “La comunión público-artista,” *La Prensa*, 17 September 1973.

³ *Ibid.*

created this competition in order to develop traditional Chilean song and in order to reacquaint ourselves with what is and has been our ‘folklore’.”⁴

The promotion of *música típica* and Central Valley traditions as the basis of Chilean identity continued throughout the dictatorship. Los Huasos Quincheros member Benjamín Mackenna spearheaded much of this effort in the 1970s, serving both as National Secretary of Youth and National Secretary of Culture in the military government.⁵ President Augusto Pinochet signed in 1979 a special decree to make the *cueca* the national dance of Chile. The decree also stipulated that the Secretary of Cultural Relations and the Ministry of Education should undertake a campaign to teach, promote, and research this “popular artistic expression”, initiating a folkloric education campaign in Chilean public schools and organizing annually a national *cueca* competition for primary and secondary students.⁶

With the re-democratization of Chile after 1988, the country began a process of reconciling the conflicts, violence, and polarization that had occurred over the previous twenty years. While emotional wounds and memories persisted, and those on the far left and right of the political spectrum remained intensely opposed to one another, Chilean society gradually depolarized, as the majority of the populace shifted back towards the political center and began to turn their attention towards the future rather than the past.

The working class that might have renewed the Left had struggled through years of open

⁴ “Primer concurso de folklore tradicional,” *Ritmo de la Juventud* (November 1973).

⁵ Benjamín Mackenna, “Nuestro compromiso con la música chilena” in Jaime Ferrer Mir, ed., *Quincheros: andanzas de cuatro guitarras*, (Santiago: Editorial Don Bosco, 2003), 128-129.

⁶ “La cueca es danza nacional,” *El Mercurio*, 19 September 1979.

trade policies that closed their factories and left them in destitution during and after the Pinochet era; however, a new generation had come of age in a neo-liberal world of consumerism, knowing the types of conflicts that defined past decades only through the stories of their antecedents or through distant childhood memories. Nonetheless, even though the ideological battles of the Cold War era had dissipated on both political and economic fronts, cultural rifts persisted. At the public inaugural celebrations for center-left President Ricardo Lagos, an estimated 200,000 Chileans gathered to watch the artistic activities. As video screens flashed images of prominent “reformers”, including Presidents Aguirre Cerda, Frei, and Allende, the official program began with a new version of the “Canción nacional”, which composer Andreas Bodenhofer described as “less martial” than the traditional version and as having newly integrated northern rhythms.⁷ The musical portions of the event featured Los Jaivas’ “Sube a nacer conmigo hermano”, a song based on a Pablo Neruda poem, and Víctor Jara’s “Manifiesto”.⁸ Additionally, as part of the official state program for officials and foreign dignitaries, Los Chileneros performed a working-class *cueca brava*. This agenda antagonized conservatives, and taking issue with the inclusion of Los Chilenros in the official state program, conservative UDI Party congresswoman María Angélica Cristi sharply criticized Los Chileneros’ performance:

The act did not represent in any way Chilean music...The presentation was in very poor taste, because it did not represent those who always have been the most authentic exponents of Chilean music...Never again should

⁷ “La sorprendente nueva versión de la Canción Nacional,” *La Segunda*, 13 March 2000.

⁸ “Multitudinaria asistencia a acto popular,” *El Mercurio*, 13 March 2000.

we present, especially when we want to show our music to the world, a folkloric act that does not correspond with what is characteristic, basic, fundamental. I hope that it will not be that culture that is exhibited in Chile as Chilean music.⁹

With most Chileans today remaining wary of the potential consequences of political extremism, neither *nueva canción* nor *música típica* generates the pervasive and widespread volatility that it did during the Popular Unity era. Nonetheless, even within this less politically polarized environment, divisions over conceptions of Chilean identity and the strong emotions attached to musical representations of them continue to shape political perceptions and stoke animosity, especially among those who remain on the far right and the far left. Contemporary political movements and candidates continue to utilize music from the early 1970s as part of their campaigns, and as those individuals interviewed as part of this research indicated, sounds they associate with their experiences, political perspectives, and identity from the Popular Unity era channel memories and emotions from that period into the present. Leftist protests and campaigns frequently integrate *nueva canción* anthems, such as “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido”, and, for example, a 2009 public funeral for the exhumed remains of Víctor Jara drew thousands of Chileans into the streets of Santiago to pay homage to Jara by celebrating his music and his vision for Chile. In 2011, widespread “student protests” contested government policies that had under-funded public schools and universities, thereby reinforcing the chasm between Chile’s rich and poor. The slogans and music that

⁹ Oficio No. 4978 of the Cámara de Diputados al Ministerio de Educación, 15 March 2000. (cit. Rodrigo Torres, “El arte de cuequear: identidad y memoria del arrabal chilenos”, 2003.)

became central to this movement included a diverse array of sounds from across the globe, ranging from the Beatles to Rage Against the Machine to Manu Chao. The movement developed a particularly strong connection to the Puerto Rican group, Calle 13, and it also staged in front of La Moneda a mass recreation of Michael Jackson's "Thriller" dance, as hundreds of students dressed as zombies and danced in unison to represent the "death" of public education in Chile. At the same time, the movement also drew heavily on sounds rooted in Chile's own heritage, including Popular Unity chants and songs. Describing the scene at the University of Chile in October 2011, Shalini Adnani wrote:

As I approached the Headquarters of the University of Chile the Andean folkloric music blaring from the university slowed everything down for a little as I was transmuted into another era—an era much like Paris in 1968, where you had the time to think about the world, universities were the bedrock of political activism, and artistic expression was the best form of protest. The zampolla and Victor Jara's soothing voice turned the entire block of the University of Chile into a space for indigenous and national revival.¹⁰

Moreover, in addition to the re-broadcast of old *nueva canción* songs as part of the movement, youthful protesters arranged their own versions of *nueva canción* classics; *nueva canción* and *canto nuevo* groups such as Inti-Illimani, Illapu, and Sol y Lluvia performed publicly as part of the protests; and younger, emerging musicians drew upon the influences of *nueva canción* singers to create their own music in support of the protest movement. In particular, the music of Ana Tijoux, who was born in France to Chilean

¹⁰ Shalini Adnani, "A View from Inside an 'Occupied' Chilean School," *Upside Down World* (5 October 2011). <upsidedownworld.org/main/chile-archives-34/3429-a-view-from-inside-a-occupied-chilean-school>.

exiles in 1977 and who grew up listening to the music of Inti-Illimani, Los Jaivas, Daniel Viglietti, Pablo Milanés, and Silvio Rodríguez, became strongly associated with the student movement. Tijoux, who released a tribute album to Violeta Parra in 2001 and who has also collaborated with *nueva canción* artists such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, composed the song “Shock” (a reference to neo-liberal, free-market economics) as homage to the student protesters, an endeavor not unlike Violeta Parra’s homage to Chile’s students, “Me gustan los estudiantes”. Combining aggressive lyrics and a marching beat that are reminiscent of *nueva canción* anthems with hip-hop influences and a melodic rap, “Shock” blended the music and emotions of Chile’s past and present in a song that the student movement quickly adopted as an anthem, even as Tijoux expressed discomfort about her song becoming an anthem: “It’s too much responsibility...I’m just a musician, I am just sensitive of what happens in my country.”¹¹

Shock (excerpt)

*Al son de un solo coro,
Marcharemos con el tono.
Con la convicción que ¡Que basta de robos!
Tu estado de control,
Tu trono podrido de oro.
Tu política y tu riqueza y tu tesoro, no.*

(Coro)

*La hora sonó,
La hora sonó.
No permitiremos más, más tu doctrina del shock.
La hora sonó,
La hora sonó
(doctrina del shock)*

¹¹ Public Radio International, *The World*, 3 February 2012.
<http://media.theworld.org/audio/02032012.mp3>.

*Gople a golpe,
 Beso a beso,
 Con las ganas y el aliento
 Con cenizas,
 Con el fuego
 Del presente con recuerdo.
 Con certeza y con desgarro,
 Con el objetivo claro,
 Con memoria y con la historia,
 ¡El futuro es ahora!*

Shock (excerpt)

*To the sound of a single chorus,
 We will march to the tune.
 With the conviction,
 “Stop the robbery!”
 Your state of control,
 Your corrupt throne of gold,
 Your politics and your wealth and your treasure, no.*

(Chorus)

*The hour sounded,
 The hour sounded.
 We won't permit any more,
 Any more of your Shock Doctrine.
 The hour sounded,
 The hour sounded.
 (Shock Doctrine)*

*Punch for punch,¹²
 Kiss for kiss.
 With desire and breath,
 With ashes, with fire
 Of the present, remembering,
 With certainty and with tearing,
 With clear objective,
 With memory and with history,
 The future is now!¹³*

¹² The Spanish lyrics use the term “golpe”, which can be translated either as “punch” or as “coup”.

¹³ The song and music video of “Shock” can be viewed at;
 <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=177-s44MSVQ>>

Rightists similarly have remained attached to and utilize the music they embraced during the Popular Unity era. For example, as the legal bills from Pinochet's human rights trial in England mounted, a group of Pinochet supporters created a hotline that raised funds to help pay for the ex-dictator's defense. As part of this fundraising effort, the group produced and sold a CD of *música típica* and nationalist marches. The featured track on the album was a song that former Los Cuatro Cuartos musician Willy Bascuñan composed as an emotional appeal for Chileans to help absolve Pinochet and bring him home to Chile. Bascuñan composed the song from Pinochet's perspective as a means to express the former head of state's anguish at having been prevented from returning to his home country: "I miss the trumpet...with its reveille. But today, when I wake up, it's a different reality. I am in a foreign land."¹⁴ Similarly, during the 2009 presidential campaign, rightists published on the internet photo montages that combined images of Popular Unity era difficulties, such as good shortages, land seizures, and violence, with photos of center-left candidates to the music of performers that included Los Huasos Quincheros and Carlos Alegría.

Returning to the question of why the military government arrested, tortured, and murdered Víctor Jara as one of its first targets, what happened on September 11, 1973 was not a spontaneous outbreak of violence. In reality, it was the culmination of a longer process of political polarization that stemmed from class tensions and became interwoven

¹⁴ "Pinochet Supporters Set Up Cash Hotline," BBC News On-Line, 1999, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/249760.stm>>.

with Cold War ideology and with disparate notions and cultural expressions of identity. Jara and his music both grew out of and contributed to this progression, as the sounds he produced were a direct representation of a particular notion of identity. Identity became a central component of what Chileans fought for, not simply as a debate over what their national image should be, but also on a more personal and emotional level where individuals felt a deep connection between their identity and their own experiences and memories. Accordingly, for those on the right, the left's promotion of *nueva canción* as a replacement for *música típica* represented an assault on their political beliefs, their personal lives, and their nostalgic conception of the past; for those on the left, the right's promotion of *música típica* and its attempts to stifle *nueva canción* represented a repression of their political beliefs and their conception of the past, their sense of community, and their forward-looking aspirations about building a better future. Identity and emotion are key elements in political behavior, and music, which reflects and amplifies both emotions and identities, thereby contributes to the growth of political passions that build between rival factions. For Víctor Jara, the context in which he disseminated his music, what his music came to represent, and what his music reacted against, attacked conservatives in a way that few other things could: it struck not only at their political agenda, but also at their notions of self, family, liberty, and nation. But, most importantly, by acoustically invading both public and private spaces through marches, rallies, radios, televisions, and even noisy neighbors, *nueva canción* music did so with what appeared to conservatives to be a pervasive omnipresence that re-enforced their fear that Popular Unity aspired to attack and control every facet of their lives.

The tragic outcome of these events continues to shape Chile to this day. Pinochet's economic policies returned Chile's upper and upper-middle classes to dominance by restructuring the country's economy and ushering in an era of neo-liberal economics that the repressed left could do little to prevent. Since the end of the Dictatorship, some images and sounds from the late 1960s and early 1970s have resurfaced, yet they exist as anomalies in a world of politics and popular culture that generally lacks historical context. In recent years, those born after the military coup increasingly have defined Chile's social and political landscape, and the outlook of this new generation has not been anchored in the combative struggles of years past. Nonetheless, the music of the pre-Dictatorship era retains a unique capacity to generate emotion as well as to shape the structure of authority and resistance in Chile's class-based society. Even as students have taken to the streets in recent months to protest inequality in Chile's education system, Chile's youth has infused vestiges of the music of the Allende era with new meanings that combine emotional fragments of a distant past with the country's younger generation's own demands and energy as they seek a their path to addressing the divisions and inequities that exist in their contemporary world.

APPENDIX

Table A: Percentage of male votes cast in the 1970 presidential election for Alessandri (Right), Allende (Popular Unity), and Tomic (Christian Democrat) in Santiago Municipalities.

Percentage of the labor force in manufacturing, mining, and construction	% Votes for Alessandri	% Votes for Allende	% Votes for Tomic
Less than 20%	39%	31%	30%
20-29%	41%	35%	25%
30-39%	32%	42%	26%
40-49%	26%	49%	24%
50% or more	24%	55%	21%

Source: Percentages were calculated based on statistics recorded in James Peiras' article "The Working Class and Chilean Socialism" in *The Chilean Road to Socialism*, ed. Dale L. Johnson.

Table B: Percentage of male votes cast in the 1970 presidential election for Alessandri (Right), Allende (Popular Unity), and Tomic (Christian Democrat) in nine of Chile's most important cities.

Percentage of the labor force in manufacturing, mining, and construction	Cities Included	% Votes for Alessandri	% Votes for Allende	% Votes for Tomic
Under 30%	Temuco, Chillan, Valparaiso	32%	41%	27%
30-35%	Vina del Mar, Talca, Antofagasta	30%	45%	25%
36-40%	Valdivia, Concepcion, Talcahuano	24%	51%	25%

Source: Percentages were calculated based on statistics recorded in James Petras' article "The Working Class and Chilean Socialism" in *The Chilean Road to Socialism*, ed. Dale L. Johnson.

Table C: Percentage of male votes cast in 1970 presidential election for Alessandri (Right), Allende (Popular Unity), and Tomic (Christian Democrat) in mining zones.

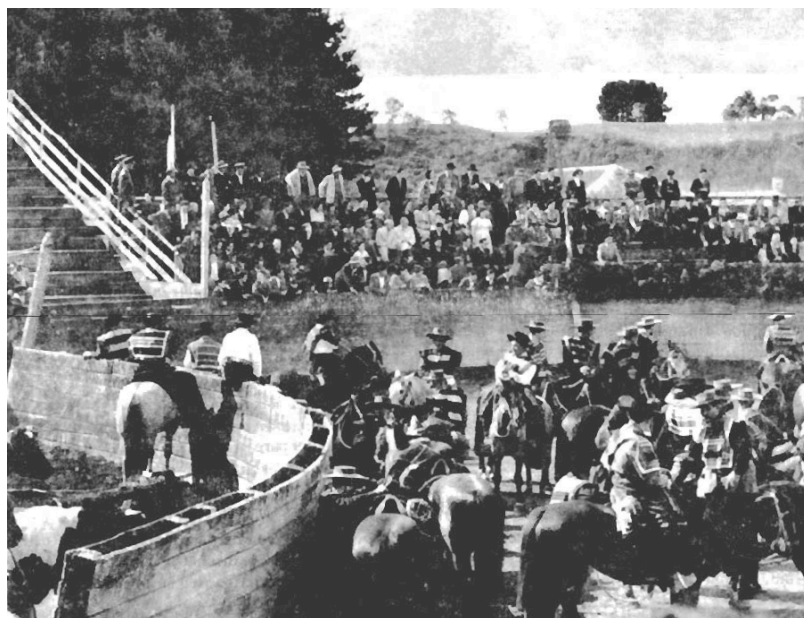
Type of mineral mined in zone	% Votes for Alessandri	% Votes for Allende	% Votes for Tomic
Copper	22%	59%	19%
Nitrate	19%	62%	19%
Coal	10%	77%	14%

Source: Percentages were calculated based on statistics recorded in James Petras' article "The Working Class and Chilean Socialism" in The Chilean Road to Socialism, ed. Dale L. Johnson.

Table D: Percentage of female votes cast in 1970 presidential election for Alessandri, Allende, and Tomic in heavily working class Santiago municipalities.

Percentage of labor force in manufacturing, mining, and construction	% Votes for Alessandri	% Votes for Allende	% Votes for Tomic
40% or more	33%	40%	27%
50% or more	34%	44%	22%

Source: Percentages were calculated based on statistics recorded in James Petras' article "The Working Class and Chilean Socialism" in *The Chilean Road to Socialism*, ed. Dale L. Johnson.



Chilean rodeo (source: *En Viaje*, no. 343, May 1962)



Los Huasos Quincheros (source: *Ritmo*, Sept. 1972)



Los Huasos Quincheros (source: *Ritmo*, Sept 1974)



Las Cuatro Brujas (source: *Ritmo*, Oct. 1970)



Los Cuatro Cuartos (source: *Ritmo*, Oct. 1970)



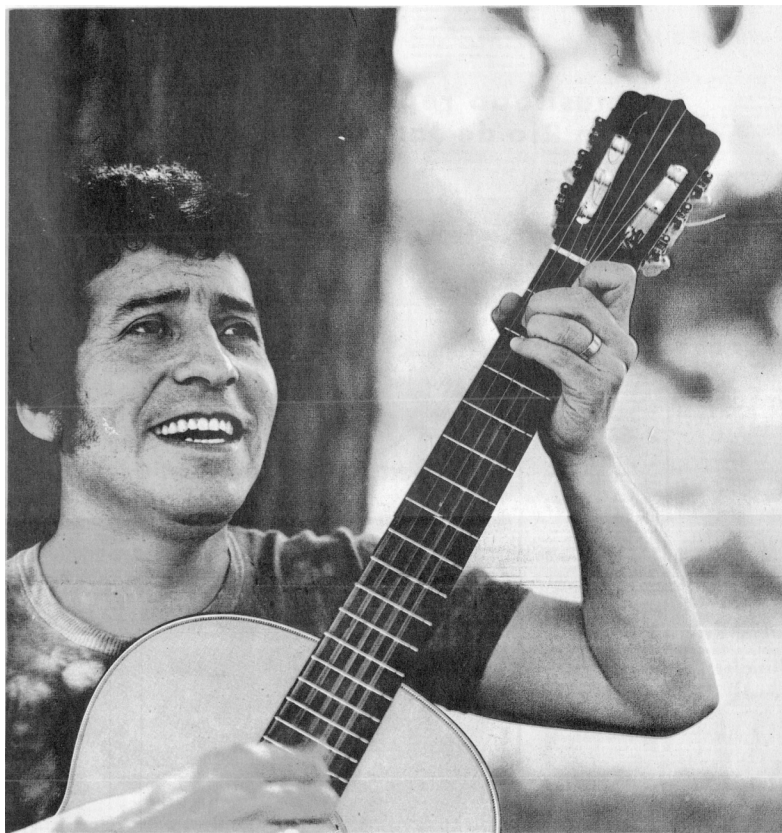
Scene from a *peña* (source: *Onda*, Sept. 1972)



Eduardo Frei Montalva on horseback, 1960
(source: Archivo Nacional de Chile)



Eduardo Frei Montalva on horseback with *campesinos*, 1966
(source: Archivo Nacional de Chile)



Víctor Jara (source *La Nación*, January 1971)



Quilapayún (source: *Ramona*, Feb. 1972)



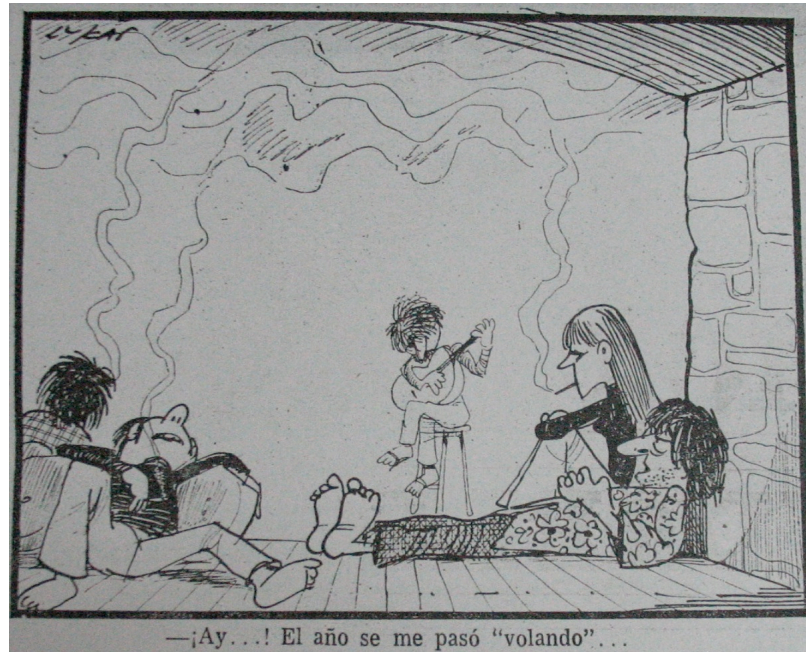
Piedra Roja, 1970 (source: *El Clarín*, 1970)



“Hippies” at Olmué (source: *El Mercurio*, Feb. 1972)



Los Jaivas and fans (source: *Onda*, Jan. 1973)



“Ay...This year flew by.”

[The Spanish verb “volar” is also used to refer to “getting high”]

Political cartoon, 1970 (source: *La Segunda*, Jan. 1970)



“This song is dedicated with all my heart to my father, who will be insulting me.”

Political cartoon, 1972 (source: *Ramona*, Sept. 1972)

LA LARGA MARCHA DE NUESTRO FOLKLORE. AHORA ESTAN EN CUBA, DONDE APARTE DE CANTAR HARAN TRABAJO VOLUNTARIO. TEATRO Y TELEVISION, SI. PERO TAMBIEN ACTUACIONES EN CENTROS LABORALES Y ESTUDIANTILES. ANTES DE PARTIR NOS CONTARON SU OPINION SOBRE "LA CRISIS" DE LA NUEVA CANCION CHILENA.

El conjunto Inti-Illimani inició su primera gran gira por América Latina. Sus viajes anteriores fueron breves y con pequeñas actuaciones, generalmente en pedas folklóricas. Esta vez visitarán Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Argentina, Uruguay y Cuba, donde se encuentran en estos momentos.

PARA OBREROS Y ESTUDIANTES

Actuarán en toda la isla invitadas por la Juventud Cubana y por la Casa

de las Américas. Tendrán encuentros con distintos músicos cubanos, lo que constituye un gran aporte para el conjunto. Además es muy probable que participen en algunos trabajos voluntarios, cada a rdo con los trabajadores cubanos.

Cumplidos los 25 días de su estadía en Cuba, el Inti comenzará el recorrido por los países antes mencionados, acercándose poco a poco a Chile, donde llegarán a fines de mayo. En la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos no se limitarán sólo a la capital, sino que también visitarán las provincias. Aunque esta gira tendrá actuaciones en grandes teatros y muchos programas de televisión, el Inti decidió que una buena parte de sus presentaciones estén dedicadas especialmente a los estudiantes

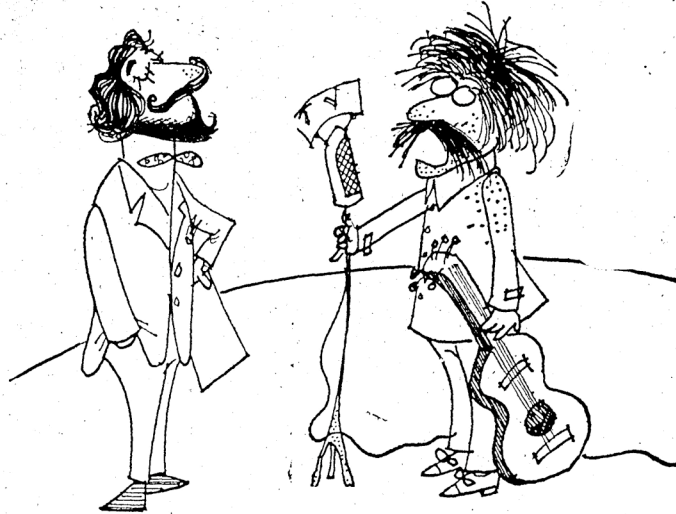
INTI-ILLIMANI

LA VUELTA A AMERICA EN SEIS



Inti-Illimani (source: *Ramona*, April 1972)

Canciones de Protesta



En el Mercurio, 72

—¿"La Reforma Agraria sin reservas mentales" la va a cantar con el instrumento?
 —No; otra cosa es con guitarra.

Protest Songs

-“Agrarian Reform without mental reservations” will be sung with the instrument?

-No, it is more complicated with the guitar.

Political cartoon, 1972 (source: *El Mercurio*, Feb 1972)

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