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Maglyn Brenna Wood Bertrand March 4, 2014

The Development and Revitalization of the Chilean and Argentine New Song Movement

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Abstract

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This thesis focuses on the development of Chilean *nueva canción* (new song) and Argentine *nuevo cancionero* (new songbook) over the course of the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s and highlights the role of various New Song musicians as key actors in the development of these genres. With their compositions, musical and political personas, personalities, and commitment to the promotion of national, cultural, and political artistic creations, they greatly affected New Song's identity and progression. Influenced by the societal changes of the three decades as well as various citizens of their native countries, Chilean and Argentine New Song musicians desired to reflect the identities of diverse peoples of their country. However, their impact extended beyond music and also affected, inspired, and intertwined with efforts to promote national collective identity, other forms of national culture, international social and political movements, and support various Argentine, Chilean, and international people during times of cultural awakenings, violence under military dictatorships, and transitions from authoritarian to democratic rule.

By tracing the development of this music in these two countries during a period of three decades as well as discussing important New Song musicians, this thesis frames *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* as part of an inclusive movement and argues that each genre entailed more than one type of song and included more than one type of musician. By focusing attention on various individuals, New Song's broad spectrum of aesthetic, political and apolitical views, and national and international connections between New Song musicians and other movements, this study promotes the understanding and celebration of New Song holistically rather than solely for either musical or political meanings alone.

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Table of Contents

Preface

Introduction ……1

Chapter 1: The Beginnings of New Song in Chile and Argentina ……....9

Chapter 2: The Politicization of *Nueva Canción* in the 1970s ……..24

Chapter 3: The Politicization of *Nuevo Cancionero* in the 1970s …… 40

Chapter 4: The New Song Movement in Chile and Argentina in the 1980s …… 53

Chapter 5: La Peña Cultural Center: A Reflection and Projection of New Song ……. 65

Conclusion ……76

Bibliography……...77

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Musical and lyrical elements of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* ……...11

Figure 5.1. Individuals and symbols of La Peña Cultural Center 2013 mural ……67

Figure 5.2. Grupo Raíz 1985 …….. 74

Preface

Out of the folk boom that swept through Chile and Argentina in the 1960s emerged two Latin American genres of popular song, known as *nueva canción* (new song) in Chile and *nuevo cancionero* (new songbook) in Argentina. Structurally similar to folk music, *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* consisted of simple melodies and rhythms, featured indigenous instruments and guitar accompaniment, and were usually cast in strophic form. The pairing of poetic lyrics that focused on themes of love, existential ideas, nostalgia, social justice and unity with music inspired by the folk tradition produced songs of great conviction that permitted varying interpretations and meanings. Over the course of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* emerged as a national cultural creation and later expanded into larger, overarching genres that are now collectively referred to as New Song. During its development New Song served as a cultural manifestation, as an accompaniment to political voices, and resonated with national and international musicians, activists and everyday people. Chilean and Argentine musicians and lyricists first used the original terms *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* beginning in the 1960s. During its formation in the following two decades, New Song developed into an international movement, one that included other countries with their own New Song genres. Today authors who write in English utilize the term New Song to refer to various manifestations of the genres in its respective country, but also to make reference to the larger Latin American New Song Movement.

This thesis discusses Chilean musicians Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, and Inti-Illimani, Argentine musician Mercedes Sosa, and various individuals who are part of the history and current development of La Peña Cultural Center in Berkeley, California. By focusing on Parra, Jara, Inti-Illimani and Sosa I aim to demonstrate how certain musicians affected the development

of New Song in each country, helping the genres obtain a broad and inclusive definition. By discussing individuals associated with La Peña Cultural Center I desire to demonstrate how the definition of New Song is represented in one center. The center serves as an example of New Song's legacy today. With its people, programs, and location in California, it projects the inclusiveness of New Song and highlights the development of the New Song movement during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

Introduction

> Ahí donde llega todo, y donde todo comienza, canto que ha sido valiente siempre será canción nueva.
>
> In the earth in which we begin, in the earth in which we end, brave songs will give birth to a new song which will always be new.
>
> -- Víctor Jara (*nueva canción* musician and poet),"Manifesto," 1972

The above quotation by Víctor Jara (1932-1973) poetically frames New Song as music in continuum, music of infinite possibilities, and "a chain without beginning or end."[1] Over the course of three decades *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* blossomed into musical genres that acted as a channel through which musicians and lyricists connected national efforts for the promotion of folk culture, memory, and solidarity with music, and combined individual and collective political beliefs with poetic text. The events, specific historical, political, and cultural contexts as well as the contributions of New Song musicians allowed for the genres' continuous revitalization and development, thus enabling Jara to pen the words, "brave songs will give birth to a new song which will always be new."[2]

New Song originated as music for the people of several Latin American countries. Musicians and lyricists of Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina deliberately created a new genre in the 1950s and 1960s. During the time when narrative folk songs with historical themes characterized Latin America's folk genre and North American rock, other North American popular music genres, and even North American folk music permeated the Southern Cone, the lyrics of New Song represented the unified voice of several Latin American

[1] Quotation featured in Víctor Jara's 1970 composition "Canto Libre" (Free Song).
[2] Quotation featured in Víctor Jara's 1972 composition "Manifesto."

peoples, a voice that profoundly stated, "these are our native traditions, this is our music." In an interview with a former member of Grupo Raíz, a *nueva canción* ensemble formed in Berkeley, California during the 1980s, Fernando Torres commented, "What is important is that this movement, this *nueva canción* movement, opened the doors for many of us youngsters, and I came to see that we had our own traditions, our own skin color, our own function: this we have to appreciate."[3] In the 1960s in Chile and Argentina, the lyrics, the "new" in New Song, resonated with many people of each nation searching for a combined musical and literary genre that would express their native identity. During the 1970s, New Song served as a political artistic expression. Chilean musicians such as Víctor Jara and the ensemble Inti-Illimani, and Argentine songstress Mercedes Sosa, affected New Song's development and politicization during the military dictatorships of the 1970s. Musicians serving as political activists, the creation of campaign songs as a new strain of *nueva canción*, and the categorization of New Song as protest by military officials, aided in revitalizing New Song as a form of political dissent during the 1970s. New Song as a new voice for international solidarity characterized the 1980s. The military dictatorships and the politicization of the movement in the 1970s captured the attention of musicians and activists abroad and heightened New Song's international impact. In addition, those citizens exiled during the 1970s created New Song compositions in destinations outside Chile and Argentina.

[3] Fernando "Fena" Torres, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20, 2013.

Tracing the Development of Nueva Canción and Nuevo Cancionero

Both Chilean and Argentine citizens claim New Song as a national creation. Much debate exists even today over where the Chilean and Argentine New Song movement originated in the 1960s. Inspired by the creation of *nueva trova*, a Cuban genre that emerged in the 1950s, the Latin American folk revival of the 1960s, and folk musicians of each other's countries, certain Chilean and Argentine musicians and lyricists created *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero*.[4] Although announced to the public differently, during the 1960s Chilean and Argentine New Song were similar in ideology and musical and lyrical style. By focusing on both Chile and Argentina I intend to:

- map a development of how each genre was influenced by individuals and the overall historical, political and cultural contexts.
- demonstrate how these two New Song genres were, at times, indistinguishable from one another in terms of ideology and musical and lyrical style. Not all kinds of New Song in other Latin American countries were similar in musical and lyrical style. For example, the sounds of New Song in Cuba and Brazil were very distinctive.
- show that even though *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* were similar they also followed the political and cultural ebb and flow of their native countries. For example, from 1970-1973 musicians represented and advocated for new national governments. This difference in government is what led to the creation of certain strains of *nueva canción* that were limited to Chile.
- to emphasize the lyrical and musical style and ideology that allowed for the music to cross geographical boundaries, inspiring people in each country and ultimately affecting the development of the entire New Song movement that included other Latin American countries.
- demonstrate that together all of these various national developments and the international connections among them established New Song's national and international impact. These national and international impacts of New Song

[4] *Nueva trova* developed in Cuba in the 1950s. The genre takes influence from Cuban rural and urban dance music as well as popular music and often features lyrics with political or social commentary.

> greatly affected its definition and the kinds of movements to which it later became connected. In addition, these national and international connections aided in the categorization of New Song in each country as part of an inclusive movement, rather than just an identification of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* as an inclusive genre solely within each country.

This thesis utilizes specific perspectives and methodologies such as fieldwork, focused attention on the role of the musician in society, and a framework centered on the complexities of music and politics. During July of 2013 I traveled to Berkeley, California to interview certain individuals associated with La Peña Cultural Center, created in 1974 by North and Latin Americans. During this trip I interviewed Paul Chin (recently retired director of La Peña Cultural Center), Helene Schulman Lorenz (a psychologist who attempted to recruit Pete Seeger to establish La Peña-like centers around the United States in the 1980s), several longtime members of the La Peña Community Chorus (Karen Chester, Nancy Gendel, Carol Pierson, and Jan Thyer, currently assistant director of the choir), and two Chilean expatriate members of Grupo Raíz, a *nueva canción* ensemble that formed in Berkeley, California (Fernando Torres and Hector Salgado). These interviews provided a firsthand account of life during the military dictatorships, what attracted certain individuals to *nueva canción*, and evidence of the continued commitment of a diverse group of individuals to *nueva canción* and more broadly to social justice and the arts. The information obtained from these interviews resulted in furthering my understanding of *nueva canción* but also broadened my understanding of the definition of New Song in both Chile and Argentina.

This thesis mentions specific New Song musicians such as Parra, Jara, Inti-Illimani and Sosa, and utilizes parts of their biographies, examples of their music, acknowledges their performance impact, and their political stances to understand more about the development of New Song. The individuals chosen were certainly not the only musicians involved in creating

New Song compositions, but their stories and their actions allow for an in-depth look at how music can simultaneously reflect individual and collective beliefs, and as a result, eliminate the separation between musician and audience. The connections established between New Song artists and their audiences allowed for a powerful intersection, one that helped the music, the musicians and the audience together represent collective identities and advocate for collective interests. Each performer mentioned contributed to the New Song movement. With their solo voices or ensemble sound, compositions, lyrics, and powerful interpretations they helped give meaning to the music and lyrics. As musicians and performers they did not simply transport the audience out of the real world with their music; instead they brought their audiences into the music, allowing it to serve as an artistic representation of identity, a poetic means of expression, and as a political voice. These musicians did not become stars overnight. Rather their own life stories are ones of humble beginnings, poverty, and struggle. Like the New Song movement itself, their lives were shaped by the historical, political and cultural contexts in which they lived. While their celebrity accorded them a certain status, it was also their celebrity that at times defined and confined them as cultural, political and social figures, symbols and icons.

The politicization of the 1970s affected New Song's development and the categorization of both the genres and the musicians involved as political musicians, protest singers, revolutionaries, and activists. Musicians blended music and political activism and provided New Song with a leftist political purpose. John Street claims that when "music inspires collective thought and action . . . and forms a site of public deliberation, rather than private reflection . . . it becomes part of politics."[5] In addition, he claims that while all songs are ideological, it is when

[5] John Street, *Music & Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 8.

the singer draws attention to a song's ideological content and draws the listener to the message that both the singer and the music represent some kind of politics.

Lyrics do not solely define political music. While the lyrics often serve as a clear identifying example of whether or not a composition is political, there are other important identifying elements: the voice, the rhythms and melody, the performer's own political views and performance style. The various musicians discussed in each of the chapters showcase New Song's identity as political and demonstrate that their various contributions and identities as musician, political activist and musician, performer or interpreter have contributed in different ways to defining what is political about New Song.

The Role of the United States

The history of New Song cannot be explained without acknowledging the effect of the music, musicians and governmental leaders from the United States. Throughout the decades of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Latin American musicians were inspired to create new compositions for their own people in response to the pervasiveness of music from North America. During the 1970s, United States security and military agencies trained Latin American officers and lower-ranking military personnel in counterinsurgency techniques and provided support to Latin American dictators whom they perceived as possible leaders in preventing the spread of communist influence.

By the 1980s, New Song in both Chile and Argentina flourished as a national and international genre. Exiled New Song musicians such as those involved with La Peña Cultural Center performed and promoted the music and its messages even during exile. In addition, throughout the decades, certain U.S. musicians and activists such as Joan Baez and Bruce

Springsteen have highlighted New Song and New Song musicians' struggles by honoring them with their own covers of famous New Song compositions, and at times performing with them in concerts.

The Past as the Foundation for the Construction of the New

Even though this thesis focuses on New Song's development, seeking to question what and who helped revitalize *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero*, New Song could not have been New Song without acknowledging, representing, and honoring the past. Performances featuring simple melodies and typical folk instruments established New Song's connection to the past. Jane Tumas-Serna states that the new in New Song did not have to represent the new. She claims that "new here is not pristine and untouched, but renditions of old songs and rhythms."[6] Eduardo Carrasco Pirard similarly states that the term new references the past, the pure musical traditions of an earlier time. He also states, "in the nueva canción movement the new is, then, built on the foundation of the old, bringing its original values back to life."[7] Thus, in the New Song movement, the past serves as a foundation for the construction of the new. In this way New Song is neither completely folk nor popular music. Rather, it provides the new by utilizing various channels of dissemination, especially traditions and styles from folk and popular music forms.

Chapter Structure

In Chapter 1 ("The Beginnings of New Song in Chile and Argentina") I discuss the decade of the 1960s and focus on the importance of the folk revival in encouraging the writers of

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[6] Jane Tumas-Serna, "The Nueva Canción Movement and Its Mass-Mediated Performance Context," *Latin American Music Review* 13 (1992): 144.

[7] Eduardo Carrasco Pirard, "The *nueva canción* in Latin America," *International Social Science Journal* 3/4 (1982): 602.

El Manifesto del Nuevo Cancionero (The Manifesto of the New Songbook) in Argentina and Chilean composer and lyricist Violeta Parra, to emphasize New Song as a national cultural manifestation. Chapter 2 ("The Politicization of *Nueva Canción* in the 1970s") highlights Víctor Jara of Chile and the *nueva canción* group Inti-Illimani as important figures who produced musical compositions that served as the accompaniment to the voices of political dissent during the military dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet. Chapter 3 ("The Politicization of *Nuevo Cancionero* in the 1970s") further emphasizes how New Song became political during times of authoritarian rule and explores the art and career of Mercedes Sosa from Argentina to elaborate on the power of performance and its effect on New Song's cultural and political identities. Chapter 4 ("The New Song Movement in Chile and Argentina in the 1980s") highlights the internationalization of the movement with New Song musicians establishing connections with international musicians and activists. Finally, Chapter 5 ("La Peña Cultural Center: A Reflection and Projection of New Song") demonstrates how one center created in 1974 in Berkeley, California, represents the multifaceted components of New Song.

Chapter 1

The Beginnings of New Song in Chile and Argentina

This chapter will investigate the beginnings of the New Song movement in both Chile and Argentina and discuss how the folk revival inspired individuals such as the Argentine writers of *El Manifesto del nuevo cancionero* (The Manifesto of the New Songbook) and Chilean composer and lyricist Violeta Parra to create two new genres. The contributions of musicians and lyricists such as these helped define New Song as a cultural manifestation in the 1960s.

The Folk Revival of the 1960s

The 1960s folk revival brought a renewed focus on the indigenous and rural populations of Chile and Argentina. Artists, writers, musicians and lyricists supported the promotion of the inclusion of the countries' diverse peoples through artistic representation. Their artistic efforts complemented aspects of proposed land, education, and economic reforms publicized by the leaders of both countries. A perceived shift from exclusion to inclusion emphasized national unity and patriotism, directly inspiring strong anti-imperialist attitudes decrying the North American commercialization of music. This was also a time of extensive migration from rural areas to the cities, creating a new and potent mixture of rural and urban peoples, thus providing fertile ground for the development of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero*.

Festivals, small music ensembles, solo singers, and national magazines defined the music scene during the folk revival. In 1961 the *Festival de Cosquín*, a now famous folk festival, took place for the first time in the northern Córdoba region of Argentina. The gathering of aspiring and accomplished folk musicians at this event generated great interest in folk music, and their

performances fostered the dissemination of folk music in an expansive outdoor setting. Prior to this festival, musicians primarily performed folk music in small intimate venues; however, the popularity of the folk revival supported the dissemination of folk music in large festivals. In an effort to further showcase Argentine folk musicians, the first issue of *Folklore* magazine was released during this year. Solo musicians such as Argentine Atahualpa Yupanqui (1908-1992) and Chilean Margot Loyola (b. 1918) created numerous compositions mixing vernacular and poetic language with traditional folk sounds. Chilean and Argentine ensembles such as Los Anderiegos, Los Chalchaleros, Los Fronterizos, and Cuncumén provided a blended, multi-layered sound. Even though folk groups existed well before the 1960s, the blending of composers and performers in one ensemble complemented the ideologies of the decade.

A renewed interest in authenticity affected the perception and reception of national music genres. In Argentina, certain musicians and lyricists criticized tango, arguing that it did not represent the country in its regional totality and better suited the spirit of the European-influenced, tourist-mecca capital city Buenos Aires. In Chile certain factions criticized folk music despite its categorization as an authentic expression of the people. By its very definition folk music intends to document the past through historical narrative and serves as music for and of the people.[8] However, certain musicians and lyricists felt that its connection to the past framed the genre as a "folklorist postcard,"[9] a snapshot of the lives and thoughts of older generations trapped forever in the past. Others believed that despite efforts to connect with the rural and indigenous populations, folk music represented a hegemonic national viewpoint of one of the folk revival's biggest advocates, the growing middle class. These dissatisfactions resulted in the

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[8] John Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 5-8.

[9] "Manifesto del Nuevo Cancionero," accessed March 25, 2013, http://www.tejadagomez.com.ar/adhesiones/manifesto.html. Translation by author.

creation of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero,* two genres constructed on the foundations of old folk music styles with emphasis on simple accompaniment and strophic song structure with poetic lyrics that addressed contemporary issues and lifestyles. The chart below defines and annotates the various musical and lyrical elements of the two genres at their inception.[10]

Figure 1.1. Musical and lyrical elements of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero*

• Use of guitar accompaniment: The guitar is the primary accompanimental instrument for *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero*. An omnipresent instrument featured in a variety of types of music from Chile and Argentina, the guitar was easily adaptable to the developing genre.
• Simple structure of melodies, rhythms, and harmony: Structuring the songs with primarily diatonic (often stepwise) melodies, a rhythmic and metric structure that uses compound meters sparingly, and diatonic chord progressions with few altered or borrowed chords helps to ensure that people of diverse backgrounds and ages retain the songs. The musical structure of the songs supports a didactic purpose linked to the lyrics. The songs are educational, teaching listeners about specific events, the purpose of the movement, and folk music roots.
• Often strophic: Formatting a song in strophes or verses was another effort to honor the folk styles of the past and make New Song accessible.
• Themes: The themes of New Song are broad and inclusive, such as love and other sentiments, reflection, nostalgia, unity, and justice.

In Argentina, the gathering and subsequent collaboration of several musicians and lyricists including Sosa resulted in the creation of *El Manifesto del nuevo cancionero* in 1963.[11]

[10] This chart provides examples of basic musical and lyrical elements of New Song. However, with the help of certain individuals the music and the lyrics developed during this decade. In an effort to demonstrate that the definition of New Song developed in the 1960s, the chart does not include commentary on indigenous instruments, which will be discussed in the latter part of the chapter.

[11] El Manifesto can be found online: http://www.tejadagomez.com.ar/. This document is separated into five sections: Introduction, A Conscious Effort: the Rise of Native Music, Roots of *Nuevo Cancionero,* What is *Nuevo Cancionero?,* and What Does *Nuevo Cancionero* Propose?

El Manifesto defined *nuevo cancionero* as a musical and literary genre with connections to popular and folk music: "We affirm that this resurgence of native popular music is not circumstantial but a conscious effort of the people."[12] Moreover, "There is a country for an entire songbook, what is lacking is the integration of a songbook for the entire country."[13] El Manifesto urged the public to honor the folk revival and encouraged new musicians and lyricists to draw inspiration from older folk artists.

El Manifesto does not provide a detailed list of *nuevo cancionero's* musical and lyrical attributes; instead it focuses on the impetus behind the movement and the ideologies and beliefs associated with the new genre. The lack of focus on musical characteristics provides a very important message about the origin of the genre. The writers state that even though they propose a new music they recognize that a single genre cannot resonate with an entire country's population. For this reason *nuevo cancionero* is rooted in ideology so that it can inspire the concurrent emergence of other musical and artistic manifestations. This acknowledgment of *nuevo cancionero's* basis in ideology defined the genre from the outset and colored the development of the genre in the 1970s.

In Chile there arose a similar desire to express an ideology for a new music. The 1969 *Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción* (1st Festival of *Nueva Canción*) in Santiago achieved this by publicly addressing the mission of *nueva canción* through opening statements, roundtable discussions, and performances. One defining characteristic became abundantly clear during the opening remarks of the festival by University Rector Fernando Castillo:

> Perhaps popular song is the art that best defines a community. But lately in our country we are experiencing a reality that is not ours. . . . Our purpose here today is to search for an expression that describes our reality. . . . How many foreign singers come here and get

[12] "Manifesto del Nuevo Cancionero"
[13] Ibid.

> us all stirred up, only to leave us emptier than ever when they leave? And isn't it true that our radio and television programs seldom encourage the creativity of our artists . . . ? 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.[14]

Nueva canción functioned as an alternative for musicians and lyricists who criticized the pervasiveness of music from North America. Víctor Jara, a Chilean *nueva canción* performer and composer featured in the *Primer Festival,* once stated, "Our duty is to give our people weapons to fight against this [the North American commercial monopoly in music]; to give our people its own identity with a folklore which is, after all, the most authentic language a country has."[15] The songs of *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* called for the people to become "soldiers of war on a musical battlefield"[16] against the music from the North. The festival deliberately highlighted *nueva canción* as a national cultural manifestation and the opening commentary by the University Rector helped define *nueva canción* as a genre with an articulated national agenda.

The *Primer Festival* featured traditional solo musicians and folk groups. In an effort to avoid left-wing bias and other political categorizations of the new music, musicians with politically themed compositions were not invited to perform.[17] This action helped affirm the festival and, to a greater extent, New Song, as a cultural phenomenon. Even though the creation of the *Primer Festival* introduced *nueva canción* to a large audience, unlike in Argentina the musicians and lyricists never formally announced in prose the creation of a new genre. Instead, *nueva canción* developed throughout the decade without any formal written framework. However, the musicologist, composer and lyricist Violeta Parra effectively helped define *nueva*

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[14] Nancy Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* 21 (1986): 120.
[15] Tumas-Serna, "The Nueva Canción," 145.
[16] Thomas Arnold, "Soldiers of War on a Musical Battlefield," *Los Angeles Times,* May 2, 1987, D1.
[17] Joan Jara, *Víctor: An Unfinished Song* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 128.

canción through her widespread activities and influence. With her commitment to cultural centers, songs focused on a variety of broad themes, and her use of indigenous instruments she inspired *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* musicians and lyricists to continue celebrating New Song as a robust cultural manifestation.

Violeta Parra (1917-1967): The Mother of Nueva Canción

Violeta Parra's life story is one of engagement with art and music in service of the people of the Chilean *pueblos*. Her songs, performances, oil paintings, tapestries, wire sculptures, and civic-minded endeavors reflected a deep-rooted love and respect for rural traditions. Recognized for her accomplishments, in 1954 she won the national *Caupolicán* prize for best folk musician of the year and in 1964 she was the first Latin American artist invited to mount an individual exhibition at the Louvre. As a cultural advocate she broadcasted recordings of traditional festivals, ceremonies, and music of Chile on her own radio show *Así canta Violeta Parra* (Here Sings Violeta Parra), composed songs inspired by the music of various native rural populations, and supported several cultural centers.[18]

Parra was instrumental in the creation of two important cultural centers: La Peña de los Parra (The Peña of the Parras) and La Reina de la Carpa (The Tent of the Queen). It was in these cultural centers that Parra's music and lyrics flourished. Her songs coupled poetic lyrics with indigenous instrumental accompaniment, peasant-inspired vocal sound, and *campesina*-influenced image, and they defined Parra's unique aesthetic. Because Parra honored the folk tradition in her music, utilized indigenous instruments, and wrote poetic lyrics, she simultaneously honored both the past and the present, thus inspiring musicians to compose using

[18] Parra not only learned about native and rural music from Chile, she also collected 300 songs and learned folktales, riddles, proverbs and natural medicinal techniques.

some of her musical and lyrical techniques. Her contributions have earned her the title, mother of *nueva canción*.

Parra's Compositions

While Parra lived among the rural peoples in small villages collecting folk songs she encountered *el canto a la pueta* [*sic*], a style of sung popular poetry originally brought to Latin America by *los conquistadores*.[19] Inspired by the poetry of this genre, Parra's lyrical style focused on using poetic language to comment on love, reflection, and the life of the citizens of Chile. Often Parra paired thematically profound lyrics with simple rhythms and melodies. In "Volver a 17" (Return to 17) Parra features strophic verses with a refrain following each verse. Parra's use of repeated melodies highlights her lyrics, a poem of love and reflection tying together feelings of contemporary love with those from a more innocent time.

Volver a diecisiete después de vivir un siglo es como descifrar signos sin ser sabio competente tan frágil como un segundo	To return to seventeen after a century of living is like deciphering signs without wisdom or competence as fragile as a second
. . .	. . .
El amor es un torbellino de pureza original, hasta el feroz animal susurra su dolce trino detiene a los peregrinos el amor con sus esmeros al viejo lo vuelve niño y al malo solo el cariño lo vuelve puro y sincero.[20]	Love is a whirlwind of emotions of original purity until the ferocious animal whispers its sweet trill detains the pilgrims love carefully allows the old to become like a child and affection changes all that is tainted into the pure and sincere.

[19] Erika Verba, "Violeta Parra, Radio Chilena, and the Battle in Defense of the Authentic during the 1950s in Chile," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 26 (2007): 153.
[20] Javier Martínez Reverte, *Violeta del Pueblo* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2004), 49-51. Translation of verse 1 & 7 by author.

Even though both the lyrics and the music were important to Parra, lyrics devoid of political and social commentary such as those in "Volver a 17" were her greatest contributions to the early days of *nueva canción*. Her lyrics were more than the words of the song; they were poetic outpourings of the heart. Parra transformed the words from a mere accompaniment to music into true poetic expression. Her lyrics serve as a model to others of how lyrics can be elevated to the level of poetry. Parra endowed her lyrics about common emotions with a level of sophistication that greatly resonated with her listeners.

Many of Parra's songs are filled with references to the church and the Bible. At times her lyrics honor biblical figures, but at other times she criticizes the church as an institution for its inaction in situations of social injustice. In "Yo canto a la diferencia" (I sing to the difference [that exists between true and false]) Parra chastises church officials who do no more than provide blessings during times of need.

Ahí pasa el señor Vicario con su palabra bendita, ¿podría Su santidad oírme una palabrita? Los niños andan con hambre, les dan una medallita o bien una banderita![21]	Here passes the Vicar with his blessed word, Is his Holiness able to hear my word? The children walk with hunger, give them a medal or better yet a flag!

In "La carta" (The letter) Parra demonstrates her commitment to addressing the harsh realities of the poor and mistreated in Chile by alluding to a strike that took place during the presidency of Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964). This strike resulted in many deaths, including the murder of one of her brothers by military officials.

[21] Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso, *La nueva canción chilena: continuidad y reflejo* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1988), 135. Translation of verse 7 by author.

Me mandaron una carta por el correo temprano En esa carta me dicen que cayó preso mi hermano, y sin lástima, con grillos, por la calle lo arrastraron, sí	They sent me a letter in the morning mail In the letter they tell me that my brother is in prison, and without pity, in shackles, they arrested him on the street, yes
. . .	. . .
Yo que me encuentro tan lejos esperando una noticia, me viene a decir la carta que en mi patria no hay justicia: los hambrientos piden pan, plomo les da la milicia, sí[22]	I find myself so far away waiting for news, the letter comes to tell me that in my country there is no justice: the hungry beg for bread, but the militia gives them lead, yes

By commenting on the plight of the poor and the brutal action of the military Parra's song aims to generate a collective fight for social justice. Parra also frequently performed this piece during the campaign of the socialist leader, Salvador Allende, when he ran for president in 1964. During these campaign events, the song instilled hope for a better time, a time when certain citizens of Chile believed a president such as Allende symbolized a positive alternative to leaders who preceded him. Songs such as "La carta" became popular during the 1960s. Even though musicians performed songs with similar themes at political events, it was in cultural centers such as *peñas* that this type of music thrived, helping transform cultural centers into locations for those interested in politics.

Cultural Centers

Along with two of her children, Ángel and Isabel, Parra performed her music in both La Peña de los Parra and La Reina de la Carpa. It was Ángel's visits to taverns in Spain, known as *peñas,* that inspired the creation of La Peña de los Parra in 1965. Spanish *peñas* were the

[22] Morris, "Canto Porque," 119. Translation of verses 1 & 3 by Nancy Morris.

meeting, eating and drinking place for *toreros* after a bullfight; however Ángel and Isabel opened La Peña de los Parra for the performance and promotion of *nueva canción* and other music from Latin America. *Peñas* in Chile became the gathering places for those who enjoyed a lively atmosphere, music, discussion, food and drink. Some *peñas* were created specifically for the performance and promotion of *nueva canción* and other times restaurants and cafés would transform into *peñas* for specific musical and artistic performances. It was the music that defined the atmosphere of the *peñas*, serving as "a musical newspaper," often commenting on the current events of the time. *Peñas* popularized New Song from many Latin American countries and served as the location where musicians formed friendships and networks over shared interests in music, art and politics.[23]

Located inside a once dilapidated house, the Parras reconstructed the building to create La Peña de los Parra and to subsequently accommodate the gathering of many musicians and artists. Their efforts to create a unique space for *nueva canción* complemented the developing ideas of musicians and lyricists that centered on the importance of constructing a strong foundation for the developing genre. The first performance took place in 1965, and it was broadcasted live via a university radio station. On the night of its premiere, musicians such as Rolando Alacón, a member of the folk music ensemble Cuncumén, Víctor Jara, a young *nueva canción* musician, Patricio Manns, a poet, journalist, and composer, as well the Parra family, performed. The repertoire selections included traditional music from Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Mexico, showcasing and highlighting the celebration of a variety of Latin American music styles.

[23] Fernando "Fena" Torres, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20, 2013.

Parra's performances of her social and political compositions influenced political discussion. When the musicians at the *peñas* became more political, they gained a reputation as a "hotbed of revolutionary fervor"[24] filled with "Marxists, left-wing Christians, young men sporting beards as gestures of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, and exiles from Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina."[25] By the end of the decade, *peñas* were transformed from cultural centers into locations where the musician's political awakenings inspired politically intentioned compositions.

As a music mentor at La Peña, Parra inspired many young musicians to compose their own pieces that complemented their political ideologies. Her experience living in rural areas and collecting folk songs, and her knowledge of a variety of Latin American instruments greatly influenced other musicians' styles. Parra's travels to France no doubt also influenced her growing interest in indigenous instruments. During the late 1960s, Andean music fascinated many citizens of France, resulting in a foreign Andean music craze that greatly inspired Latin American musicians.[26] Parra encouraged musicians to compose with the *charango* (small guitar-like instrument originally made from an armadillo shell), *cuatro* (four-stringed guitar), *tiple* (guitar), *quena* (bamboo or wooden flute), *zampoña* (pan pipe), and *bombo* (drum).[27] At this time Parra also adopted Andean dress, frequently wearing long ponchos and sandals to define her image and highlight her commitment to the *pueblos*.

In the same year as the debut of La Peña de los Parra, Parra opened her own cultural center, La Reina de la Carpa, in an effort to preserve the stylistic purity of music from her native

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[24] Karen Kerschen, *Violeta Parra: By Whim of the Wind* (Albuquerque: ABQ Press, 2010), 196-197.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Erika Kim Verba, "To Paris and Back: Violeta Parra's Transnational Performance of Authenticity," *The Americas* 70 (2013): 292.
[27] Kerschen, *Violeta Parra*, 195.

Chile. A massive tent, more "of nature" and geographically closer to the ground than a building, symbolized Parra's interest in remaining close to the rural peoples of Chile. When interviewed about the impetus for the creation of a new cultural center, Parra stated, "With La Carpa I hope to accomplish much the same thing as La Peña in my own way. I'll show my paintings, tapestries, ceramics, sing my songs. Newcomers just starting out will have a stage."[28] With La Carpa Parra created a niche for her music and art and coached promising musicians. Parra always specified that the music of those performing at La Carpa should showcase a certain quality and authenticity so that the center would maintain its identity as a place for popular art, reviving and celebrating the life of the rural peoples. Located on the outskirts of Santiago in the park *La Quintrala*, La Carpa was removed from the center of urban life but accessible via train for those living in the city. Its intended accessibility to both the rural and urban populations complemented the folk revival's emphasis on the unity of diverse peoples.

Parra spent the remaining two years of her life in an adobe hut located next to La Carpa. Towards the end of her life she was intent on maintaining a simple rural lifestyle, honoring her own country upbringing in the small town of San Carlos located in the Ñuble province of Chile as well as the life of the people of the *pueblos*. Parra's identity as half indigenous was always important to her. She stated, " My grandmother was indigenous and my grandfather Spanish, so I believe I have a little Indian blood in me. . . . I would have liked it if my mother married an Indian . . . In any case, as you can see, I live like just like them."[29] Parra's part indigenous heritage and experiences with rural life certainly influenced her categorization as an authentic musician.

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[28] Morris, "Canto Porque," 119.
[29] Verba, "To Paris," 292.

Opening La Carpa was an ambitious project and not as successful as Parra had hoped. Many believed that as Parra's physical and mental health began to decline, La Carpa further contributed to her unhappiness. In 1967 Parra committed suicide. One of her last compositions, "Gracias a la vida" (Thanks be to life), written while living at La Carpa, is a composition of gratitude, thanking life for all that it provided. Various interpretations identify "Gracias a la vida" as an elegy or farewell, a suicide note, or a poetic reflection. Comprised of six stanzas, in the first five verses Parra comments on her personal feelings of love. It is in the last verse, however, that Parra transitions from "introspection to direct address."[30] Unlike the five verses that precede it, the lyrics no longer focus on what life has given Parra. Instead, the text shifts in focus, emphasizing Parra's connection with her listeners and the potency of the symbiotic relationship that exists between musician and audience.

Gracias a la vida que me dado tanto. Me dio dos luceros que cuando los abro, perfecto distingo lo negro del blanco, y en el alto cielo su fondo estrellado y en las multitudes el hombre que yo amo.	Thanks be to life for the much it has given. It gave me two lights with which to perceive clearly how starkly black differs from white, and the star-studded depth from the dark of the night, and the man that I love in the midst of the crowds.
. . .	. . .
Gracias a la vida que me dado tanto. Me ha dada la risa y me ha dado el llanto. Así yo distingo dicha de quebranto, los dos materiales que forman mi canto, y el canto de ustedes que es el mismo canto y el canto de todos, que es mi propio canto.	Thanks be to life for the much it has given. It has given me laughter and given me tears with which to distinguish good fortune from heartbreak, and those are the themes which give shape to my song: my song that's the same as the song that you sing – as the song of all people, my very own song.
Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto.[31]	Thanks be to life for the much it has given.

[30] Catherine Boyle, "Gracias a la vida: Violeta Parra and the Creation of Public Poetics of Introspective Reflection," *Hispanic Research Journal* 10 (2009): 74.

[31] Robert Pring-Mill, "Gracias a la vida: The Power and Poetry of Song" (part of the Kate Elder Lecture Series, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1990). Translation of verses one and six by Robert Pring-Mill. Full version of text omitted due to copyright. See original Spanish in Pring-Mill's book or online, http://letras.mus.br/mercedes-sosa/37544/.

Parra honored the older musical traditions with the use of the *charango* as accompaniment. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the Andean region, string instruments were not present in many Latin American countries. Fascinated by the appearance and sound of string instruments, the indigenous peoples created their own model, smaller in size and higher in pitch than the guitar, thereby creating a *mestizo* instrument.[32] In Parra's version of "Gracias a la vida" the *charango* establishes the tempo and sets a calming atmosphere with repetitive strumming. To this Parra adds her light and breathy vocals mixed with a lack of dynamic variety, making the piece almost prayer-like, even when she reaches the last verse where she mentions the influence of the audience on her music. This piece showcases the musical style that defined Parra's sound, even at the end of her life.

Parra inspired New Song musicians and lyricists over the course of many years. The words of Víctor Jara express this poetically:

> Violeta Parra spent twenty years investigating and living with the people to understand their everyday sufferings. The songs of Violeta Parra in Chile are songs for the country folk and miners, written as if they were composed by them. This is folklore. This is a song of the pueblo created by a woman who understood the harsh life of the rural areas. This is revolutionary song, and this is new, and this is art and culture. With the creation of these kinds of songs, the impact of Violeta Parra is like a star that will never cease to shine. Violeta unfortunately never lived long enough to witness the fruit of her labor but she created the path and we will continue on it.[33]

Through her compositions and involvement with cultural centers Parra helped broaden the definition of New Song. An advocate for the creation of music representing an authentic national music of Chile, Parra also introduced poetic lyrics with themes of social and political commentary. As a result she inspired a new generation of musicians to mix music and politics.

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[32] Thomas Turino, *Music in the Andes: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 38.

[33] Isabel Parra, *El Libro Mayor de Violeta Parra* (Madrid: Ediciones Michay S.A., 1985), 146. Translation by author.

During the 1960s cultural centers and *peñas* opened all over Latin America. It was in these locations that New Song developed and musicians created distinct musical and lyrical styles. The gathering of like-minded individuals, passionate about culture and current political and historical events affected New Song's development. Writers such as those of El Manifesto and musicians such as Violeta Parra provided a strong foundation for the genres. Utilizing the folk music style of the past, musicians both honored older traditions and created new ones, with lyrics broad in theme. At the beginning of the 1960s the differences between folk music and New Song were minimal; however, the inclusion of lyrics that focused on political and social commentary, and accompaniment utilizing Andean instruments provided opportunities for further development. Despite the growth in popularity of music with themes of political and social commentary, the individuals, songs and articulated rationale of the genres provide evidence that New Song's original identity emerged first and foremost as a cultural manifestation.

Chapter 2

The Politicization of *Nueva Canción* in the 1970s

This chapter highlights the development of *nueva canción* as a political accompaniment to the voices of revolutionary change and dissent in Chile. It focuses on the effect of the reception and perception of *nueva canción* musicians such as Inti-Illimani and composer Víctor Jara during the presidencies of two different political leaders, Salvador Allende and Augusto Pinochet. Their music, the venues in which they performed, and the connections they established with other Latin American and international musicians all contributed to the politicization of the New Song movement.

Allende's Political Platform in Song

The time period from 1970-1973 witnessed the development of a new strain of *nueva canción*, campaign songs for socialist leader Salvador Allende's political platform. The campaign songs highlight Allende's proposed cultural, land and economic reforms. Serving as the accompaniment to Allende's campaign, the music generated great political interest, aiding in the politicization of the music and the musicians. In 1970 composers Sergio Ortega and Luis Advis produced an album entitled *Canto al programa* (Song to the Program) with music featuring the compositions and voices of the *nueva canción* ensemble Inti-Illimani. The lyrics of the ten songs included on the album complement Allende's stance on social and private propriety, agrarian, educational, social, and cultural reform, as well as the importance of popular power. Interspersed between the songs are ten *relatos*, short narrations that preface each of the

pieces. The *relatos* serve as musical guides, addressing in spoken word the important messages of each song.

Founded in 1967 by a group of young students at *La Universidad Técnica del Estado*, Inti-Illimani defined their polyphonic sound with the use of a variety of indigenous Andean instruments, honoring the style of Chilean musicians of the past, such as Violeta Parra, as well the musical traditions of other Latin American countries.[34] By using indigenous instruments to accompany the lyrics featured on *Canto al Programa*, Inti-Illimani simultaneously highlighted their specialization in Andean instruments and helped give Allende's campaign a distinctive musical sound. The indigenous instruments also served another purpose. Allende's greatest supporters were those who were part of the lower class and working sectors and often identified as people of half indigenous or full indigenous descent. Members of the ensemble felt that, in order for the lyrics to be appreciated, the music had to appeal to the indigenous, rural and lower class peoples. Thus, the sound of indigenous instruments often served to attract such sectors to Allende's platform.

The musical structure of the campaign songs is different from that of the *nueva canción* songs created in the 1960s. Campaign songs feature more repeated melodic rhythmic motives, often march-like in character, with simply composed melodies. Above all, accessibility was the most important goal. With changes to the lyrics and music, a hierarchical system developed that placed text first and music and rhythm second. Text took on a didactic function, and it became more politically explicit, more directed and less focused on poetic lyricism. Musicians created songs with a specific audience in mind, an audience that advocated for change, with Allende as leader.

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[34] Juan Pablo González, "Inti-Illimani and the Artistic Treatment of Folklore," *Latin American Music Review* 10 (1989): 269.

"Canción del poder popular" (Song of popular power) features a politically explicit text with verses such as those below that promote the *Unidad Popular*, Allende's political party. The lyrics highlight the immense power created when Allende's charismatic personality unites with people advocating for change.

. . .	. . .
Porque esta vez no se trata de cambiar un presidente, será el pueblo quien construya un Chile bien diferente.	This time the President will not make a change, the pueblo will construct a different Chile.
. . .	. . .
Todos véganse a juntar, tenemos la puerta abierta, y la Unidad Popular es para todo el que quiera.[35]	Together we march on, the door is open and the Popular Unity is for anyone who wants it.

Songs such as "En rin de la nueva constitución" (In wake of the new constitution) feature lyrics that highlight the importance of the people's collective willingness to enact change. In this case, the song aims to provide interest in the voting process by painting it as a proactive measure of change. In an effort to accomplish this, the lyrics describe the people voting, framing it as a time of excitement and celebration: "All of us vote to elect our representatives . . . Even the eighteen year olds join the parade of people going to vote, arriving with their guitars, this will be the most beautiful thing to see."[36] This reference to guitars is an indication of the importance music and musicians played in Allende's campaign.

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[35] "Canción del poder popular," Musica, accessed March 5, 2014. http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=1580850. Verses 3&4 translated by author.

[36] "En Rin de la Nueva Constitución," Letras.mus.br., accessed March 5, 2014. http://letras.mus.br/inti-illimani/517302/. Translation by author.

"Canción de la reforma agraria" (Song of the agrarian reform) and "Vals de la educación para todos" (Waltz of education for all) address two of Allende's important reforms. "Canción de la reforma agraria" focuses on the positive outcomes possible with Allende's reforms: more land and work for the *campesinos* and the transformation of the industrial and commercial markets.[37] The lyrics state, "the time of latifundia is over / the campo is the site of agrarian reform."[38] Allende also proposed educational changes such as the *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (National Unified School), a type of integrated school system focusing on both academic and vocational education, thus emphasizing learning for the masses. The song, "Vals de la educación para todos," addresses the government's interest in education for the often ignored workers and *campesinos*. Lyrics such as "we have education for all of our children . . . / and with this process workers and campesinos will be educated to ensure better salaries"[39] highlight these various messages.

Securing just enough votes from the working and lower-class populations, Allende won a narrow plurality of votes against fellow candidates Jorge Alessandri and Radomiro Tomic and was subsequently confirmed as President in a Congressional vote in 1970. After Allende's election *nueva canción* musicians still supported him, but Allende only acknowledged the importance of their compositions without ever formally endorsing the composers themselves. When musicians composed songs for Allende, some of the music and lyrics of the *nueva canción* repertoire changed. Prior to the creation of *Canto al programa, nueva canción* musicians did not compose campaign songs as part of the genre. The creation of the album liberated musicians

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[37] Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View* (New York: International Publishers, 1977), 150-151.
[38] "Canción de la reforma agraria," Musica, accessed March 5, 2014, http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=1656768. Translation by author.
[39] "Vals de la educación para todos," Cancioneros, accessed March 5, 2014. http://www.cancioneros.com/nc/1528/0/vals-de-la-educacion-para-todos-julio-rojas-luis-advis. Translation by author.

from an established poetic style and provided a prototype of a new type of political song. In addition, the album provided the opportunity for a connection between local cultural proposals and federal action. Before the 1970 election *nueva canción* featured political and social commentary, but to a certain extent the songs were confined. No matter how eloquently the composers phrased the messages, the solution (peace, social justice, etc.) could not be found in the songs themselves. Without change deriving from collective human action, the messages were merely words, representations of utopian ideas, never to exceed the duration of the song. Now, with Allende as President there was the hope of something more, a change for the better.

With the creation of campaign songs *nueva canción* musicians also performed in larger public spaces. Because musicians composed *nueva canción* songs for Allende, they performed the music in the streets at rallies and different political events. Although intimate settings such as *peñas* were still very popular, some political occasions caused *nueva canción* to outgrow these venues. Even though *nueva canción* musicians performed the music in a variety of large locations, surprisingly the amplified sound required for the music to reach large groups of people did not encourage the switch to electric guitars and synthesizers. The musicians and lyricists felt that maintaining a connection to past traditions was still a priority.

An event that highlighted *nueva canción*'s presence in large locations was the 1970 *Festival de Nueva Canción*. The election of Allende inspired the festival coordinators to feature musicians writing political and social commentaries. In 1969, the first year of the festival, the coordinators desired to frame the event as apolitical. During the 1970 festival, however, "any performer known to support a candidate other than Allende was whistled offstage."[40] The festivals of Chilean New Song signified the appearance of crafted intentions imposed on the

[40] Jara, *Víctor*, 140.

genre by individuals other than the musicians and lyricists. During the 1969 festival, structured rules determined by the festival managers emphasized the event as apolitical and, later, in the 1970 festival, the managers desired to showcase political compositions. The differences in these two festivals and the constructed intentions provided the opportunity for focused observation, critique and new questions regarding the difference between the old and new music styles as well as the political and apolitical identities of the musicians. It was during the 1970 festival that Joan Jara, the wife of Víctor Jara, noticed that there was a significant difference between the traditional folk and *nueva canción* musicians. She commented:

> Although the festival was organised 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. It was the first musical confrontation.[41]

The rise in popularity of songs committed to political and social commentary also garnered the attention of those who criticized Allende's leftist policies. The campaign songs represented Allende and, as a result, many of Allende's opponents categorized *nueva canción* songs unrelated to Allende as his political music. One artist who tried to combat these kinds of categorizations was Víctor Jara. Committed to showcasing *nueva canción* as a cultural creation, Jara stated that even his pieces that were political in theme were reflections of the people and thus a representation of the people's culture.

Víctor Jara (1932-1973)

From the many activists on the political scene during the 1970s Víctor Jara emerged as the revolutionary leader who ultimately instigated change with his compositions, voice,

[41] Jara, *Víctor*, 126.

character, and blending of political activism with music. In particular Jara's compositions and his non-musical activism allowed him to carve out an identifiable style that projected a political persona, creating the archetype of what it meant to be revolutionary in Chile in the 1970s. This self-identification was supplemented by categorizations emanating from the military and non-Allende supporters of Jara as a protest musician. Jara's involvement in Allende's campaign, his communications with musicians from Cuba, and his compositions aid in explaining how these various stimuli intersected to create a powerful yet sensitive political figure.

In the 1970 *Festival de Nueva Canción* Jara performed "El alma de banderas" (Our hearts are full of banners), a composition dedicated to Miguel Angel Aguilera, an eighteen-year-old who was killed by police while participating in a demonstration with fellow communists and members of the leftist street art group known as *Brigada Ramona Parra*. The violence of the police created an unspoken political statement, drawing attention to those in uniform who used violence against those in protest.

There, under the earth,
you are not asleep, my brother, my comrade.
Your heart
hears the spring buds opening,
they will ride upon the winds like you.

Buried there with your face to the sun,
the fresh earth covers your seed,
the root
will burrow deeply
and the flower of the new day will be born.

To your wounded feet
the hands of the humble will come
to sow.
Your death will cause many lives
to march where you went going,
singing.

In the hiding place of rich murderers
your name will stand for many names.
The one who burnt your wings as you flew
cannot put out the fire of the poor.

Here, my brother, here upon the earth
our hearts are full of banners
and they advance
against fear
and they advance
against fear

We will triumph![42]

Jara's lyrics, such as "buried there with your face to the sun / the fresh earth covers your seed / the root / will burrow deeply / and the flower of the new day will be born" express a peaceful image of Aguilera, even in the state of death. Jara poetically highlights Aguilera as the victim and the police as the victimizers. Jara continues using poetic language throughout the poem. His words, "your death will cause many lives to march where you went going, singing" suggest Jara's desire for collective action in the name of social justice. His words do not avenge Aguilera's death but give poetic meaning to Aguilera's commitment to his political ideologies. This piece defines Jara's use of poetic lyricism to convey his messages. Jara's expressive poetic style complements his own humble and kind-spirited personality and gentle yet powerful singing voice.

Jara never wrote any campaign songs for Allende, but he frequently attended his political events, performed at demonstrations, campaigned for the *Unidad Popular* in working class neighborhoods and schools, and wrote speeches advocating for Allende. In interviews Jara was outspoken about his political beliefs and often mentioned his allegiance to left-wing politics. The

[42] Martín Espada, ed., *His Hands Were Gentle: Selected Lyrics of Víctor Jara,* trans. Adrian Mitchell (Middlesbrough: Smokestack Books, 2012), 56-57. The full version of the original Spanish text is omitted due to copyright protection, however the Spanish lyrics can be found in Espada's book and online, http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=1320887. Subsequent song lyrics that show only the English translation are also omitted due to copyright protection.

supporters of Allende greatly inspired Jara to compose and from 1970-1973 Jara released an album every year with compositions featuring political and social commentary. When Allende's popularity began to decline, Jara attended the last political march for Allende on September 3, 1973. Joan Jara mentions that the decade of the 1970s instilled great political feeling. After Allende won the presidential election, she stated that her life and that of her husband were defined by the politics of the time:

> From this moment on, our lives were to be coloured by the political context, completely bound up with day-to-day events. When things were going well for the Popular Unity we were happy, when they were going badly we were personally affected – so great was the political feeling and the sense of being a part of an important struggle.[43]

Even though Allende's politics inspired Jara as a musician and activist, Jara was dedicated to the original mission of *nueva canción*. In an effort to promote *nueva canción* as an artistic creation developed during a cultural awakening, Jara took it upon himself to become an unofficial cultural ambassador in order to counteract the growing propaganda campaign against his association with Allende and the *Unidad Popular*. As a cultural ambassador Jara traveled nationally and internationally to share his music. Prefacing his performances with commentary about the impetus for creating his songs, he made an effort to eliminate misconceptions about himself and his music. Jara's 1972 composition "Manifesto" provides insight into Jara's decision to become a singer and the piece complements Jara's efforts as a cultural ambassador. He states that his music is not for the rich, but rather for those of the *pueblos*.

I don't sing for love of singing
or to show off my voice,
but for the statements
made by my honest guitar.

For his heart is of the earth
and like the dove it goes flying,

[43] Jara, *Víctor*, 150.

tenderly as holy water,
blessing the brave and the dying.

So my song has found a purpose,
As Violeta [Parra] would say,
yes, my guitar is a worker,
shining and smelling of spring.

My guitar is not for killers
greedy for money and power,
but for the people who labour
so that the future may flower.

For a song takes on meaning
when its own heart beat is strong
sung by a man who will die singing
truthfully singing his song.

I don't sing for adulation
or so that strangers may weep
I sing for a far strip of country
narrow but endlessly deep.

In the earth in which we begin,
in the earth in which we end,
brave songs will give birth
to a song which will always be new,
to a song which will always be new.[44]

In 1972, the same year that Jara composed "Manifesto," he traveled to Cuba for *El Encuentro de Música Latinoamericana* (The Latin American Music Meeting) and there established connections with Cuban *nueva trova* musicians. In the late 1950's Cuban musicians, inspired by troubadour songs, Brazilian music and American rock, created *nueva trova*, a genre with similar ideologies to *nueva canción*. *Nueva canción* musicians greatly respected Cuban revolutionaries and musicians of *nueva trova* such as Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodriguez for connecting politics with music. After connections were established between *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* musicians, Fidel Castro sent Cuban musicians to Chile to work with Jara, Inti-

[44] Espada, *His Hands*, 70-71.

Illimani and the Parra children and together all performed at the Chilean National Stadium.[45] The various exchanges resulted in Jara's composition "A Cuba" (To Cuba). Inspired by Cuban music styles, such as the *son*,[46] Jara features ostinato rhythms, sung verses interspersed with speech-song, and typical Cuban instruments such as drums, the *güiro*, and the *tres* to accompany his lyrics.

If I sang to Cuba
I would sing a song,
it would be a *son*
a revolutionary *son*,
hands and feet together
heart to heart
heart to heart
hands and feet together
like brothers
If you want me, I will be there
What else can I offer
but to honor your example?
Commander, partner,
Long live the revolution!

If you want to meet Martí and Fidel
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to know about Che,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to drink rum without Coca-Cola,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to work with sugar cane,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
in a boat that rocks
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to know Martí and Fidel
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go

If I sing to Cuba
I would sing a song,

[45] Jan Fairley, "There is No Revolution Without Song: "New Song" in Latin America," in *Music and Protest in 1968*, edited by Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 132.
[46] The *son* is a Cuban genre inspired by Spanish musical styles and African rhythms. It typically features an ostinato bass or a featured bass pulse sound.

it would be a *son*
a revolutionary *son*,
hands and feet together
heart to heart.
I do not know how to play a *son*
but I play the guitar,
that in the midst of the battle
of our revolution,
will be the same as the *son*
that made the gringos dance,
but we are not *guajiros*,
it is our choice.

If you want to meet Martí and Fidel
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to know about Che,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to drink rum without Coca-Cola,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to work with sugar cane,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
in a boat that rocks,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go
If you want to meet Martí and Fidel
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go . . .
If you want to learn the ways of Che,
to Cuba, to Cuba, to Cuba, I will go.[47]

Jara's connections with Cuban *nueva trova* musicians, and compositions such as "A Cuba" with lyrics mentioning Cuban revolutionaries, aided in framing Jara as a political figure. By performing concerts with *nueva trova* musicians in Chile and Cuba, Jara exposed his music and himself to governmental criticism. The idea of a unified Chile and Cuba frightened individuals opposing Allende and leftist policies. Because the 1959 Cuban Revolution was a well-publicized ousting of an established political regime, other Latin American countries viewed Cuba as a symbol of revolution. The fear of another revolution paired with growing

[47] "A Cuba," Musica, accessed March 5, 2014, http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=1320885. Translation by author.

dissatisfaction with Allende resulted in increased military interference in the civic life of the nation in an effort to establish control.

The *coup d'etat* that initiated the switch from a socialist to a totalitarian leader in 1973 drastically changed the political atmosphere, resulting in the continued politicization of *nueva canción*. Pinochet's social, political, economic, and cultural reforms designed to rid the country of revolutionary spirit, changed the way that many musicians, lyricists, and governmental figures promoted and interpreted the genre. With Pinochet's new government, the military identified *nueva canción* as protest and the musicians and singers as enemies of the state. Many musicians were subjected to blacklisting, torture, exile, and murder.

As the new head of state and the military, Pinochet closed the national parliament and created detention centers for all those who opposed his new regime. He ordered heavy surveillance of folk and *nueva canción* musicians by security forces. In addition, his government censored lyrics, banned *nueva canción* pieces and blacklisted musicians. All concerts had to be approved by his committees. In addition, music departments in universities were restructured so that students were prevented from learning about folk music and *nueva canción*. He ordered radio stations and record companies to stop playing and producing folk music. Military officials and personnel burned *nueva canción* and folk music books and records.[48]

The politicization of the genre reached its peak after the 1973 *coup d'etat* that resulted in the military dictatorship led by Pinochet. The military's categorization of *nueva canción* as protest and the musicians as internal threats emphasized the political aspects of the genre. It was often the action/reaction of the musicians and the military that triggered further political action, resulting in yet another harsh tactic carried out by the military. This chain of opposing actions

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[48] Javier A. Galván, *Latin American Dictators of the 20th Century* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2013), 146-148.

often contributed to political conflict and misunderstanding. The dictatorship's oppressive tactics fostered *nueva canción's* connection with politics, enabling the genre to develop into a movement of political oppression. The new rules made it difficult for the *nueva canción* musicians to continue performing and composing. However, *nueva canción* did not disappear during this decade and to some extent a new emphasis on the political lyrics encouraged more followers.

Jara greatly opposed the use of the word "protest" to describe *nueva canción* and fellow *nueva canción* musicians. Jara was a poet of the people, adding life and eloquence to the hopes and dreams of the *pueblos*. Inspired by their beliefs and culture, his songs reflected their daily lives; his lyrics were expressions of the people. When the change in government took place, Jara claimed his music addressed the political time inspired by the thoughts of Chilean citizens:

> The texts of the songs are a reflection of my attitude against unjust miserable realities. The pueblo needs an artist that presents reality accurately. The fight for justice has intensified, the campesino is now even more aware of its role and the worker and the student join in the fight for change. It is only natural that the songs reflect their stance.[49]

Despite Jara's comments that contest the categorization of *nueva canción* as protest, he was one of the early victims of the military regime, brutally tortured and killed for his political beliefs in the Chilean National Stadium a few days after the coup on September 11, 1973. Because of his compositions, his participation in political music festivals and events for Allende, as well as his communication with Cuban musicians, from the perspective of the military Jara was too powerful, a symbol of revolution and thus an enemy to the new Chile. At the time of his capture, to those in power he was none other than a leftist revolutionary; his guitar was his weapon and his voice and his songs were battle cries initiating war against the right-wing government. Even

[49] Raúl T. Encina and Rodrigo H. Fuenzalida, compilers, *Víctor Jara: Testimonio de un artista* (Chile: Centro de Recopilaciones y Testimonio, 1980), 56.

though his life's work greatly contributed to the politicization of the movement, it was also his death that inspired the continuation of political voices and subsequent political creations reacting to the violence that took place. His imprisonment in the Chilean National Stadium resulted in the creation of his last unfinished song, "Somos cinco mil" (We are five thousand).

Somos cinco mil	There are five thousand of us here
en esta pequeña parte de la cuidad	in this small part of the city
Somos cinco mil.	We are five thousand
¿Cuántos seremos en total	I wonder how many we are in all
en las cuidades y en todo el país?	in the cities and in the whole country?
Sólo aqui, diez mil manos que siembran	Here alone are ten thousand hands which plant
y hacen andar las fábricas.	seeds and make the factories run.
. . .	. . .
¿Cuánta humanidad	How much humanity
con hambre, frio, pánico, dolor,	exposed to hunger, cold, pain,
presión moral, terror y locura!	moral pressure, terror, and insanity?
. . .	. . .
¡Canto que mal me sales	How hard is it sing
cuando tengo que cantar espanto!	When I must sing of horror!
Espanto como el que vivo,	Horror in which I am living,
como el que muero, espanto.	Horror in which I am dying.
De verme entre tantos y tantos	To see myself among so much
momentos del infinito	and so many moments of infinity
en que el silencio y el grito	in which silence and screams
son las metas de este canto.	are the end of my song.
Lo que veo nunca vi,	What I see, I have never seen.
lo que he sentido y lo que siento	What I felt and what I feel
harán brotar el momento.[50]	Will give birth to the moment.

In "Somos cinco mil" Jara describes himself as one of the many thousand: "there are five thousand of us here in this small part of the city." With this line he states he is one of many to be tortured for his beliefs, drawing attention to the violence during Pinochet's regime that resulted in the deaths of a diverse group of individuals. His words highlight his involvement in the

[50] Espada, *His Hands,* 76-79. Translation of verses 1, 2 and 10 by Martín Espada.

politics of the time and his death serves as an example of the potency of the *nueva canción* lyrics that ultimately contributed to his political categorization and death. Jara's life and martyrdom demonstrate that one person's cultural creations and characteristics can influence the development of a movement.

The decade of the 1970s inspired musicians to create reactionary songs, music to honor and celebrate Allende's election as President, and to address the violence created by Pinochet's regime. With the opportunity to create political music, *nueva canción* musicians revitalized the genre. This decade represents a time of blossoming, when *nueva canción* compositions were expressions of individual sentiments and songs for collective action. *Nueva canción* thrived in *peñas*, festivals, and political events. Musicians such as Inti-Illimani and Jara represent only two examples of people who influenced *nueva canción* during the 1970s, but their inspirational contributions helped *nueva canción* develop into a national and international, cultural and political movement.

Chapter 3

The Politicization of *Nuevo Cancionero* in the 1970s

This chapter focuses on the development of *nuevo cancionero* in Argentina during the various military dictatorships of the 1970s, and how the singer Mercedes Sosa aided in its politicization. A contributor and signer of *El Manifesto del nuevo cancionero*, Sosa helped define *nuevo cancionero* as a cultural creation. Despite Sosa's commitment to highlighting *nuevo cancionero* in this manner, it was the impact of her voice, persona, performances and choice of repertoire that prompted attention from right-wing military authorities, resulting in the categorization of her music as protest. This categorization caused the military to threaten her livelihood and the integrity of her music, and as a result she went into exile in Europe in 1979.

Mercedes Sosa (1935-2009): Iconic Interpreter of New Song

Often referred to as the voice of the voiceless, the voice of hope, or more informally as La Negra because of her jet-black hair and part indigenous Aymara Indian heritage, Sosa is today considered a Latin American musical icon. What began as a passion for the native music of Argentina transformed into a performance career that spanned a half-century. Born into a poor family in the northern city of San Miguel de Tucamán, Sosa began her career at the age of fifteen when she won a local singing competition. During her younger years she frequently performed on the radio, in *peñas* and at the *Festival de Cosquín*. After her marriage to Argentine musician and composer Oscar Matus in 1957, Sosa moved to Mendoza where she met the legendary Argentine lyricist, Armando Tejada Gómez. Sosa described her years in Mendoza as a time of great artistic education. An introduction into the inspiring world of writers, musicians, artists and

intellectuals resulted in her participation in the creation of the 1963 *Manifesto del nuevo cancionero*, a joint collaboration with musicians and lyricists such as Oscar Matus, Armando Tejada Gómez, Victor Nieto, Tito Francia, and Horacio Tusoli.

Even though Sosa's involvement with the creation of El Manifesto fostered her commitment to *nuevo cancionero* and similar genres, it was her performances in the 1970s that highlighted musicians and lyricists of *nuevo cancionero* and other kinds of New Song and reflected her ideology. Sosa's commitment to her performance persona and to New Song could not have been maintained without a strong core ideology. In an interview Sosa stated, "An artist has every right in the world, that any other person has, to have an ideology and have respect for their ideology. This belief system will last their entire lifetime."[51] Sosa was an interpreter of song, not a composer or lyricist. Nevertheless, the pieces she performed represented her ideology, a deeply rooted commitment to singing music for the downtrodden of Argentina and other Latin American countries. Because of Sosa's powerful and distinctive interpretations, it is easy to forget that she did not compose the songs she chose to perform.

Sosa's Style

While many aspects of Sosa's persona are indeed remarkable, deserve respect and highlight her commitment to her beliefs and music, it is her voice that merits special attention. Sosa's low (alto) voice gave her an expressive and resonant sound. Whether she declaimed lyrics with "stentorian bombast"[52] or "the quiet tenderness of a lullaby,"[53] Sosa's vocal quality always allowed the emotional content of the songs to be projected. Adjusting to the emotional contour of

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[51] Mercedes Sosa, La Cantora Argentina Biografia, YouTube, accessed April 17, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_5-p4kpJpzw. Translation by author.
[52] Caleb Bach, "Mercedes Sosa," *Americas* 48 (1996): 1.
[53] Ibid.

every poetic line, Sosa's performances created a broad spectrum of vocal colors. Joan Baez, who performed with Sosa in several concerts in the 1980s, stated, "I have never seen anything like her, she is monumental . . . a brilliant singer with tremendous charisma, who is both a voice and a persona. . . . As far as performers go, she is simply the best."[54] True to the folk vocal music style, Sosa often utilized a straight tone rather than one with vibrato. Frequently saving vibrato for the finales of her songs, Sosa employed this vocal sound to raise and sustain the emotional fervor of the pieces.

Sosa's dark hair, often parted down the center, accented her indigenous Aymara features. These features, along with light skin inherited from her French paternal side, projected her as a woman both "traditional and modern, rural and worldly, rough and sophisticated."[55] Frequently wearing ponchos, shawls, wraps and scarves, often in the color red, Sosa's clothing style honored her humble beginnings. During performances Sosa often remained seated with her guitarist next to her. Even though she played in big stadiums, she strove to maintain a certain amount of simplicity, and sitting down with a guitarist evoking the atmosphere of the *peñas,* accomplished this.

Sosa's burgeoning celebrity status along with the simultaneous increase of military power resulted in her distinct development as a performer. Inspired by her own upbringing, the creation of El Manifesto, and the violence of the military dictatorships, her performances simultaneously honored the past and reacted to the present. Attention from the military only increased her popularity among those advocating for peace and justice. The decade of the 1970s was violent and turbulent; "the unjustified incarcerations, unexplained disappearances, kidnappings,

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[54] Larry Rohter, "Mercedes Sosa: A Voice of Hope," *New York Times*, October 9, 1988, accessed February 12, 2014.

[55] Larry Rohter, "Mercedes Sosa, 74, Who Sang of Argentina's Turmoil," *New York Times*, October 5, 2009, accessed February 12, 2014.

unrestrained tortures, and arbitrary executions"[56] showcased the military's inhumane methods. The military also imposed sanctions on any type of expression they believed supported leftist philosophies. Questionable musicians were banned from performing on stage and songs had to feature an unthreatening musical style. The military deemed as acceptable love ballads, songs of apolitical national pride, and uncontroversial pop music. Ignoring *nuevo cancionero's* cultural significance and the articulated impetus for its creation, the regimes treated *nuevo cancionero* musicians and lyricists as immediate threats and criminals guilty of treason. The military's actions did not silence the protesting voices; instead musicians, artists, writers and advocacy groups such as the *Madres de Plazo de Mayo* (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) formed powerful networks, together representing solidarity against the violence of the dictatorships.[57]

Sosa's Musical Covers

Each song Sosa performed during the 1970s aided in her politicization and in the subsequent politicization of *nuevo cancionero*. In 1971 Sosa released an album entitled *Homenaje a Violeta Parra* (Homage to Violeta Parra), comprised of eleven of Parra's songs. It was Sosa's cover of "Gracias a la vida" that contributed to her categorization as both an apolitical and political singer. The lyrics encompass themes of gratitude, love, self-reflection and introspection and through her performance the lyrics become Sosa's own words, her own testimony. However, the piece's connection to the beginnings of *nueva canción*, Violeta Parra, and the politics and culture of Chile allowed the military to frame the song as political. Sosa's voice, her choice of instrumentation and the performances of the piece in large venues

[56] Galván, *Latin American*, 163.

[57] The *Madres de Plazo de Mayo* consists of a group of mothers whose children disappeared during the military dictatorships and who nonviolently advocated for human rights and information about their missing children. They formed in 1977 and the organization still exists today.

transformed Parra's ballad into a resounding anthem, thus attracting more attention from the military.

A guitar accompanies the lyrics of Sosa's version of "Gracias a la vida."[58] Instead of establishing the tempo with a strumming sound, as the *charango* did in Parra's version, the guitar is featured at the beginning. Creating an improvisatory sounding section before Sosa sings the first verse, the guitar has a more prominent role in creating a unique sound for the piece. At times, however, the guitar fades into the background when Sosa sings, allowing the listener to focus on her voice. Unlike the *charango* in the Parra version, the guitar features a variety of accompanimental patterns: arpeggios, chordal strumming, a classical guitar picking sound, and sections that allow the effect of a countermelody. All these accompanimental patterns aid in highlighting the guitar as an occasional second voice. When prominently featured, the guitar line enters into dialogue with the voice and a duet results. The change of instrumentation from a *charango* to a guitar renewed the piece, allowing Sosa to bring it out of Chile's past and into the decade of the 1970s in Argentina.

Sosa sings "Gracias a la vida" with a low and emotional voice. She highlights the last line of the piece "Gracias a la vida que he dado tanto" (Thank you life for giving me so much) by singing it in strict tempo, as opposed to her manner of singing other parts (e.g., the opening line of prior verses beginning with "gracias a la vida") with rubato. In addition, she utilizes different vocal sounds to set up the last verse. The guitar helps establish the tempo by providing a sound that creates the effect of forward motion. She begins by evoking a breathy sound on the first line, her way of beginning the song as a private reflection. In the penultimate verse, she slows the tempo and utilizes rubato to draw attention to the last part of the phrase, "que me ha dado tanto."

[58] The author acknowledges that every performance of "Gracias a la vida" by Mercedes Sosa exhibits minor differences. This description is based on Sosa's studio recordings and a performance in Switzerland.

During the last verse (see below) the guitar strums and also has moments of silence that leave Sosa's voice exposed and accented.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto me ha dado la risa y me ha dado el llanto Así yo distingo dicha de quebranto los dos materiales que forman mi canto y el canto de ustedes que es el mismo canto Y el canto de todos que es mi propio canto.[59]	Thanks be to life for the much it has given. It has given me laughter and given me tears with which to distinguish good fortune from heartbreak, and those are the themes which give shape to my song: my song that's the same as the song that you sing – as the song of all people, my very own song.

When Sosa begins the last verse with the line "Gracias a la vida que me dado tanto" she no longer adds rubato. The final repetition of the phrase is Sosa's battle cry.[60] Holding out the final word "vida" and singing it melismatically and with vibrato, Sosa transforms the line from Parra's conversational farewell to that of a performance finale. Full of conviction, she draws attention to the importance of the line "y el canto de ustedes que es mi propio canto" (my song that's the same as the song that you sing), calling out to the audience, including them by stating that they have shaped her life. With the changes in tempo, more attention to dynamic variation, and vocal variety, Sosa adds even more emotion to the piece. The song became Sosa's signature standard and represents her struggles and moments of joy in the 1970s. Every year Sosa's version of "Gracias a la vida" became more popular and it was not until after Sosa lived through the violence of the 1970's that the composition fully represented all that she accomplished, all that she had to be grateful for throughout her career. To the military the popularity of this cover demonstrated her strength, the power she had in declaiming texts with unyielding conviction, thus leading them to believe that she was a political threat.

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[59] Robert Pring-Mill, "Gracias a la vida: The Power and Poetry of Song" (part of The Kate Elder Lecture Series, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1990).

[60] Jan Fairley, review of *Gracias a la vida: The Power and Poetry of Song* by Robert Pring-Mill, *Popular Music*, 11 (1992): 369.

Other songs covered by Sosa openly address her dissatisfaction with the military's treatment of its citizens. Included on a 1973 album, Sosa's performances of "Si se calla el cantor" (If the singer remains silent), often sung with the song's composer Horacio Guarany (Argentine folk musician), poetically expresses the role of the singer in society. Interspersed between the verses is spoken commentary. Sosa utilizes her strong voice on the first line to announce, "Si se calla, el cantor calla la vida" (If the singer remains silent, life is silent). Strophic in form with a less prominent guitar accompaniment, this technique emphasizes the lyrics and the spoken text.

Singing
If the singer remains silent, life is silent
because, life, life itself is all a song
if the singer is silenced, hope, light
and happiness die from fright.

If the singer remains silent, alone remain
the humble sparrows of the newspaper
port workers make the sign of the cross
who will fight for their salaries?

Speaking
What is the purpose of life if the one who sings
does not raise his voice in the courts
for the one who suffers, for the one who has
nothing, condemned to go without a blanket.

Singing
If the singer remains silent, the rose dies
what is the purpose of a rose without a song
singing should be a light over the fields
always illuminating those underneath.

Do not silence the singer, because silence
cowardly protects the cruelty that oppresses,
the singers do not know how to be forced
to their knees,
they will not keep silent in the face of a crime.

Speaking
Let the flags be raised
when the singer stands with a shout
let one thousand guitars bleed out into the night,
an immortal song to infinity.

If the singer remains silent, life is silent.[61]

Unlike in Chile, campaign songs never appeared in Argentina and as a result the lyrics often remained poetic. The lyrics of "Si se calla el cantor" address themes of cruelty and oppression, highlighting singers and the oppressed masses as powerful voices against those inflicting abuse. However, it does not specifically reference an event nor does it publicly blame a specific group or leader. *Nuevo cancionero* composers relied on poetic lyricism and as a result the military, in search of threatening words, had to read between the lines. "Si se calla el cantor" clearly states its message but is not overly pointed politically. Often the military determined which songs were political, thus affecting *nuevo cancionero's* history and its developing definition.

Sosa frequently performed the music of New Song from many Latin American countries, including music composed by *nueva trova* artist Silvio Rodriguez. However it was the songs from Chile like "Gracias a la vida" that caught the attention of the military. A neighboring country, Chile represented the leftist power associated with Allende and later the revolutionary voices criticizing Pinochet. Sosa's cover of Jara's 1968 composition, "Te recuerdo Amanda" (I remember you Amanda"), greatly contributed to Sosa's politicization, even though it addresses love between two factory workers. Sosa sings the piece with the same sensitivity as Jara but with a powerful resonance. With a variation of dynamics, she adds to the emotion of the words. Jara's

[61] "Si se calla el cantor," Letras.mus.br, accessed March 5, 2014, http://letras.mus.br/mercedes-sosa/63322/. Translation by author.

wife, Joan, describes the song as a "love song with subtext."[62] Verses four and five poetically reference Manuel's disappearance or death. During the 1970s in Argentina these verses symbolized the numerous disappearances that took place, when the military kidnapped individuals they believed were a threat and transported them to concentration camps or killed them after capture.

I remember you Amanda,
when the streets were wet,
running to the factory
where Manuel was working.

With your wide smile,
the rain in your hair,
nothing else mattered,
you were going to meet him,
five minutes only,
all of your life
in five minutes.

The siren sounding,
Time to go back to work.
And as you walk
you light up everything,
those five minutes
have made you flower.

And he took to the mountains to fight,
he had never hurt a fly,
he took to the mountains
and in five minutes
it was all wiped out.

The siren sounding,
time to go back to work,
many will not go back,
one of them is Manuel.

I remember you Amanda,
when the streets were wet,

[62] Jara, *Víctor*, 123.

running to the factory
where Manuel was working.[63]

By choosing to perform this piece, Sosa honored Jara, but to the military she also honored his revolutionary voice and political activism. By promoting *nueva canción* and Jara's poetic lyrics, Sosa established ties to revolutionary Chile.

Sosa also frequently honored musicians and lyricists from her own country. She released many albums featuring the work of Armando Tejada Gómez, Oscar Matus, Atahualpa Yapanqui and María Elena Walsh, a musician, composer and poet. "Como la cigarra" (Like the cicada) is a song composed and written by María Elena Walsh. By choosing to sing the music and lyrics of Argentine musicians Sosa helped frame *nuevo cancionero* as a national symbol and broadcasted Argentina's own genre to national and international audiences.

Many times they killed me
many times I have died,
nevertheless, here I am,
resuscitating.

I give thanks to misery
and the hand with the dagger
because it killed me so cruelly,
and I kept singing.

Singing to the sun like the cicada
after a year under the earth
the same as the survivor
who returns from war.

Many times they erased me
many times I disappeared,
to my burial I went
along, crying
I made a knot in my handkerchief
But afterwards I forgot
that it was the only time
and I kept singing.

[63] Espada, "His Hands," 38-39. Translation by Martín Espada.

Singing to the sun like the cicada
after a year under the earth
the same as the survivor
who returns from war.

As many times as they killed you,
many times you will rise again
many nights you will spend
despairing.
And in the hour of the shipwreck
and in the hour of the darkness
someone will rescue you
so you can keep singing.

Singing to the sun like the cicada
after a year under the earth
the same as the survivor
who returns from war.[64]

Sosa's choice to sing "Como la cigarra" served as her response to the military criticisms by stating that she would remain strong and continue singing, despite obstacles. Sosa did not desire to attract the attention of the military and tried to refrain from expressing her political beliefs in public. She once stated, "Politics has always been an idealistic thing for me. I am a woman of the left, though I belong to no party and I think artists should remain independent of all political parties."[65] Like Jara she rejected the use of the word "protest," stating that her songs were honest expressions of the people. In an effort to depoliticize *nuevo cancionero* she stated, "Nuevo cancionero was more than anything else, an artistic effort. If not it would not have lasted as long."[66] As an artistic performer, she was determined not to "serve as some decoration or

[64] "Como la cigarra," Letras.mus.br, accessed March 6, 2014, http://letras.mus.br/mercedes-sosa/63295/. Translation by author. Also printed in Rebecca J. Cormier, "The Relationship between Music, Text, and Performer in the Latin American Nueva canción as Seen in the Repertory of Mercedes Sosa," Ph.D. diss., Tufts University, 1999, 44-45.
[65] Rohter, "Mercedes Sosa: A Voice."
[66] Rodolfo Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa: La Negra* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2010), 102. Translation by author.

ornament for the left."[67] Despite such comments, Sosa was not able to pacify the military. After giving a concert in La Plata in 1978 she and her instrumentalists were arrested by government security forces. Although released from jail soon after her arrest, the military continued to punish her and often sent letters threatening to end her life. Eventually the military government issued a decree prohibiting her from performing in public.[68] As a result of their harsh treatment, Sosa went into voluntary exile and fled to Europe, living in Paris and later in Madrid until she returned to Argentina in 1982.

Similar to the theme of the lyrics of "Como la cigarra," Sosa stated, "What those gentlemen didn't understand was that you could silence Mercedes Sosa, force her into exile, but you couldn't take away La Negra, her repertory, what she represented in the heart of the people—and that was much larger than me."[69] With her performances that instilled great hope and heightened emotional feelings, Sosa showcased the power of musical performance. She demonstrated the power of song, the power of a singer, the power between an audience and performer. With her voice she proved that one does not need to compose music or be a staunch political activist to be significant in shaping a movement and influencing others.

Her increase in popularity during this decade helped her to become an iconic symbol, and after leaving Argentina in 1979 her impact did not diminish. Even in Europe Sosa continued to sing *nuevo cancionero* and during her exile abroad her international popularity increased. Rodolfo Braceli states that "the gift of a special voice does not lie in its qualities or its excellence," rather what is important is what has shaped the singer and therefore the voice: "moments of joy, and

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[67] Bach, "Mercedes Sosa," 2.

[68] María del Mar López-Cabrales, "Mercedes Sosa," in *Notable Twentieth-Century Latin American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, edited by Cynthia Margarita Tompkins and David William Foster (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 276.

[69] Jane A. Bernstein, ed., *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 173.

suffering, dreams and frustrations, exiles and returns, tears and hopes, and love and heartache."[70] Sosa had the gift of a talented voice but it was her experience living in the 1970s that affected her performances, helping transform her into more than her identity as La Negra and into the voice of the voiceless, the voice of hope, and ultimately the voice of Latin America.

Even though Sosa was just one individual living during the 1970s in Argentina, her fame mixed with her iconic voice had a great effect on the politicization of *nuevo cancionero*. By singing both *nuevo cancionero* and other kinds of New Song she helped make connections between the citizens of Argentina and other Latin American peoples experiencing repression. By singing songs from Chile composed by figures such as Parra and Jara she furthered their legacies in her country and thus helped *nuevo cancionero* and *nueva canción* solidify their place within the entire New Song movement. The attention she received from the military aided in her politicization and the politicization of *nuevo cancionero*, proving that these songs evoked a variety of interpretations and often carried multiple meanings. This was the great power of the songs. With the development of *nuevo cancionero* in Argentina, New Song continued to endure.

[70] Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 17.

Chapter 4

The New Song Movement in Chile and Argentina in the 1980s

This chapter highlights both *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* as a national and international movement, and New Song musicians such as Mercedes Sosa and Inti-Illimani as national and international symbols of memory and solidarity. Sosa's return to Argentina in 1982 resulted in several concerts and collaborations with *rock nacional* (national rock) musicians that helped bring together two genres rooted in similar ideologies. The performance of New Song and *rock nacional* in several concerts helped New Song reach new audiences. During the time when Argentina was in transition from its last military dictatorship (1976-1983), these kinds of pairings represented unity and fostered Argentina's national memory culture. In Chile, while still under the power of military leaders, Chilean musicians continued to add to the repertoire of *nueva canción* and created a new strain of the genre, *canto nuevo* (new song).[71] Exiled musicians such as the members of Inti-Illimani heightened the international visibility of the grievances of Chile's people under the Pinochet regime with performances and collaborations with international human rights organizations.

Sosa's Return to Argentina

Sosa returned to Argentina in 1982 after living in exile in Europe for three years. During her time abroad, in 1981, Sosa performed and released an album entitled *A Quien Doy (*To Whom I Give) featuring songs such as "Cuando me acuerdo mi país" (When I remember my

[71] Scholars and Chilean citizens debate whether or not *canto nuevo* is a distinct genre from *nueva canción*. Those who propose that *canto nuevo* is its own genre believe that the politics of the 1970s inspired certain musicians to create a new music, different in style from *nueva canción*. However, others claim that *canto nuevo* and *nueva canción* are in fact a single genre. Despite arguments over its classification, this author claims that both genres of music are interrelated and that *canto nuevo* is a strain of *nueva canción.*

country) that addressed her separation from Argentina. The time spent in exile strengthened Sosa's commitment to performing New Song and after receiving an invitation to perform in the Teatro Ópera in Buenos Aires, Sosa returned to Argentina to perform a concert in 1982, despite the fact that the military was still in control. Sosa's other important concerts in Buenos Aires in 1983 and 1988, during Argentina's return to democracy, strengthened her iconic persona and disseminated New Song alongside other important Latin American music.

Despite a significant loss of power, the military took action to ensure that Sosa's 1982 concert was an apolitical event, unrelated to *nuevo cancionero*'s political identity in the 1970s. To achieve this goal the military established certain rules: no references to exile were permitted on posters or in interviews, no other New Song musicians could perform during the concert, and no banned compositions were allowed. Even though the military attempted to depoliticize the concert, their efforts actually generated more interest in Sosa and her return. The announcement poster, a black-and-white photo of one half of her face, simultaneously attempted to depersonalize and decolorize Sosa's persona.[72] Void of color, the poster resembled a mug shot, a lifeless photo intended for identification and documentation rather than to capture the spirit of a subject. As such, the photo did not capture the vivacity and emotion that frequently beamed from Sosa's face. With this poster the military hoped to deemphasize Sosa's "iconographic presence," one that was shaped by the politics of the 1970s.[73] The words chosen to accompany her photo, "Mercedes Sosa en Argentina" (Mercedes Sosa in Argentina), also complied with the military's rules. The caption did not announce Sosa's return from exile, highlight her national or

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[72] A description of the 1982 poster first appears in Illa Carrillo-Rodriguez's conference paper for the 2009 Congress of Latin American Studies Association in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Illa Carrillo-Rodriguez obtained the right to use a photo of the poster in his paper from *La Nación*.

[73] Illa Carrillo-Rodriguez, "Popular Music and the Work of Recollection in Early 1980s Argentina." paper presented at the Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009.

international success, or mention that the concert was her first public performance in Buenos Aires in three years.

Despite the military's efforts to depoliticize the concert, the black-and-white photo and caption only served to make the event more significant. The understated and mysterious poster inspired many citizens to question her return and the event: "Had she returned through an agreement with the government? Would she continue singing the songs that had made her famous?"[74] These kinds of questions greatly impacted the atmosphere surrounding the concert, which encouraged the very things the military wished to ban: Sosa's return from exile and her involvement with the political repertoire of *nuevo cancionero*. The military's efforts to control Sosa while ignoring the mass of people that made up her audience indicated a misunderstanding of the power of the relationship between Sosa and her followers.

When the concert took place on February 28, 1982, Sosa performed for a full house of 2,400 people. Her set list included *nuevo cancionero* and *nueva canción* songs. By selecting certain banned *nuevo cancionero* and *nueva canción* songs Sosa made a statement against the military's rules prohibiting certain compositions. One of the banned compositions was "La carta," a song composed by Violeta Parra in 1962, which was discussed in chapter 1. The military objected to the lyrics, such as those in verse three (see below), the song's connection to Parra, and its connection to campaign events for Allende.

Yo que me encuentro tan lejos	I find myself so far away,
Esperando una noticia,	waiting for news,
me viene a decir la carta	the letter comes to tell me
que en mi patria no hay justicia:	that in my country there is no justice:
los hambrientos piden pan,	the hungry beg for bread,
plomo les da la milicia, sí.[75]	and the militia gives them lead, yes.

[74] Sergio A. Pujol, *Rock y dictatura: Crónica de una generación, 1976-1983* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2005), 209.
[75] Morris, "Canto Porque," 119.

Sosa also performed two other Parra compositions, "Volver a 17" and "Gracias a la vida." These two pieces differ from "La carta" in that they address personal themes such as love and gratitude. It is probable that songs such as "Gracias a la vida," her signature song, were included to send the message that she had returned home to Argentina and was grateful to be able to give voice once again to the things she valued.

Even though officials prohibited Sosa from inviting other New Song musicians to perform, she nevertheless emphasized her commitment to singing songs with themes of social justice and unity by inviting two *rock nacional* musicians, Charly García and León Gieco, to join her. Like *nuevo cancionero* and *nueva canción*, *rock nacional* often served as a political musical accompaniment to young voices suppressed during the dictatorships. The *rock nacional* movement began in the 1960s and grew in popularity in the 1970s. *Rock nacional* is "anti-genre" and blends several musical styles from "rock'n'roll, blues, pop, symphonic rock, punk, jazz, jazz-rock, American country, American folk, heavy metal, new wave, reggae, ska, rockabilly, classical music, protest music, bossa nova, samba, tango and Argentine folk music"[76] to create its own musical identity. *Rock nacional*'s identification with several musical styles is essential to its ideology: music should be for the youth and "open to the construction of new meanings."[77] The pairing of New Song and *rock nacional* brought together two kinds of music that ordinarily would have remained apart because of different stylistic sounds. However, together *nuevo cancionero* and *rock nacional* served a greater purpose and highlighted the importance of national collectivity during the last year of the dictatorship. One *rock nacional* song that addresses themes similar to those found in *nuevo cancionero* compositions is "Sólo le pido a dios" (I only ask of God).

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[76] Pablo Vila, "Argentina's *Rock Nacional:* The Struggle for Meaning," *Latin American Music Review* 10 (1989): 3.
[77] Ibid., 7.

Sólo le pido a Dios que el dolor no me sea indiferente, que la reseca muerte no me encuentre vacío y solo, sin haber hecho lo suficiente.	I only ask of God that I am not indifferent to the pain, that dry death does not find me empty and alone, without having done what is sufficient.
. . .	. . .
Sólo le pido a Dios que la guerra no me sea indiferente, es un monstruo grande y pisa fuerte toda la pobre inocencia de la gente.[78]	I only ask of God that I am not indifferent to war, it is a big monster that steps on the poor innocence of the people.

Like many New Song compositions, "Sólo le pido a dios" emphasizes human emotion through poetic expression. The lyrics address the innocent struggling poor, and the use of the word "war" references Argentina's dictatorships. The poem's first line, "Sólo le pido a dios que el dolor no me sea indiferente" (I only ask of God that I am not indifferent to the pain) is a very personal plea that serves as a precautionary message to the people, not to forget the past and to continue fighting for justice. Although stylistically different, the messages of *rock nacional* and *nuevo cancionero* complement each other because of their similar ideologies. The 1963 Manifesto stated that there would be multiple manifestations of *nuevo cancionero,* and in the 1982 concert two genres, *rock nacional* and *nuevo cancionero*, served as a kind of New Song that inspired national collective solidarity.

Carrillo-Rodriguez suggests that Sosa's decision to include García and Gieco legitimized rock culture.[79] Sosa's invitation served as a gesture of goodwill between musicians of the two genres and generations, acknowledging that musicians from each genre were committed to honoring the youth and their culture. In addition, by including the two rock musicians, Sosa

[78] "Sólo le pido a dios," Letras.mus.br, accessed December 17, 2013, http://letras.mus.br/mercedes-sosa/63324/. First and last verse translated by author.
[79] Carillo-Rodríguez, "Popular Music," 16.

publicly demonstrated that musicians other than those involved in New Song wished to help her promote solidarity. She proved that, as an important performer, she had the means to connect New Song with other Argentine musical movements. By inviting García and Gieco to perform Sosa reinforced her image as an international symbol of resistance, despite the military's efforts to present her as solely a performer.

Nuevo cancionero's and *rock nacional*'s association with political youth connected both genres with Argentina's post-dictatorship memory culture. The post-dictatorship generation, particularly those involved in activism, advocated for the exploration of unaddressed and unacknowledged aspects of the country's violent dictatorship. By raising fundamental questions and creating an arts culture that reflected, commented on or criticized the past, they helped recollect individual stories and political, cultural, and historic events that aided in the broadening of the nation's collective memory. Ana Ros states that "memory is no longer seen as static, but as an open-ended inclusive process that can be used to orient action in the present."[80] Thus, memory connects a person to the past but can also serve as "a powerful agent of change."[81] These ideas were the foundation of Argentina's memory culture.

The 1983 concert that took place in the Estadio Ferrocarril Oeste showcased how musicians could be a part of the national memory culture. By performing songs created in the 1960s and the 1970s, Sosa helped generate different forms of "historical, political, cultural, social and personal recollection."[82] Sosa reminded the people of the music and its past contexts, the politics of earlier times, and the power of performance, but also of their personal struggles and

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[80] Ana Ros, *The Post-Dictatorship Generation in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay: Collective Memory and Cultural Production* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5.
[81] Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, introduction to *Memory and Political Change*, edited by Aledia Assmann and Linda Shortt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4.
[82] Rodríguez, *Popular Music*, 20.

experience in the dictatorship. Thus, the music was sometimes a prominent collective voice and, at other times, it served as a vehicle for expressing a personal journey. The concert also served as an announcement declaring the end of military rule and the hope of new possibilities for those seeking justice. The format in 1983 resembled the 1982 concert; García and Gieco joined Sosa on stage and the union of two genres once again served as a forceful unified voice.

In the 1980s *nuevo cancionero* complemented various attempts to establish democracy and also reflected on past events that led to the end of dictatorship in Argentina. Democratic efforts led governmental leaders to prosecute military officials involved in past violence. This was a monumental achievement, but the early 1980s was a time of transition for the country. While some authors describe the process of transition as a "remedy administered to a severe problem,"[83] the transition from authoritarian to democratic government is often a lengthy process and the length of time it takes for transition to become a remedy varies from place to place. There are often setbacks to be endured and one such backward step came about when governmental officials supported the Due Obedience and Full Stop Laws.[84] This back-and-forth movement toward justice intensified the belief of musicians and activists that their efforts kept alive the fight for democracy.

In addition to promoting national collectiveness and memory culture, Sosa's 1988 concert in Luna Park and international collaborations resulted in connecting *nuevo cancionero* to other kinds of music and larger international movements. Sosa purposely titled this concert *Sin Fronteras* (Without Borders), indicating that she intended to promote *nuevo cancionero*'s connections with other countries in Latin America. Sosa invited six other Latin American female

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[83] Assmann, *Memory and Political Change*, 2.

[84] Argentina's national congress passed the Full Stop Law in 1986 and the Law of Due Obedience in 1987. The Full Stop Law declared trials involving military officials unlawful. The Law of Due Obedience protected low rank military officials from prosecution by allowing them to claim they followed the orders of higher ranked military officials and thus were not completely at fault for abuses that took place.

musicians to perform: Teresa Parodi and Silvina Garré, two Argentine popular musicians; Leonor González Mina, a Columbian *cumbia* singer; Lilia Vera, a Venezuelan popular music singer; Beth Carvahlo, a Brazilian *samba* singer; and Amparo Ochoa, a Mexican singer-songwriter. The broad themes of the *nuevo cancionero* repertoire complemented the lyrics of the other popular music genres and aided in symbolically and literally making the concert "sin fronteras." With this concert Sosa identified herself as a supporter of various kinds of Latin American popular music and thus continued to expand her influence beyond Argentina. In the same year as the *Sin Fronteras* concert, Sosa and North American singer Joan Baez collaborated and envisioned a joint concert for the citizens of Chile. However, because Chile was still under dictatorship, the military considered a concert featuring both Sosa and Baez a threat to maintaining order. Even though Sosa and Baez were not able to perform in Chile in 1988, they sang together in several concerts in Europe during the 1980s.[85]

Sosa was also invited to perform in Amnesty International's 1988 series of concerts entitled *Human Rights Now!* in Mendoza, Argentina[86] along with musicians such as Inti-Illimani, Pete Seeger, Peter Gabriel, Bruce Springsteen, and Joan Baez. This series of concerts was created to promote human rights and celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[87] Because she was touring in North America, Sosa was unable to perform in the concert in Argentina. But in an interview she remarked that she greatly respected the other invited musicians. "There's nothing more I would like than to sing with them. . . . We Latin Americans

[85] See the 1988 DVD *Three Worlds, Three Voices, One Vision,* featuring Mercedes Sosa, Joan Baez and Konstantin Wecker in Xanten, Germany.

[86] In 1988 Amnesty International supported twenty musical performances as part of a concert series dedicated to human rights. These concerts took place in various locations outside of Argentina, such as London, Barcelona, and Los Angeles.

[87] The UDHR is an international document originally created in 1948. At the time of its creation it was the most universal human rights document in existence. It is recognized as part of the International Bill of Human Rights and it outlines the fundamental universal rights necessary for a democratic society.

have to get rid of our dictatorships ourselves, but what these young North American and British artists are doing is laudable, and I wanted to make clear my support for their position."[88] Even though Argentina had its own national agenda, the international connections fostered universal acknowledgement of *nuevo cancionero* within a broader context.

Nueva Canción in the 1980s

Despite the very different political situations in Argentina and Chile, the decade of the 1980s in Chile also fostered the development of *nueva canción* as a national and international genre. Increased opposition to Pinochet's regime and the military's continued use of brutal tactics defined the era as a time of violence and oppression. Even though the military regime imposed many cultural restrictions, *nueva canción* musicians of the 1980s continued to perform and compose *nueva canción*. Similar to the songs of the 1970s, *nueva canción* lyricists in the 1980s relied on poetic devices such as metaphors to express their ideas. This emphasis on poeticism nurtured the development of a new strain of the genre known as *canto nuevo*.[89]

Canto nuevo musicians developed a particular musical sound, one that often blended various jazz and folk music styles. They paid homage to the themes of the original *nueva canción* style by focusing on themes of love, everyday life, and social and political commentary coded through the use of poetic language. One *canto nuevo* verse that illustrates the use of poetic language is from the song "Cuando llega el invierno" (When winter comes) by Luis Alberto Pato Valdivia. In this stanza "winter" is a coded word referencing the military dictatorship, and words such as "freeze" and "frost" call to mind the cold harshness of the military's actions that censored and prohibited expression and inflicted brutal violence.

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[88] Rohter, "Mercedes, 1988."
[89] Morris, "Canto Porque," 126.

Cuando llege el invierno,	When winter comes,
las noches se duermen frías.	nights bring cold sleep.
Cuando llega el invierno,	When winter comes,
más se undurece la vida,	life gets harder,
se nos escarcha el alma,	our souls frost over,
se congela la esperanza.[90]	hope freezes.

While many lyrics of *canto nuevo* compositions did not mention specific events or people associated with the military dictatorship, some pieces recognized 1970s activists, and the military subsequently categorized these pieces as protest music. One such piece is "Homenaje" (Homage), written by the *canto nuevo* musician Luis LeBert to honor Víctor Jara. LeBert recorded this piece in the original *nueva canción* style. The first verse and the tenth verse are as follows:

Tu vida era tu vida,	Your life was your life,
la mía, otra historia.	mine, another story.
Y el mundo era testigo	And the world was witness
de los días.	to those days.
No valiaremos	We will not hesitate
en tenderles una canción.	to offer him a song.
Un millón de voces	A million voices
le dirán que no fue en vano	will tell him that
que nos diera su boca.[91]	he did not give us his voice in vain.

As a result of the military's heavy surveillance of musical events, *canto nuevo* musicians typically performed in small venues rather than on the streets. *Canto nuevo*'s presence in small venues helped return *nueva canción* to its original *peña* setting. In addition, performances in smaller venues also protected *canto nuevo* musicians from unwarranted attention from the military. Despite efforts to keep *canto nuevo* under the radar, the increased use of cassettes

[90] Morris, "Canto Porque," 127.
[91] Ibid., 131.

caused the music to become more popular. As the music's popularity increased, the military monitored the musicians and the music more carefully.

Performances by *canto nuevo* musicians also frequently included compositions in the original *nueva canción* style. By performing *nueva canción* songs written in the 1960s and the 1970s, *canto nuevo* musicians helped generate a collective memory of *nueva canción's* history. Mark Mattern states that *canto nuevo* musicians "helped maintain a historical and cultural continuity between the Chile of pre-and post-1973."[92] The songs recalled the memories of democratic Chile and the time of Allende and his reforms. Musicians who sang the old *nueva canción* songs also helped to maintain this continuity and took on a didactic role as they presented the past to new generations, creating a kind of cultural continuum.

One such ensemble instrumental in projecting this cultural continuum was Inti-Illimani. Exiled in Italy since 1973, Inti-Illimani helped to establish international connections. Exile generated memories of Inti-Illimani's Chilean homeland and as a result enhanced the group's interest in *nueva canción*. However, their separation from Chile broadened their sound, inspiring them to embrace "larger forms and more complex songwriting and arranging."[93] Inti-Illimani's music director, Horacio Salinas, commented that "showing their work to people who were, up to a certain point, strangers to that music . . . required a conscious effort to universalize [the group's] work.[94] Inti-Illimani's dissemination of both the old *nueva canción* style and a new fusion style exposed the music to more foreign audiences.

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[92] Mark Mattern, "Popular Music and Redemocratization in Santiago, Chile, 1973-1989," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 16 (1997): 103.
[93] Daniel Party, "Beyond Protest Song: Popular Music in Pinochet's Chile," in *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin American*, edited by Roberto Illiano and Massimillano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 671-685.
[94] González, "Inti-Illimani," 273.

When Inti-Illimani returned from exile in 1988 they embraced human rights efforts and became involved in the *No* campaign against Pinochet.[95] In the same year Inti-Illimani performed in Mendoza, Argentina for the *Human Rights Now!* concert with other prominent performers known for their commitment to social justice. In April 1989 the ensemble toured Chile for the first time since their exile, a tour titled *Fragmentos de un sueño* (Fragments of a dream). Despite their international renown the ensemble members remained advocates of *nueva canción*, performing in universities, stadiums, theaters and town squares. These varied locations enabled the group to project the music and lyrics to a variety of audiences.

In both Chile and Argentina the decade of the 1980s reinforced *nueva canción* and *nuevo cancionero* as important national and international movements. While national musical collaborations, such as the one between *nuevo cancionero* and *rock nacional*, or the development of *canto nuevo*, demonstrated the continuing evolution of the new music in each country, it was the international exposure that revealed New Song as a social, political and cultural movement with remarkable resilience and cultural staying power.

[95] In 1980 Chilean governmental military officials revised the national constitution. A special referendum was added stating that in 1988 a vote would determine whether or not Pinochet would remain in power for eight more years. Those who did not support Pinochet advocated for a change in government and supported political parties that created the *No* campaign. The *No* campaign was designed to encourage Chilean citizens to vote "no" to the 1988 vote.

Chapter 5

La Peña Cultural Center: A Reflection and Projection of New Song

This chapter utilizes La Peña Cultural Center in Berkeley, California as a microcosm representing the past, present, and future of New Song. Incorporated by Chilean expatriates and North Americans on September 11, 1974, the first anniversary of the military coup against the government of Augusto Pinochet, La Peña Center has served for four decades as a community center for residents of Berkeley and the Bay Area and as a haven and cultural gathering place for Latin American political refugees. With its connections to diverse identities, the Center continues to this day to celebrate and honor New Song and other socially and politically expressive artistic forms. In this chapter, members of La Peña Community Chorus and several surviving members of Grupo Raíz, a *nueva canción* ensemble that used La Peña as a base for its world tours from 1980 to 1985, will be featured in order to demonstrate the survival of New Song into the present and its linkages to other world liberation movements.

Past chapters utilized contextualized figures and events to describe how New Song unfolded as a musical genre connecting with national and international cultural and political movements in Chile and Argentina. This chapter highlights La Peña Cultural Center as a surviving embodiment of many elements that define New Song: a cultural manifestation, a musical accompaniment to political ideologies, and an art form that crossed geographical boundaries, aiding in the development of international connections and solidarity against the military dictatorships of Latin America.

La Peña Cultural Center

From the time of its incorporation in 1974 the founders of La Peña espoused the belief that ideals of solidarity are most powerfully expressed through cultural work, thus forging the strong foundation of the center in consonance with the messages of the New Song movement. Today La Peña serves as "the chronicler of cultural, social, and political struggle"[96] through its commitment to education, living testimony, and presentation of approximately 200 programs each year in the Bay Area. While La Peña has featured Afro-Peruvian musicians, hosted festivals featuring musicians from diverse nations, and been the weekly meeting place for groups celebrating Native American culture, politics and history, its deeply rooted connection to *nueva canción* serves as the foundation for the messages of its musical and artistic programs, defines its mission, and attracts many different types of individuals, several of whom have dedicated themselves for decades to the development of La Peña.

The huge mural entitled "Song of Unity," which graces the front façade of La Peña, vividly illustrates the mission of the center with an artistic representation of the people of the Americas coming together in "song and struggle."[97] Bay Area artists Ray Patlan, Osha Neumann, O'Brien Thiele and Anna de León designed the first mural in 1978 with the intention of depicting the cultures of the Americas through symbolic and figural representations.[98] In the middle of the 1978 mural, just above the double entry doors, was a green bird, a queztzal, its face looking upward with its wings outstretched. Behind it were two larger wings that covered the

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[96] La Peña Cultural Center, "La Peña Community Chorus," accessed January 18 2014, http://lapena.org/la-pena-community-chorus/.

[97] "La Peña Cultural Center 1975-1985, 10th Anniversary Commemorative Calendar," June 1985, 18-19.

[98] Artists of the Bay Area renovated the 1978 mural in 1986 and replaced it in the fall of 2013 with a newly conceived mural. This author was able to view the renovated 1986 mural in July 2013 as it was being disassembled to make way for the new mural. The 2013 mural features the work of Ray Patlan, María Guzmán, Cristian Muñoz, and Gonzalo Hidalgo. It measures approximately 52 feet by 16 feet.

front of the building, the wings of an eagle. On the left wing were musicians and activists from Latin America, while the right wing depicted similar figures from North America. All of the individuals were curved to appear as if they were meeting in the center. The three smallest figures at the bottom center were workers laying the foundation of the building. On the top left side was a three-dimensional component to which the eye was immediately drawn: the hands of Victor Jara holding and strumming his guitar, symbolically continuing to play for the people, while the rest of the figures join in his song.

Artistically similar to the 1978 and 1986 versions, the 2013 "Song of Unity" depicts twenty-three individuals and seven symbolic representations of objects and animals. The unity of these objects represents the desire for the elimination of political and social barriers that in the past have been created by political repression, injustice, and conflicts. Below is a list of symbols and individuals represented in the renovated 2013 mural.

Figure 5.1. Individuals and symbols of La Peña Cultural Center 2013 mural

Individuals		**Symbols**
Woody Guthrie	Violeta Parra	American Eagle
Bill Wahpepah	Mercedes Sosa	Ohlone
Paul Robeson	June Jordan	South American Condor
Cesar Chavez	Salvador Allende	Quetzal
Malvina Reynolds	Jon Fromer	Andean Instruments
Pablo Neruda	Miguel Enriquez	Black Panthers
Víctor Jara	Hilda Ferrada	Mapuche
Archbishop Romero	Florence Reese	
Danilo Quezada Capetillo	Rosa Quintreman	
Augusto César Sandino	Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz	
Gabriela Mistral	Ramona Parra	

The mural is symbolically multidimensional. At first glance it is simply a representational work of art. However, similar to the technique of "mise en abyme,"[99] the mural is a symbolic representation of the individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds who gather inside the building to create works of art. Furthermore, the mural and individuals together act as a reflection and projection of the New Song movement in Chile and Argentina. The viewer celebrates simultaneously the figures of the mural, the iconic figures that defined the movement in previous decades, as well as the current musicians and artists of La Peña.

La Peña Community Chorus

Comprised of activists and lovers of music, the approximately forty-member La Peña Community Chorus performs each year at La Peña and in various venues in the Bay Area, including hospitals and schools. Under the direction of Lichi Fuentes, a native-born Chilean, La Peña Community Chorus performs the music of *nueva canción*, sending forth messages of justice and peace with its four-part choral sound accompanied by indigenous instruments.[100] With its dedication to searching for and performing music with a progressive social and political purpose, La Peña Chorus is one of the center's unique additions to the New Song movement, the members serving as both archivists and educators. La Peña Chorus represents the intertwining of a diverse group of individuals, their stories, beliefs, experiences, and passion for music uniting in musical performances in the Bay Area and abroad. Their commitment to sharing music is no different from New Song musicians in Chile and Argentina. Like the musicians in various countries in

[99] The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines the term *mise en abyme* (into the abyss) as the containment of an entity within another entity. This term frequently refers to a technique in which an artist or writer features a picture within a picture or a story within a story.

[100] Lichi Fuentes has served as the director of La Peña Community Chorus since 1995. Previously three other individuals conducted the choir: Peter Adler, John Maas and Rafael Manriquez.

Latin America, La Peña Chorus is another voice inspired by politics and culture. Like the music it honors, it too has a long history. Choir member Dickie Magidoff once wrote, "Our work has been part of the worldwide preservation movement to keep the memory of this music alive until it could come home."[101] For thirty-six years La Peña Chorus' national and international performances have preserved New Song through the inclusion of New Song repertoire, the use of indigenous instruments, and its connection to a *peña*. However, the impact of La Peña Chorus extends beyond preservation, and every year with annual performances, the choir adds to the legacy of New Song.

In 2000 La Peña Chorus released an English/Spanish album entitled *Recordamos* (We Remember) featuring the choir's renditions of *nueva canción* standards written by Víctor Jara and Violeta Parra as well as other artists. Like the mural on the front of La Peña, the compositions included on *Recordamos* promote the inclusiveness of *nueva canción* with their connection to national and international culture and politics. Featured on the fifteen-song album are Jara's "Te recuerdo Amanda" (I remember you, Amanda), "El alma llena de banderas" (Our hearts full of banners), Parra's "Amores habrás teni'o" (Loves you have known), "Canción con todos" (Song with everybody) written by Argentine *nuevo cancionero* musicians Cesar Isella and Armando Tejada Gomez, "Barlovento" by Venezuelan composer Eduardo Serrano and "Nelson Mandela, sus dos amores" (Nelson Mandela, His Two Loves), a song by Cuban composer Pablo Milanés.[102]

Recordamos represents the broadened mission of La Peña Chorus, one that had its roots in *nueva canción*, but today includes music from North, Central, and South America. This

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[101] Dickie Magidoff, introduction to *Recordamos* (2000), CD, Bay Studios Berkeley, California.
[102] La Peña Cultural Center, "La Peña Community Chorus," accessed January 18, 2014, http://lapena.org/la-pena-community-chorus/.

compact disc (CD) is an example of the repertoire performed during the chorus' visits to juvenile centers, nursing homes, migrant labor camps, homeless shelters, and rehabilitation centers in the Bay Area. Many of the songs are four-part choir arrangements; however the accompaniment of the indigenous instruments unites past folk styles with the choral sound. In addition, the title of the album alludes to La Peña Chorus' contribution to the history of the New Song movement. Through the performance of the songs, as well as the creation of the CD itself, the choir links efforts to remember the music of the past while presenting it in a new form. Songs never before paired together on one album now represent La Peña's efforts to promote justice and peace internationally. Thus, the album *Recordamos* refers to the memories and experiences of both New Song musicians in Latin America and the choir itself, framing the CD as a shared history promoting the incorporation of diverse peoples, something New Song musicians advocated beginning in the 1960s.

In addition to releasing CDs such as *Recordamos* as well as performing in the Bay Area, La Peña Chorus has traveled to Cuba (1995), Chile (1999), Mexico (2002), Peru (2006), Argentina and Uruguay (2011). During these trips La Peña Chorus usually participates in international choir festivals and performs at local schools and venues. Nancy Gendel, a member of the choir since 1981, describes the ensemble's first international trip in 1995, the first time a North American choir participated in the International Choral Festival in Cuba:

> I think one of the most moving things for me was meeting the National Chorus of Cuba, and I think everybody just started crying at one point because you know we were there in solidarity, always we want to share our music and get music, but it is also that we want to present a side of America that a lot of people do not know . . . so we are reaching out our hand to our brothers and sisters saying we really care about your music, your culture and what's happening to you. That kind of stance really motivates us most of all.[103]

[103] Group of veteran members of the La Peña Community Chorus, including Karen Chester, Nancy Gendel, Carol Pierson, and Jan Thyer, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20, 2013.

Other than professional networking and performing, the choir members also value shared encounters with local artists, community members, and organizations. Nancy Gendel remarks on these encounters during the 1999 trip to Chile:

> That trip was incredibly moving. We met Joan Jara, Víctor Jara's widow and went to the cemetery [Víctor Jara's gravesite], and I stood on my tiptoes to touch the crypt, which was very meaningful to me. But I also remember singing in Iquique in the north of Chile and somebody came up to us and said we were so brave to sing these songs. Of course we were not brave at all because we were not living there, and this person speaking was still worrying about being watched! And that was in 1999! These people thought we were so brave to sing these songs and keep alive nueva canción. It's not that people do not know the songs, but I think it means something to them to show we still care about them.[104]

Once the choir arrives back in Berkeley after an international trip the members present a post-tour concert, featuring the music performed abroad. Longtime choir member Carol Pierson refers to these post-tour concerts as multimedia presentations, concerts with music and pictures that together showcase their international experiences. She remarks:

> We get so much from going out to visit everybody, musically, emotionally, diplomatically, educationally. It's so much that when we come back, we come back with our hearts and our suitcases full of pictures and stories, so we always make a program with the slides, the stories and the songs that we have brought back, and we take it around to different communities around here.[105]

Through their presentations, which include a wealth of contextualized commentary as well as the songs themselves, the choir continues traditions developed in the original *peña* setting by introducing each song with information about its origins, history, and meaning. The post-tour concerts serve to further the choir's commitment to educating audiences about the history of New Song, but also to promote the idea that the genre is alive and flourishing through the concerts of contemporary musicians.

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[104] Ibid.

[105] Group of veteran members of La Peña Community Chorus, including Karen Chester, Nancy Gendel, Carol Pierson, and Jan Thyer, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20-21, 2013.

Grupo Raíz

Through the years, La Peña has supported many performances by well-known New Song musicians during their visits to the Bay Area, including Argentine *nuevo cancionero* singer Mercedes Sosa, the Parra children, and *nueva canción* groups Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún. From 1980-1985, a local *nueva canción* ensemble, Grupo Raíz (Roots Group), became La Peña's ensemble-in-residence. During its five-year existence, the group included Rafael Manriquez,[106] Héctor Salgado, Fernando Torres, Quique Cruz, Lichi Fuentes, Ellen Moore, Mario Lanas, Alejandra Nuñez, and Francisca Wentworth, all individually inspired by folk music, *nueva canción* and politics. Like many other Chileans during this time, the four older immigrants of Grupo Raíz (Manriquez, Salgado, Torres, and Cruz) were part of the largest recorded wave of immigration in Chilean history. From 1973-1990 several hundred thousand to nearly two million Chileans left the country due to political persecution. Unlike individuals from other Latin American countries who experienced abuses during military dictatorships, such as Cubans who relocated primarily to Miami, Chileans resettled "in at least 110 and as many as 140 different countries."[107] Despite the dispersal over large areas, many Chileans actively associated with political and artistic movements of international solidarity.[108]

In an interview, Fernando Torres, a member of Grupo Raíz, recalled his imprisonment in a Chilean concentration camp by military personnel (1976-77). He spoke of one of the decrees created by the military to justify the expulsion of many Chilean citizens:

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[106] Rafael Manriquez passed away during the summer of 2013.

[107] Julie Shayne, *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), 63.

[108] Political and social activism abroad often meant that exiled Chileans replicated in their new places of residence the left-wing political parties for which they were persecuted. In addition, many Chileans involved themselves with artistic and literary endeavors. Music was not the only artistic medium for expressing life in exile. For example, in Vancouver a group of Chilean women created a feminist magazine entitled *Aquelarre* for the purpose of expressing their experiences in exile.

> They [military officials] thought that it would be better to have you outside than inside spending more money on you. But that backfired on them, because the movement that was created around the world was so huge it was a compound headache for them.[109]

Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger also speak of the potency of the Chilean diaspora, stating that Chilean exile communities "fought against repression by constituting themselves into a living bridge to the international public sphere."[110] Similarly, Luis Roniger, James N. Green and Pablo Yankelevich refer to mass exile as a double-edged sword, one that removed individuals from Chile, but also inspired displaced individuals to "attempt to deny the military the legitimacy it sought" by disseminating their message throughout the world.[111]

Grupo Raíz stated in an interview in 1980 that the release of their first album[112] *Hay Un Solo Camino* (There Is Only One Way) was "a contribution to the arts in exile."[113] Their commentary also provides insight into their belief in the importance of reaffirming their Chilean roots despite their exiled state:

> Together with thousands of Latin Americans in exile, we want to share our creativity; we want to reclaim our ancestral roots, to become part of the renaissance of traditional music and combine it with new forms. We are the children of the "New Latin American Song," and in exile all over the world, like roots, we reproduce, we learn, and we teach. This is Grupo Raíz, rooted in the earth, sending out roots, and bearing new and unending fruits.[114]

Even when the ensemble disbanded in 1985 the members maintained a close relationship with each other and La Peña, performing together and giving classes on indigenous Andean instruments. The acknowledged leader of the group, Rafael ("Rafa") Manriquez carried on an

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[109] Hector Salgado and Fernando "Fena" Torres, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20-21, 2013.
[110] Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, *The Politics of Exile in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 212.
[111] Luis Roniger, James N. Green and Pablo Yankelvich, eds., *Exile & Politics of Exclusion in the Americas* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 152.
[112] This *nueva canción* album features indigenous Andean instruments as accompaniment to the voices. Grupo Raíz released two other albums during its five-year existence: *Amaneceres* (Dawns, 1981) and *Por América del Centro* (For Central America, 1984). Their most recent CD is from 2002. It is an anthology album, entitled *Grupo Raíz*.
[113] La Peña, "La Peña Cultural Center Calendar," April 1980, 2.
[114] Ibid.

active concert schedule both in the Bay Area and in Chile up until his death in 2013, maintaining connections between musicians in Chile and expatriate Chilean communities such as the one he was part of in Berkeley.[115]

Figure 5.2. Grupo Raíz 1985 ©, including (from bottom left clockwise) Hector Salgado, Mario Lanas, Alejandra Nuñez, Francisca Wentworth, Fernando Torres, Rafael Manriquez, Lichi Fuentes
Source: Fernando Torres, Grupo Raíz, used by permission

The presence of Grupo Raíz at La Peña was of seminal importance. Paul Chin, recently retired executive director of La Peña and current board member, comments on their significance: "Despite the horrors of the military coup in Chile and Latin America, the exiles coming and gathering at La Peña enriched our lives not only culturally but politically."[116] Like La Peña Community Chorus, each member of the ensemble brought their own knowledge of music and

[115] Recordings by Manriquez and interviews with him in Berkeley and Santiago constitute an important part of the archives of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife & Cultural Heritage in Washington, D.C.
[116] Paul Chin and Helene Shulman Lorenz, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 21, 2013.

politics and their personal experiences in their native country, giving the center a distinctively Latin American identity. Still identified with La Peña, Grupo Raíz members Hector Salgado and Fernando Torres have been instrumental in recent years in the production of documentary films drawing from personal experience with imprisonment and torture during the military dictatorship in Chile and about the musical legacy of Víctor Jara.[117] Through the sharing of their unique stories, members of Grupo Raíz impacted the lives of those who participated in the programs and activities of the community that grew up around the La Peña Cultural Center.

A Legacy

With both La Peña Chorus and Grupo Raíz, La Peña established its connection to the music of *nueva canción*, the politics of Chile and later, more broadly, to the New Song movement in other Latin American countries. Today the La Peña Second Generation, often referred to as the 2nd Gen, is dedicated to the promotion and sustainability of the center. Created in 2010, the 2nd Gen is comprised of twelve young individuals who grew up around the center.[118] This new legacy group complements the desire of New Song musicians to create a new song for various countries in Latin America. In the words of the Argentine *Manifesto del nuevo cancionero*, New Song is a song for the people, a musical and literary genre meant to represent the dreams, hopes, triumphs and struggles of the people. La Peña Cultural Center continues the New Song legacy with its almost forty-year history, dedication to education, culture and politics, and the promise of a younger generation adding to its development. It represents the various multifaceted components of the New Song movement.

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[117] Hector Salgado and Fernando "Fena" Torres, interview with Maglyn Bertrand, Berkeley, CA, July 20-21, 2013.
[118] La Peña Cultural Center, "La Peña Second Generation," accessed March 6, 2014, http://lapena.org/la-pena-second-generation/.

Conclusion

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, musicians and lyricists created and performed New Song compositions to express personal and collective identities, national interests such as memory culture, personal sentiments, and politics. This thesis has discussed various musicians, lyricists, composers, and performers in order to explore various aspects of New Song's development and highlight its revitalization. New Song showcases several Chilean and Argentine citizens' determination and commitment to create new music despite obstacles. The music reflected the various historical, political and cultural contexts and served as a forceful voice, a means of artistic expression, a political outcry, a poetic declaration, and as music to honor past native traditions and peoples.

During these three decades New Song did not just function as music for listening, rather it had a dynamic role and greatly impacted and complemented ideologies of the various decades. When studying the impact of Chile and Argentina's folk revival, the politics of the 1970s, and the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule, New Song's history must also be detailed and explained because the musicians and the music represented and affected Chilean and Argentine society. Understanding and recognizing New Song's various identities as political, apolitical, national and international, and personal and collective allows for a more holistic understanding of its impact. Because of New Song's inclusive definition, its legacy continues around the world with performances by older and contemporary musicians, movies by international directors, and centers such as La Peña in Berkeley, which recognize and honor its history, the performers, the compositions, the poetry, and the music's connection to social justice and politics.

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