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Nancy E. Morris
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CANTO PORQUE ES NECESARIO CANTAR:
THE NEW SONG MOVEMENT IN CHILE, 1973-1983

by

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"Para el camino"  
Canto a la angustia y a las alegrías. I sing of anguish and joy.
Canto porque es necesario cantar. I sing because it's necessary to sing.
Para ir dejando una huella en los días, To leave my mark on time,
para ir diciendo cosas prohibidas. to say forbidden things.¹

The Latin American New Song movement does not fit the usual stereotypes of Latin American popular music. Songs such as "Para el camino" (above) cannot be placed into the common categories of salsa, ballads, Spanish-language versions of U.S. hit songs, or popularized traditional styles such as the ranchera and cumbia. Although the New Song movement is not as well known as the more typical styles, its greater social significance has had an impact in Latin America far beyond the musical realm. The roots of New Song can be found in the resurgence of interest in traditional folkloric music that took place in the Southern Cone from the late 1950s to the early 1960s. Since the 1960s, the New Song movement has spread throughout the rest of Latin America, becoming an important cultural expression that directly addresses current social tensions in the region.

Although each country has developed local variations of New Song that reflect particular social and political conditions and indigenous musical styles, the movement as a whole can be characterized as a fusion of traditional...
folkloric musical forms with sociopolitical ("protest")
lyrics. Rather than seeking to create escapist enter-
tainment, this music is intended to express current re-
ality and social problems in a meaningful style. New
Song musicians share a commitment to honest expression
and absolute opposition to what they term the typical
"disposable consumer songs" of most commercial music.

Chile's Nueva Canción was one of the first New Song
movements to emerge in Latin America. Beginning in the
mid-1960s, it grew and consolidated throughout the rest
of the decade and flourished during the 1970-73 presidency
of Salvador Allende. The music of the Nueva Canción was
outlawed after the military coup d'état of 1973, and the
best-known musicians of the Allende period now make music
in exile. They still record and tour frequently, and their
names are internationally recognized: Quilapayún, Inti-
Illimani, Isabel and Angel Parra.

The visibility of the exiled musicians and control of
the Chilean media by the military government have tended
to obscure the fact that music is also being made inside
Chile. One strand of popular music there has been named
Canto Nuevo. Although in most of Latin America the terms
Canto Nuevo and Nueva Canción are used interchangeably to
describe the movement and both translate into English as
"New Song," in Chile Nueva Canción specifically indicates
music made before 1973, while Canto Nuevo refers to the
movement since the coup d'état.
Under the military dictatorship, the task of Canto Nuevo has been to communicate the reality of a people whose outlets for group expression and social interaction have been intentionally and systematically restricted. As such, Canto Nuevo has been inherently dissident and consequently has been repressed and marginalized since its inception. This essay will present a brief history of the pre-1973 Nueva Canción and then will examine the development of Canto Nuevo in Chile over the past ten years, from its beginnings in 1974 as the conscious continuation of the Nueva Canción through its gradual evolution and stylistic expansion. Throughout its development, Canto Nuevo has been affected by Chilean governmental actions and policies, as will be noted below. Dates given for the phases of the movement are necessarily approximate because as one of its members explained, Canto Nuevo is "not just a post-1973 way of singing. In what is said and how it's said poetically and musically, Canto Nuevo is a process."^2

**Nueva Canción from the 1960s to 1973**

Chile's Nueva Canción developed in the 1960s out of a process of renewed interest in the country's traditional music. Rejection of U.S. cultural domination, which was manifested musically by the flood of U.S. and European popular music on the radio, stimulated recognition of the value of Chilean culture. As part of the search for a genuine national identity, young musicians began to perform
indigenous Chilean music. The pioneering work of Violeta Parra in gathering traditional Chilean music, promoting it through radio and live performance, and encouraging developing musicians was crucial to this process.

Although she died before the New Song movement was fully established, Violeta Parra brought to prominence many of the features that together characterize the movement. Primary among those elements was an admiration for authentic Chilean culture and music. Violeta Parra's love of Chile found expression in numerous artistic activities, but her devotion to the people and culture of her country is most evident in the effort she put into collecting hundreds of folk songs from every region of Chile so that they would not be lost forever. Through her efforts, the Chilean public became aware of Chile's powerful musical traditions. A friend of hers said, "We were stuck in North American and European culture, listening to their music, imitating it, watching their films . . . Latin American things had no value . . . and Violeta was like a kind of bridge, a connection with Chile . . . There was nothing in Chile. But there was all that life in the common people and Violeta had the ability to become part of it, love it, and give it back in her songs. That is, she acted as a translator, so that we could know ourselves."³ Violeta Parra also wrote songs based on Chilean folk music to express her own ideas, thus setting the pattern for
those who were to follow. This 1962 song is one of her most famous compositions.

"La carta"

Me mandaron una carta
por el correo temprano
en esa carta me dicen
que cayó preso mi hermano.
.......
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.
.......
Por suerte tengo guitarra
para llorar mi dolor,
también tengo nueve hermanos
fuera del que se m'engrilló.
Los nueve son comunistas
con el favor de mi Dios, sí.

"The Letter"

They sent me a letter
in the early mail
in the letter they tell me
they took my brother to jail.
.......
I am so far away
waiting for news,
a letter comes to tell me
there is no justice in my country.
The hungry people ask for bread
the militia gives them lead, yes.
.......
Luckily I have a guitar
with which to lament my pain,
I also have nine brothers
besides the one they locked up.
The nine are communists
by the grace of God, yes.

In 1964 Violeta Parra established a center of popular art in La Reina, a neighborhood on the outskirts of Santiago. She named the center "La Carpa de La Reina" and ran it almost singlehandedly. The music performed at La Carpa had to meet her high standards of quality and authenticity, and she coached promising musicians toward those ends. Many of the singers who became the foundation of
the New Chilean Song movement performed at La Carpa.

By the time of her suicide in 1967, Violeta Parra had become widely known and recognized for her extraordinary creativity and contribution to her country. Through her energy and commitment, she had created an awareness among Chileans of the value of their own traditions. Musicologist Gaston Soublette, who worked with her, says that Violeta "took what before had been an object of more or less private investigation and she gave it back to the people."^\text{5}

It is difficult for the casual observer to comprehend Violeta Parra's tremendous impact on the emergence of the musical expression that became the New Chilean Song. No one else in Chilean musical history is so universally acclaimed as a key figure. Cuban singer Silvio Rodríguez sums up her importance not only in Chile but for all of the Latin American New Song movement with this succinct statement: "Violeta is fundamental. Nothing would have been as it is had it not been for Violeta."^\text{6}

During the 1960s, the New Chilean Song coalesced around Violeta Parra's cultural center and the peña— a small coffeehouse dedicated to folklore—established in Santiago by her two oldest children, Isabel and Angel. As musicians worked together at La Carpa de la Reina and La Peña de los Parras to refine their skills, they began to compose music that employed traditional styles to express contemporary ideas, particularly their growing
political awareness. Recognition that a unique form of expression was developing came in 1969 with a music festival that publicly "brought together for the first time a group of composers and interpreters whose artistic activity had inclined for some time towards a type of song which, although it still hadn't found its name, was clearly distinguishable . . ." The festival, sponsored by the Universidad Católica in Santiago and organized by Ricardo García, was called the Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena, and from this festival the New Chilean Song was formally named. University Rector Fernando Castillo defined New Song when he opened the festival with these words: "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 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." Reflecting the mood of the festival and the times was this song by Víctor Jara, which was chosen as best song of the festival.
"Plegaria a un labrador"

Levántate y mirate las manos
para crecer estréchala a tu hermano
juntos iremos unidos en la sangre
hoy es el tiempo que puede ser mañana.

Libranos de aquel que nos domina
en la miseria.

Tráenos tu reino de justicia e
igualdad.

"Prayer to a worker"

Arise and look at your hands
extend them to your brother so you may grow
together we will go united in blood

Today is the time that could become
tomorrow.

Free us from the one who dominates us
in misery.

Bring us your kingdom of justice and
equality.

By the 1970 presidential campaign, a coherent group of musicians existed, ready to actively support the candidacy of Unidad Popular (UP) representative Salvador Allende. Artists of the New Chilean Song movement accompanied Allende to political events, sang at meetings and rallies, and composed songs to disseminate Unidad Popular concepts to the people. "Venceremos" by Claudio Iturra and Sergio Ortega became Allende's campaign song and was sung constantly throughout the campaign.

"Venceremos"

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

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

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

"We Will Triumph"

From the depths of our country
the cry of the people rises up
now the new dawn is announced
all of Chile begins to sing.

We will triumph, we will triumph
a thousand chains will have to be broken
we will triumph, we will triumph
we will know how to conquer misery.

We will sow the fields of glory
socialism will be the future
together we will make history
carry on, carry on, carry on.
After Allende's election, New Song musicians continued their active involvement with the Unidad Popular government, playing at community gatherings and political events and thus taking their message to the people through the medium of music which was recognized as "a major amplifier in the cultural system."\textsuperscript{11} Songs were written about every important event during the Allende years and were widely circulated. Shortly after the election, a record album detailing the UP program in song was released. Classically trained Chilean composers Sergio Ortega and Luis Advis collaborated with the New Song group Inti-Illimani to produce "Canto al Programa," which was part of an effort to use "all available means of communication" to present the UP program in a language and style that were accessible to the people.\textsuperscript{12} The album featured songs such as "Canción de la propiedad social y privada," "Vals de la educación para todos," and this explanation of agrarian policy:

"Canción de la reforma agraria"

Ya se acaba el latifundio
el campo al que lo trabaja
se hace la reforma agraria
el momento es importante-
nadie se ponga adelante.

y los técnicos agrarios
ya se ponen al servicio
del campesino chileno
que ha encontrado su destino.

"Song of Agrarian Reform"

The latifundio has ended
the land goes to those who work it
we're carrying out agrarian reform
timing is important-
don't jump the gun.

and the agrarian technicians
are now at the service
of the Chilean peasants
who have found their destiny.\textsuperscript{13}
According to Isabel Parra, daughter of Violeta Parra, and an important member of the New Song movement, "We were totally involved in what was happening." The best-known song in the history of the entire Latin American New Song movement came out of this period in Chile. "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" is still sung and chanted in Latin America and around the world as a rallying cry.

"El pueblo unido jamás será vencido"  "The People United Will Never Be Defeated"

De pie, luchar,                    Stand up, struggle,
el pueblo va a triunfar      the people will triumph
será mejor                       the life that is to come
la vida que vendrá.               will be better.
                                 and now the people
y ahora el pueblo    quien se alza en la lucha with the voice of a giant
que se alza en la lucha con voz de gigante shouting "onward!"
gritando 'adelante!'            El pueblo unido jamás será vencido! The people united will never be defeated.

"El pueblo unido jamás será vencido"

September 11, 1973 to mid-1975

That spirit of militant optimism was dramatically ended by the military junta that took power in Chile on September 11, 1973. The junta's stated goal was to eradicate Marxism and its objective was to reverse the direction of Chilean political and economic development. To achieve these ends, the government and all public institutions were completely restructured, unions were dissolved, political parties were banned, and most opportunities for people to gather were severely restricted.
The observations of Chilean sociologist José Joaquín Brunner suggest the impact of these restrictions. Brunner believes that analysis of any culture requires studying what he calls "the structuring of public space," that sphere where people can exchange ideas about topics of general interest. With the advent of the military government in Chile, public space was closed. "In effect, from the most molecular case, such as face-to-face conversation, to massive instances, such as communication organized through radio, press, and television, the communicative dimension of Chilean society was radically transformed." Such radical effects were achieved despite the fact that the government did not have a specific cultural policy, or what Chilean analyst Hernán Pozo defines as a "coherent and deliberate set of actions and measures tending to impose a value system or a vision of the world."

Pozo goes on to comment that nonetheless, "governmental actions had cultural consequences and some of these were more or less intended or expected."

Soledad Bianchi, a Chilean critic and essayist in exile, has analyzed these "cultural consequences." During the first year of military rule in Chile, cultural activity virtually ceased. This period, which is commonly known as the "apagón cultural" (cultural blackout), Bianchi terms the phase of destruction. Bianchi asserts that in order to make a "definitive break in the history of Chile,"
the military "dedicated themselves to erasing everything that seemed dangerous, subversive, and prejudicial to the political, social, and economic project that they proposed." The government took over the mass media, applied strict censorship, and "closed down all means of expression that were not supportive of the new authorities." 19

Affected by the media censorship was the music of Nueva Canción. It was banned from the airwaves, removed from record stores, confiscated, and burned along with books and other "subversive" material during the house-to-house searches that immediately followed the coup. Its musicians were exiled, imprisoned, and, in the well-known case of Víctor Jara, killed. 20 Traditional musical instruments had become so completely associated with the politics of the deposed government that playing them was tantamount to subversion. Eduardo Carrasco, member of the exiled group Quilapayún and New Song analyst, explains, "National music came to be so closely identified with the revolutionary struggle that during the first week of the . . . military government, they called a meeting of the most prominent folklorists to inform them that certain folkloric instruments like the quena and charango were prohibited." 21

Eventually that prohibition was circumvented by conservatory musicians who formed an "Andean Baroque" group that began to play in churches. No sanctions were taken
against performances of Bach and other classical composers on traditional folk instruments, due in great part to the protection provided by the church. Barroco Andino provided an opening for the reappearance of traditional music and was part of the "Andean Boom" of 1975-76, a strong resurgence of the popularity of indigenous Andean music in Chile. Although the content of the songs was innocuous, the choice of instruments nevertheless added political overtones, as is demonstrated by a Chilean musician's comment that the government considered singers to be "extremists and subversives for the mere act of accompanying themselves with charangos or quenas--instruments proscribed by a ridiculous order that nobody respects any more."22 At first this music was confined to churches, where it was often performed at solidarity and human rights events. Gradually, small peñas made the music available to the general public.

Mid-1975 to 1977

From the strict folkloric interpretations of the Andean Boom, musicians moved toward re-creating the music of the pre-1973 Nueva Canción, but they carefully avoided performing any overtly political songs. The revival of this repertoire was quickly dubbed "Canto Nuevo," a term selected to "suggest a tie with Nueva Canción."23 Canto Nuevo was both the resurrection of Nueva Canción and a
response to the changed situation in Chile. One Chilean musician commented, "the only thing nuevo about Canto Nuevo is the conditions under which it is being produced."24

The most notable of these conditions was the "closure of public space," which José Joaquín Brunner described as "permitting the authoritarian bloc to . . . impose . . . a single conception of the world that must be assumed, under conditions of force, by everyone else."25 Canto Nuevo was attempting to express a different worldview, one that was not available through the mass media. Echoing the intention of the original Nueva Canción of the 1960s, Canto Nuevo was a conscious response to the domination of the media by "consumer art, generally foreign."26 The initial audience for Canto Nuevo was "an enthusiastic, essentially dissident public reacting against the transnational culture that the officialist communications media are trying to impose."27

After several years of cultural blackout, Canto Nuevo musicians were working consciously "to defend, promote and search for a national cultural identity, that is, to identify and embody the reality that the majority of the country lives."28 During this period, numerous organizations were created to support the activities of Canto Nuevo. The Peña Doña Javiera Carrera was established in Santiago in 1975 and became an important showcase for
Canto Nuevo. In 1976 Radio Chilena began to devote airtime to this music in a new nightly program, "Nuestro Canto."

In the same year, the Alerce record company came into being in Santiago. In the words of its founder, Ricardo García, Alerce was created "to rescue a series of scattered values, the leftovers of a movement--the Nueva Canción--which was tied to my own life." In 1977 an independent concert promotion agency was formed, while at the University of Chile a large number of folkloric groups banded together to organize what would become the Agrupación Cultural Universitaria, the first independent student organization since the coup d'état.

The presence of active musicians and a developing organizational framework did not imply that Canto Nuevo faced no difficulties. While government tactics had shifted toward more selective repression of activist political opposition, legal and extralegal controls were still prevalent. In order to produce a concert in a public auditorium, the sponsor had to solicit permission from the local police and submit a sample of song lyrics and a list of all performers. The police could--and did--deny permission for any singer or song, or for the entire event. Often permission was not granted until shortly before showtime, leaving producers, performers, and the public in a state of uncertainty. Permission was also frequently
Access to the mass media, beyond the radio program specifically designed for the purpose, was virtually nil. There was (and is) a blacklist of performers not allowed to appear on television or radio.

But more commonly, control was sporadic and often informal. As a concert promoter described the situation, "It's a very irregular set-up; there are many irregularities in these matters. Nothing is defined, the rules of the game are not established but keep changing. If you look for the responsible party, you're not going to find him because maybe there's not one person responsible. Maybe the producer of the program invited a singer to perform and then suddenly, in the hall he ran into someone who said 'I understand that singer's going to appear on the show. Hey, be careful!' And that's it! The producer thinks it over, and then, dying of embarrassment, he calls the singer and cancels the performance." On other occasions, a government official might "suggest" to a television station manager that it might be better if a certain singer did not perform. The manager in turn would "suggest" the idea to the producer and so on down the line. Eventually word got back to the performer that a higher authority had disallowed the performance.

In spite of all these difficulties, 1977 was an active year for Canto Nuevo. In addition to the problematic
concerts, there were always solidarity events, church-sponsored performances, and a never-ending demand for musicians to participate in community activities. With a recording company and other institutions specifically intended to promote its activities, a growing public, and developing artists, Canto Nuevo had become established.

1978 to 1981

Once firmly constituted, Canto Nuevo began to grow beyond the simple repetition of themes from the Nueva Canción into creating music more directly relevant to the times. Musicians composed their own songs, in which they attempted to deal with Chilean reality as they were experiencing it. This process corresponds to Soledad Bianchi's postulation of a second stage in postcoup art, in which "the social and critical content of artistic expression acquire increased clarity," and the process coincided with a shift on the part of the government toward more sophisticated and subtle means of controlling political opposition.

The musicians' search for original forms of expression included experimentation with both musical style and song lyrics. Musically, composers moved away from strict adherence to traditional instrumentation and rhythms toward the inclusion of electronic instruments, classical harmonies, and jazz elements. The need to express ideas in lyrics
that if directly stated would not get past the censors led to the development of highly poetic texts and complex metaphors. Eduardo Carrasco explains the use of metaphor this way: "Despite being subjected to the most savage repression in our history, the song has not stopped being political. What is significant in the present situation in Chile is that our people have invented another language, a way to say things without saying them, in which the smallest allusion says more than a hundred speeches." Musicians complained bitterly about the necessary self-censorship, but it did not prevent them from getting their message across. For example, the following song about the departure of a happy puppeteer expresses an implicit undercurrent of rebellion:

"El joven titiritero"

Titiritero joven peregrino
navegante de todos los caminos
enamorado de su azul destino
titiritero joven ya no vino.

Titiritero, crece nuevamente
hazte primero luz, luego simiente.
Ven a nacer en mi país naciente
y arranca los dolores de esta gente.

hagamos una senda más brillante
Aunque vayamos contra la corriente.

"Young Puppeteer"

Puppeteer, young wanderer
navigator of all paths
in love with his golden destiny
young puppeteer never came back.

Puppeteer, grow again
become light first, then seed.
Come and be born in my infant country
and wipe away the people's sorrows.

let's make a brighter path
even if we go against the current.
Some songs had dense, intricate story lines and overlapping metaphors. Often in performance, a spoken introduction would provide the clue to the song's hidden meaning. In other songs the references were relatively self-evident. Winter was often used to symbolize the difficult conditions in Chile after the coup d'etat, as is illustrated in the following song.

"Cuando llega el invierno"  
"When Winter Comes"

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

Quédate, compañera
Stay, my friend
ya pasa el temporal.
this bad storm will pass.
Cuando se aclare el cielo
When the sky clears
volveremos a volar.
we will fly again.35

Such songs represented attempts to describe the situation in Chile, to provide an alternative to the mind-numbing commercial music that dominated the market, and to "reflect the feelings of the common people in today's society."36 Chilean essayist Soledad Bianchi observed: "When art attempts to be more than mere entertainment, a basic feature that characterizes it is the use of subtle language that escapes formulas and passwords. Painting, theater,
literature, or song express themselves in suggestive and subtle form . . . Responding to the need to bypass censorship . . . their authors must carry out a greater search that in the end is more creative . . . " The resulting work is not a finished product in itself but instead is completed "within the individual experience and the social and collective context," through interpretation by the listener or reader or through the interaction of the performer and the spectator. 37

A major concert in 1977 provided a dramatic illustration of this system of communication. "La Gran Noche del Folklore," billed as Alerce Records' awards ceremony for the folklorists of the year, was one of the first large shows of its kind since 1973 and the partisans came out in force. The auditorium's seven thousand seats sold out quickly, and another thousand people clamored in the street for admission. Such a response suggests that this concert was more than simply a public gathering of folklore aficionados. "With the complete closure of all channels of participation, the music became the cohesive element," said one person who attended the concert. "I saw people that I hadn't seen since 1973, people whom I thought were in prison or dead." 38 The concert served as meeting place for thousands who had been unable or afraid to gather under any other circumstances. For one night, a public space had been created for a nonofficial gathering.
The award for the best new group went to Aquelarre, a Canto Nuevo group that mixed traditional style with classical and modern elements. The group performed a song about Manuel Rodríguez, a hero of Chile's war of independence. Like others of its kind, this song recounts his adventures; and as a paean to a long-dead national hero, it was relatively immune from censorship.

"El cautivo de Til Til"

Dicen que es Manuel su nombre
y que se lo llevan
camino a Til Til

Dicen que en la guerra fue
el mejor y en la ciudad
deslumbraba como el rayo
de la libertad.

"The Captive of Til Til"

They say Manuel is his name
and that they're taking him
to Til Til

They say that in the war he was the best and in the city he shone like the ray of liberty.39

When the group sang the word "liberty," the audience erupted into applause and cheers.40 This explosive reaction to a single word was a powerful statement under the extremely restricted conditions of Chile in 1977. This event illustrates what a member of Aquelarre described as a communication code between the public and the musicians. "To leave to the songs and the applause what one would like to say with words has been perhaps the most important challenge of Canto Nuevo."

The government was not unaware of the success of La Gran Noche del Folklore and subsequent concerts. Indeed,
many observers contend that the authorities were as dis-
turbed by the possibility of a large public gathering of
dissidents as by the content of the music itself, and by
1978 the government had apparently had enough. Permission
for the third Gran Noche del Folklore, which was to have
been held in May 1978, was revoked the day before the con-
cert. Alerce Records attempted to schedule another music
festival in August of 1978, but permission for it was de-
nied outright. The government's repeated denial of per-
mission, rather than a blanket prohibition, effectively
put an end to large concerts.

As Canto Nuevo demonstrated that it could attract
large audiences, government efforts to suppress it in-
creased. The methods of control consisted of preventing
the music from reaching the public via mass media or major
concerts. The radio program that had been a primary outlet
for Canto Nuevo was cut back from nightly to weekly pro-
gramming and then was taken off the air altogether.

One popular Canto Nuevo group, Illapu, left Chile for
greener European pastures in 1980 and was subsequently
denied permission to return. Changes in taxation rules
effectively gave the government the power to decide what
constituted a "cultural" event and in 1982 drove the concert
production agency that had been affiliated with Canto
Nuevo out of business. In 1981, more than eight hundred
Cassettes of early, nonpolitical songs by Víctor Jara, the slain singer, were confiscated on grounds that they violated an internal security law. The importer of the material was given what he called "a little vacation in jail." He was soon released and six months later the charge was dropped for lack of merit. By 1982 Víctor Jara records were being sold openly in Santiago record stores. Such incidents illustrate Canto Nuevo's ambivalent status; it has been allowed to exist, but in a perpetually precarious state.

1981 to 1983

In 1981 Canto Nuevo became more available to the public via increased, yet limited, television and radio exposure. Although still a minority expression, it began to gain a larger following. One of the causes of this newfound popularity was Canto Nuevo's growing presence at Chile's annual Festival Internacional de la Canción at Viña del Mar. The Viña del Mar festival, which is extensively covered by the Chilean press, has included several Canto Nuevo performers in recent years. Although they have sung their most innocuous songs, their presence at Viña del Mar has helped legitimize the term Canto Nuevo as a type of Chilean popular music.

At the same time, young people were tiring of being bombarded by the predictable sameness of commercial disco
music, which was saturating the airwaves. They consequently became more receptive to other musical styles. Simultaneously, the growing availability of cassette tape recorders facilitated informal music exchange, and gave greater exposure to Canto Nuevo and to other music unavailable in Chile. For example, the music of Cuban singer Silvio Rodríguez circulated widely via this informal network, becoming extraordinarily popular without commercial backing. His finely crafted poetry and ballad style introduced a new dimension for musicians to explore, greatly influencing Canto Nuevo.

Another factor in Canto Nuevo’s growth was television, an important source of exposure of popular music. The severe economic recession of 1980-81 made it financially impossible for Chilean television stations to pay foreign stars. They thus were forced to hire local talent, which was considerably cheaper. As always, only a few Canto Nuevo musicians had access to this medium. The blacklist and unofficial pressures prevented some singers from appearing, and those who did appear were told exactly what they might and might not sing on television. Despite these attempts to neutralize them and government efforts to promote less threatening artists, the exposure was useful to the musicians and to Canto Nuevo. The fact that the Canto Nuevo repertoire began to include songs acceptable for the mass media was not accidental. For several years,
restrictions on Chilean society had been slowly easing. Previously Canto Nuevo had been one of the few ways to express dissident views which made it a closed, strictly defined musical current. As other channels of interaction and expression were opened, such as occurred with the 1979 authorization of unions and confederations to meet without previous permission, Canto Nuevo could begin to widen its scope. Songs about everyday life and even love songs began to appear in the Canto Nuevo repertoire, which had once consisted almost exclusively of metaphorically disguised protest. Within this slight expansion of public space, musicians found not only the latitude to sing many types of songs, but also greater freedom to express themselves. The same composer who had written about hope freezing in winter now encouraged the listener to look ahead to the not-so-distant future:

"Vamos a la patria"

Véngase que vamos
y sin miedo.
Que vamos a cantar nuevas canciones
Que vamos hacia allá después de todo
Que vamos a borrar este mal rato
Que vamos a la patria
y a su parto.

"Let's Go Home"

Come on, let's go
and without fear.
We're going to sing new songs
We're going onward after all
We're going to erase this bad moment
We're going to our homeland
and its birth.

Recourse to sarcasm allowed comments that still could not be made directly, as in this song, which mocks even itself in its mimicry of the official promotion of consumerism as the universal panacea.
"En esta época"
En esta época en que vivo
todo es muy atractivo
en condiciones para ser feliz.
Hay mucha paz y mucho orden
ya no hay tanto desorden.
Y se acabaron mis problemas
cada día tiende a mejorar.
El ápice de mi existencia
se mide en la confluencia
de los bienes que puedo comprar.

Estoy cansado de saber
que andan personas por allí
diciendo que esto aquí está muy mal
Esos poetas y cantantes,
escritores y estudiantes
que no saben más que reclamar
que no han visto las noticias
ya no hay tanto malicia
todo el mundo hoy puede comprar.

Hasta los pobres de hoy en día
fuman de categoría

"In These Times"
In these times
everything is very pleasant and
there are reasons to be happy.
There's lots of peace and lots of order
there's no longer such disorder
My problems are over
every day tends to get better.
The apex of my existence
is measured in the confluence
of the goods that I can buy.

I'm tired of hearing
that there are people who go around
saying that things here are very bad.
Those poets and singers,
writers and students
who know only how to make demands
who haven't seen the news
there's no longer such malice
everyone these days can buy.
Even the poor people these days
smoke classy cigarettes.

One composer noted the change in possibilities for expression in a song called "Metaphors in Extinction,"
while another dared to compose a song in honor of Nueva Canción martyr Víctor Jara.
"Homenaje"

Tu vida era tu vida
la mía, otra historia
Y el mundo era testigo
de los días.

No vacilaremos
en tenderle una canción
un millón de voces
le dirán que no fue en vano
que nos diera su boca.

Víctor, gran ausente
desde siempre te cantamos.

Donde se han ido
los días de amistad
Donde está lo hermoso
que fuimos a sembrar
Y maldigo el presente.

While still a far cry from the name calling and partisan rallying cries of the pre-1973 Nueva Canción, such songs represent a significant shift away from lyrics about butterflies emerging from cocoons and the changing of the seasons.

May 1983 to December 1983

Important changes have been taking place in Chile since May of 1983, when the first of a series of Días Nacionales de Protesta was held. The incessant and expanding political "efervescencia," as some Chileans wryly call it, has affected all aspects of Chilean society; and as a principal vehicle of dissident expression, the Canto Nuevo movement has not
remained on the sidelines. Musicians are busier than ever, performing frequently at all kinds of meetings and solidarity events. For example, Canto Nuevo musicians were among the more than three hundred participants in the Congreso de Artistas y Trabajadores de la Cultura de Chile, which met in December of 1983 to create an organization to represent them and coordinate their work. "Toda la cultura contra la dictadura" was the slogan of this congress. At the opening session of the Congress, a song was dedicated to the Movimiento Democrático Popular, a recently formed opposition group.

"Canción al Movimiento Democrático Popular"

De lejanas ciudades y campos
suena lejos rebeldes clarines
pobladores se unen al canto
socialista el futuro de Chile.

Se organiza el pueblo y resiste
los batidos se encuentran sus manos
trabajando por la patria libre.

En el puño está la victoria
el camino es ponerse de pie
rebeldión es el grito de gloria
popular el acento también.

Compañero, espera la historia
para el pueblo será el poder.

This song, which strikingly resembled Allende's 1970 campaign song "Venceremos" in both music and lyrics, was met
with ardent cheers and applause, followed by energetic chanting of "el pueblo unido jamás será vencido.\textsuperscript{53}

Also in December of 1983, Alerce Records revived the concert series that had been disallowed for five years, this time without obstacles. The Chilean magazine \textit{Analisis} described the significance of this event: "The struggle to recover democracy, the struggle for freedom of creation has not been in vain. Organizations are re-emerging, protests are taking place, some exiles are coming back, the prohibition on importing books can no longer be sustained ... and on this list of small gains is also the return, after five years, of 'La Gran Noche del Folklore'.\textsuperscript{54} The comeback of La Gran Noche del Folklore is a clear indicator of change in Chile. Canto Nuevo will continue to be affected by the tumultuous situation in the country and to be identified with it.

The continued existence of Canto Nuevo under the difficult conditions imposed by the military dictatorship demonstrates the persistent need for an outlet for popular expression. "The Nueva Canción and now Canto Nuevo are two moments in one single movement, with a present and a past," writes a Chilean journalist. "The popular song is alive because it has transcended fads, styles, and governments."\textsuperscript{55} Because New Song is an expression of the reality of many Chileans, it has always been "the product of a people and
The continued vitality of the New Chilean Song movement in the face of difficult and constantly changing political, social, and economic conditions testifies to its importance as a channel of popular expression. The musicians of the movement are committed to their role as "social communicators," and they are very much aware that Canto Nuevo is directly tied to present conditions in their country. Although those conditions may remain difficult, the musicians affirm that "the task of Canto Nuevo cannot be abandoned." The following Canto Nuevo song embodies the unified sense of purpose not only of Chile's Canto Nuevo but of the richly diverse Latin American New Song movement.

"El canto del hombre"

El canto nació del hombre
nació con el pensamiento.
Los hombres cruzaron valles
fueron trazando senderos
traspasaron las montañas
y el canto anduvo con ellos.

Llegó a todos rincones
con su mensaje sincero
distinto en cada región
y el mismo en todos los pueblos.

Nadie pretenda cambiarlo
ni estancarlo mucho menos
que el canto cambia en el hombre
con la cultura y el tiempo.

"Song of Man"

Song was born of man
It was born along with thought.
Men crossed valleys
they went making paths
they crossed mountains
and song went with them.

It reached all corners
with its sincere message
distinct in every region
yet everywhere the same.

Let no one try to change it
much less to hinder it
for song changes within man
with culture and with time.
Mas nunca será falsario
que lo ha de borrar el tiempo
puede morir un cantor
y el canto sigue latiendo.

But what will be lost in time
will never be falsified
a singer may die
but the song pulses on.
NOTES

1. "Para el camino" by the Chilean group Duo Schwenkenilo.

2. Interview with anonymous musician in Santiago, July 1983.


4. "La carta" by Violeta Parra.

5. Subercaseaux, Gracias, p. 71.


8. Tape recording of the opening remarks by Fernando Castillo, Rector of the Universidad Católica, at the Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena in Santiago, 1969.


10. "Venceremos" by Sergio Ortega and Quilapayún.


15. "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" by Sergio Ortega and Quilapayún.


19. Ibid.

20. According to witnesses, Jara was arrested on Sept. 12, 1973 and was taken to the Estadio Chile, which was being used as an impromptu prison. There he was recognized by a soldier who berated him, shouting, "Sing now, bastard!" Witnesses say Jara sang, his hands were beaten by the guard and he was then escorted away. His corpse was later found near the Santiago cemetery with the hands and body beaten, and three bullet wounds. "Viuda de Víctor Jara declaró ante la justicia," La Segunda, (Santiago) June 8, 1981, p. 13.


The quena, a pre-Hispanic flute generally made of bamboo, and the charango, a small stringed instrument resembling a mandolin, are traditional instruments of the indigenous peoples of the Andes; they are frequently used in folkloric interpretations of the New Song.


25. Brunner, La cultura autoritaria, p. 87.


30. At least ten persons whom I interviewed—musicians, concertgoers, and producers—confirmed these occurrences. There is no printed documentation available in the Chilean press of the time probably due to the intimidating political climate.


34. "El joven titiritero" by Eduardo Peralta.

35. "Cuando llega el invierno" by Pato Valdivia.


38. Interview with anonymous musician in Santiago, July 1983.


40. Several Chileans interviewed described this moment, which I was able to subsequently verify by reviewing the Alerce cassette of the concert. See note 39.

41. Unpublished manuscript by anonymous musician, Santiago, n.d.

42. "Corte resolverá suspensión de 'La Gran Noche del Folklore'," La Tercera de la Hora, Santiago, Dec. 21, 1979, p. 7.

43. Interview with Ricardo García of Alerce Records, San-
tiago, July 1983.

44. Interviews with anonymous producer and musician in Santiago, July 1983.


46. Interview with Miguel Davagnino of Productora Nuestro Canto in Santiago, July 1983.

47. Personal communication, Santiago, July 1983.


49. "Vamos a la patria" by Pato Valdivia.


51. "Homenaje" by Luis LeBert.


53. From tape of Congreso. See note 52.


57. Unpublished manuscript by anonymous musician, Santiago, n.d.

58. "El canto del hombre" by Pedro Yáñez.


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