

SILENCE AND SCREAMS: “NUEVA CANCIÓN”
AND ITS IMPACT ON POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN CHILE,
ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY

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Abstract

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This thesis has presented the organizational factors that made “Nueva Canción” so influential for socio-political movement in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay as well as the role that this genre of popular music played as a coalescing force for these social movements. This genre of music allowed a level of communication between artists and working classes as well as peasants that could not have been achieved through political literature, since most of them were illiterate. “Nueva Canción” also permitted an emotional connection to social causes for the listeners and among the artists. Through social networks created between musicians and resources that were facilitated through government (Salvador Allende’s Government in Chile), “Nueva Canción” affected influenced social movements and political structures. After military dictatorships came to power, their organization had to adapt because of government censorship and persecution. Through their continued musical efforts while in exile, “Nueva Canción” artists maintained social causes and the lack of democracy in the international limelight.

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Introduction

*De verme entre tanto y tantos
momentos de infinito
en que el silencio y el grito
son las metas de este canto.
Lo que veo nunca vi,
lo que he sentido y lo que siento
hará brotar el momento...*

--Victor Jara, Estadio Chile, September 1973

The process by which popular culture plays an essential role in political socialization is not yet a widely discussed topic in academic circles. Popular protest music and its influence over social movements, in particular, have been overlooked in political science literature. Understanding the role that cultural elements have over the political arena may hold the key to new and contrasting theoretical frameworks in the areas of political sciences and cultural studies. The intent of this research is to investigate the example of “Nueva Canción” genre as a coalescing force for social and political movements that affected political structures and attitudes in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Another important reason to discuss this topic is to understand the

organizational factors that permitted “Nueva Canción” to grow in its social and political influence despite the singularities of these countries.

The necessity to describe as well as expand the limits of what is considered part of the political realm is of paramount importance to uncover the possible role of music in politics. This enables us to present nuanced qualitative models explaining the influence of popular culture and how that influence could be described as dialectic in nature. The causes of these theoretical gaps in the Political Sciences could be understood by the perceived empirical difficulties. First, concerns about how these complex relationships could be analyzed without spilling into other academic disciplines are deemed theoretically problematic. This interdisciplinary interaction might further cloud certain concepts instead of clearing them up. Second, theoretical paradigms such as “rational choice” purposefully overlook emotional attachment and semiotics from the analyzed political discussion. This paradigm focuses more on interest groups, coalitions, institutions and/or political leaders and, therefore, downplays non-rational elements and ideology in decision-making. Also, when attempts have been made to include cultural elements into the discussion, they have been limited. The views on the emergence of social movements have been biased and inconsistent, toward a structural view of the opening or contracting set of “political opportunities”¹ or “windows” that lead to the formation and effectiveness of socio-political movements. In a grander cultural sense,

¹ Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Jaswinder Khattri, “Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory.” *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 1, (Mar. 1999): 27-54. This refers to this commonly used vocabulary in political process theory writings. It alludes to the apparent “opening up” of political participation or the appearance of a more permissive structure toward the formation of social movements.

music and art, among other cultural elements, play a coalescing force around causes, institutions or ideals. This occurs through the framing of issues, concentrating resources and creating networks that then may form into social organizations or movements. In some situations, artistic movements are at the forefront of socio-political issues that over time end up having an impact over political relationships and institutions. In other examples, art and music can help mold a sense of identity for movements and point to certain inconsistencies in culture and politics, serving as a building block for the enhancement of certain issues.

Unlike other social mediums by which political messages are usually spelled out explicitly, popular music permits the songwriters' discretion to use subtlety. Literary elements in lyrics, such as metaphor and hyperbole, can serve as direct incisive criticisms toward power structures, political systems, politicians, or ideologies. Yet, purely musical statements defined by the instrumentation used or the melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and dynamic elements chosen can also have deeper intentions. These elements may intend to convey strong pro-democratic, social justice and anti-imperialist sentiment to an even larger audience than possible by speeches or political rhetoric could. This is partly because of the emotional meaning of popular songs that use certain soundscapes and allude to specific imagery. Thus, song can connect emotionally and intellectually in a way that other communicative mediums cannot. As investigated by various empirical psychological studies [Russell (1980), Sloboda (1991), Panksepp and Benatzky (2001), and Grewe et. al. (2005)], emotional reactions to "harmonic and dynamic changes" in music could be found between individuals. This could lead to the understanding of how

music and musical elements, regardless of the specific language used in the pieces, plays a part in the attachment to specific songs or pieces and in turn, provides to a coalescing factor among groups that could turn into socio-political movements.

Cultural politics is also a very relevant theme reinforcing the importance of popular culture in political socialization and mobilization throughout society. Questions such as, what effect does popular culture have over the interpretation and level of participation subjects may have in the political arena should be central to redefining political participation. As expressed in Connell and Gibson's book **Sound tracks:**

Popular music, identity and place, the role of music in culture is succinctly described:

Popular music is an integral component of processes through which cultural identities are formed, both at a personal and collective levels...Artists or even whole communities can represent themselves through music, in much the same way as in literature or art.(p.117)

The cultural production of national minorities and sub-cultures is also an important element by which homogenous visions of culture and national politics are challenged. Popular music plays a particularly strong force that defines the "group" as a separate entity. Through consumption and reproduction of diverse musical forms, their self-image is forged into symbols and inside understanding between members of that subculture. It also serves as a means to contest state structures or social institutions. John Storey discusses the role of popular music for subcultures in his book **Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture** in this manner:

Subcultural use of music is perhaps music consumption at its most active. The consumption of music is one of the means through which a subculture forges its identity and culturally reproduces itself by marking its distinction and difference from other

members of society. This is not a refusal to recognize the economic and cultural power of the music industry, but an insistence that pop music (like all commercially-provided popular culture) is a contradictory terrain. (p.119)

New qualitative focus should be granted to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), grass roots socio-political movements that ally themselves with subcultural or minority values and issues because of the part these movements play in the political process. Finally, focus on government structures or agencies that try to influence mainstream culture through diverse means should also be given attention. These media-related controls may show themselves in the form of propaganda, promotion of a certain set of “national” values or censorship of oppositional media markets. These theoretical questions are at the center of this thesis and will be tackled through the use of case studies using the development and political impact of the NC movement in these three South American countries: Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. This thesis will also utilize content analysis focusing on “Nueva Canción” songs chosen among the most popular songs of the 1960’s and 1970’s that delve into diverse areas of subject matter common in the genre: nationalism, poverty, anti-imperialism, secularism, among many other themes.

By focusing on these three Southern Cone countries, the popular musical form of “Nueva Canción” present in these three countries, the historical, political, and sociological context shall be discussed and put into perspective. All these elements come into play when discussing the “Nueva Canción” movement and its impact over politics during the 1960’s and 1970’s. The selection of these countries is legitimized by the shared similarities of their political situations. By the mid-seventies, these countries had military dictatorships controlling the state and “Nueva Canción” encountered targeting by

these regimes. The movement then focused on keeping the spotlight on the difficult political conditions of these countries through constant appeals to the international community using their music.

Delving into the typological descriptions that could better define the protest movements that arose simultaneously as “Nueva Canción” thrived and the intertwining relationships between the two, the pertinent domestic and international political conditions that contributed to these movements will also be reviewed at length. The desire of this work is primarily to expand the theoretical underpinnings of the connections between popular culture and political socialization of social movements. In other words, the role of music in social movements is the primary focus of the thesis. Secondly, to use the aforementioned case studies and content analysis as a qualitative empirical instrument toward analyzing producers of popular protest music, their relationship to the state, to government institutions and how their chosen tactics affected that relationship, in the movements themselves and especially the influence their music had over the socio-political movements during the 1960’s until the late 1970’s. Thirdly, analyzing the organizational factors that permitted “Nueva Canción” to effectively contribute to social movements in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, will be another of the intentions of this study.

The opening section of the thesis will deal with the application of past theories and frameworks. The first set of these theories are offered to describe how social movements interact in Latin American politics as well as the traditional ways of analyzing such political systems. This section will cover the theoretical alternatives that

are considered paradigmatic for understanding political outcomes in Latin America. Following this analysis, the paradigmatic explanations on the dialectical interaction between culture and politics will also be discussed. The discussion in this section will range from consideration of the two main theorists who paved the way toward thinking about this interaction between culture and politics, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault, to contemporary interpretations of the same topic. The efforts and conceptualizations of these theorists have helped create a basis for analysis of popular culture that is still used for constructivist cultural studies today. Their diverse approaches also added some insight in contemporary political theories.

The second part of the thesis will focus on the theory. Here, the hypothesis on the role of “Nueva Canción” genre in socio-political movements as well as what factors made the outreach of this artistic movement possible. Along with the theory, the thesis will be concentrating on historical circumstances that can be viewed as political similarities and differences between Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Yet, despite the particularities distinct to this Southern Cone region, what made “Nueva Canción”(NC) so popular and important -as well as despised by state structures- were shared by these countries. The third section will include a content analysis of six purposefully picked songs of the “Nueva Canción” movement and the musical and literary imagery used within them. These songs represent the diversity of topics common to the movement, such as poverty and anti-imperialism. The final section will be a conclusion that will examine the empirical problems with this study and the ideas and elements that would be ripe for further investigation in the area of popular culture and political socialization.

Literary Review: Social Movements in Latin America

This section will begin with a general analysis of some of the models to analyze social movements and non-governmental agents in Latin American politics. These conceptual alternatives will be presented with some of their strengths and weaknesses in relation to the development of social movements.

Foweraker (2001) chooses to set his sights on grassroots movements. He begins by adopting a view that authoritarian regimes, as in Chile and Brazil, “shaped” grassroots social movements and the State. These relationships then “changed” when democratic transitions occurred. Foweraker then lists diverse goals that grassroots organizations represented over the decades. For example, in the 1960’s, popular organization and education were the issues that were central to a variety of groups. In the 1970’s, the focus was on citizenship and civil rights; the list then goes on. The importance of Foweraker’s study is the focus granted to the relationship between social movements and the State. This relationship is central to any possible understanding of policy results. And this is so, despite the antagonism of an authoritarian government which conversely energizes demands by the social movements according to Foweraker. Because of the problematic

conditions of urban growth and the addition of civil rights taken away by the state as a new issue, social movements then have a greater stake in the process. Another very important element which Foweraker points to is the “language of rights”. This language was acquired by various movements as a coalescing factor, regardless of these groups’s particular ranking of issues. There is also mention of the interaction between social movement organizations and the most decentralized level of the State: through agencies or municipalities.

Foweraker contends that when democratic transition occurs in these Latin American countries, social movements tend to change, break into smaller movements and insert themselves in interest group competition. These groups then channel single-issues to different political parties to influence political outcomes. The other possibility is that these grassroots movements transform into tighter institutions, specifically, non-governmental organizations. With this transformation, inner-relationships between movement leaders and base can get complicated and eventually erode “mobilization”. Notwithstanding the apparent theoretical step toward better understanding of social movements, he also appears to limit the effects of these policy results and relationships only between two players: social movements and the State. Therefore, what Foweraker presents us with is how movements themselves are shaped by the State, not by social relations in the grassroots level.

Unlike other social scientists² that present a similar course of diverse institutional and societal factors to affect policy changes, Foweraker just focuses on one actor and one set of coalitions expressed through social movements. The shared idea between the three social scientists is that through politically weighted coalitions, the policies of the State may be affected through diverse pressures. And yet they ignore and minimize the importance of cultural and emotional attachment as well as other social elements in their respective diagrams of interrelationships between actor and actor as well as actors and the State.

Political process theories

Among the theoretical perspectives that try to include these apparently nuanced notions of social movements and their effectiveness in policy outcomes into the discussion, one of the most relevant to this topic is Goodwin, Jasper and Khattrra (1999). Goodwin, Jasper and Khattrra focus on the developments of Political Process Theory (PPT) as well as the theory's perceived structural bias. PPT has offered a model by which expanding political opportunities lead to a surge in the emergence of socio-political movements. However, historical examples in various Latin American countries show that despite "contracting" political opportunities, social movements can prevail or even grow stronger. This signifies that expanding political opportunities are not "*necessary, let*

² See Appendix A: Alternative Theoretical Frameworks for Latin American Politics

*alone sufficient, for movement mobilization...*³ Goodwin et al. also allude to how political opportunities were called political opportunity structures, which contradicts the intent of the original term, political opportunities. Political opportunities shift and change through times, while structures are not considered to be malleable or easily changeable. The same criticism in the article goes to the terms “mobilizing structures” and “cultural framings” that permit the nurturing of social movements. But as Goodwin et al. points out, the logic of the PPT models seem to be circular since they have “mobilizing structures” and “cultural framings” conflated in the definition of social movements themselves. In other words, without a minimal sense of collective identity and solidarity, it is obvious that a social movement cannot come into existence. Following further critiques on the problems with the definitions of “mobilizing structures” and “cultural framings” for being too broad, the conclusion offers a variety of theoretical and empirical proposals for PPT. Firstly, they propose to abandon invariant models that ignore “strategic choice, cultural meanings, and emotions” because these “would highlight the complex, open-ended quality of social conflicts”⁴. The second proposal is to avoid conceptual stretching which in PPT is primarily caused by the continued use of certain terms while it is kept being extended without a theoretical consensus of what they mean. The third proposal is recognizing that certain cultural and strategic processes are created and defined by factors that are mistakenly deemed “structural”. Here, what is meant is

³ Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Jaswinder Khattri, “Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory.” *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 1, (Mar. 1999) : 43

⁴ Ibid at 51

that changing cultural values therefore change perceptions about the effectiveness of protest. These can then create opportunities that politically were not concretely there. The final proposal is to divide institutions instead of lumping all of them in a unitary actor. Legal courts, military command and a legislature do not react unitarily toward social movements in different contexts.

Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations(NGOs), Gender, and Indigenous movements

Issue-based movements have a variety of effective techniques to affect policy decisions and are analyzed in diverse ways. Price (1994) investigates the ecological social movements or environmentally focused NGOs and elements of their inner workings. Despite what Price calls “shallow” interest on the part of environmental issues in Latin America, the burgeoning prowess of these organizations were and are apparent. Still, Price contends that even effective action by movements and NGOs cannot compare to strong government policies that are truly enforced.

By expanding their appeal to both indigenous groups and women, sustainable development has been gaining support in Latin America. These groups are assumed to be much in tune with environmental matters. This is because of the commonly thought “symbolic connection” between indigenous groups and nature combined with a more recent eco-feminist effort to create and staff environmental NGOs with women and directed to women in places like Venezuela. While analyzing the way these organizations finance their activities, constantly securing funds through “direct government

sponsorship... project grants, membership drives or contract work”⁵, Price writes that this causes these groups to be more general and broad about their goals as to attract the most volunteers and donors possible. Because of these broadened goals, the principle focuses of the NGOs are not central anymore and resources will have to be dispersed. Two of the most important lines that Prices delivers are: “In the politics of ecopolitics the significance of state and local actors is underappreciated. It is overly simplistic to assume that Latin American environmental organizations owe their existence to northern demands for them.”⁶

Apparently going counter to my arguments of the undermined importance of social movements, Price does limit it to the area of eco-politics and also admits how NGOs have given greater attention to specific issues with a greater discussion of the alternatives necessary to solve these problems. There is also the possibility that cultural elements and emotional attachment created in social movement networks are overlooked by Price.

The efforts of Einwohner, Hollander and Olson (2000) enter the area of gender in social movements. Although a macro-theoretical view of social movements in general, the article does give an interesting focus to the use of gender images for the exposure and framing of specific issues, whether consciously or not. The engendering of social movements subsequently impacts the way certain issues are framed and interpreted, inside as well as outside the movements. One of the Latin American examples utilized as an example of these gendered images in social

⁵ Marie Price “Ecopolitics and Environmental Nongovernmental Organizations in Latin America.” *Geographical Review* 84, no. 1 (Jan. 1994) : 53

⁶ Ibid at 56.

movements was the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. This group of mothers in Argentina would appear in a public square demonstrating their frustration and anger toward their “disappeared” sons and daughters during the military dictatorship. Despite the protests being illegal, the image of a group of concerned and worried mothers was dismissed by the military government as unimportant. Therefore, the gender images of distraught mothers helped the social movement to be viewed as harmless despite their huge impact on further demonstrations domestically. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo also gave international exposure to the military dictatorship, which served to inspire songs by pop musicians, such as U2 and Sting, gaining even more attention. Simultaneously, feminist movements were viewed as more counter-cultural. These movements had totally different images of women and henceforth were attacked immediately and with as much state force as possible.

Yashar (1998) studies indigenous movements and their struggles towards achieving collective rights to protect their cultural identity. These groups, through cultural differences, are challenging the traditional legalistic view of citizenship that has excluded them from participation in the modern Latin American State. The study presents examples from Ecuadorian indigenous movements and Bolivian Aymara movements, among many others. Yashar then turns the focus toward unresponsive democracies. In the face of weak and stolid government agencies, these movements coalesce around their identity and feel the need to participate politically. Throughout the article, one of the conclusions is the ironic understanding that former democratic and autocratic regimes were much more responsive entities toward these marginalized communities compared to the contemporary liberal conceptions of these states. Of course, indigenous or collective ethnic rights were by no means respected in these states for the most part of the 20th

century. Yet, because of class-based ideological representations, they granted greater access to rural and agricultural communities. Greater economic and local autonomy was given to these groups which were finally being considered in the political discourse. It was democratization that opened up participation, cemented certain urban and elite demands over disenfranchised rural and indigenous communities' concerns.

In the strictly abstract, Yashar also presents different approaches toward analyzing how these cultural identities are produced or internalized. Primordialism defends the possibility that ethnic identity is essential in all communities and this sense of identity defines their world-view. Instrumentalism, on the other hand, assumes that material preferences are the goals for these groups. Therefore, ethnic identity is a tool toward salience of a particular set of political goals. Finally, post-structuralism assumes that identity is socially engendered through interactions, negotiations and constructs. Inter-subjectivity then creates, and continues to create, the conditions for ethnic identity to be central to any kind of political movement. The problems with these approaches, according to Yashar, are primarily that they differ in efficacy of explaining ethnic movements and lack the historical context to weave through complex facts. Primordialism and instrumentalism fail to explain why ethnic identity is so readily apparent in some situations but not others. Why is class struggle or national identity prevailing over other possible claims? Post-structuralism seems to solve some of the problems of the former approaches, but puts into question the fixed nature of identity. It also runs the risk of excluding what Yashar calls "*very real structural conditions of*

poverty and authoritarian rule”⁷ that may complicate the evolution of ethnic identity claims.

Art in Social Movements

By studying the effect of art in social movements, Adams (2002) presents how other fields such as philosophy, sociology and history have delved into the “extent to art exists in isolation from political life”⁸. The contrasting ideas of whether art is totally detached of the realm of politics or the vital importance that social constructions and values transmitted through art are readily discussed in the article. The examples of art influencing social movements and organizations are through shining a light over specific issues to larger audiences and then mobilizing protest. Through performance art (theatre or music), political discussion may be engaged in an intellectual manner but also a visceral and emotional way. Concerts or festivals may serve as the best impetus toward inscription into a political party or movement as well. Adams investigates the relationship between the two by a case study on the arpillera art movements in Chile. This movement was organized through “Vicaría de la Solidaridad”, a Catholic organization staffed by middle-class professionals who were fired from former employments during Pinochet’s rule because of their ideological leanings. “Vicaría” would recruit women from struggling families in which the husband was unemployed. Arpilleras, as explained by

⁷ Deborah Yashar “Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 1, (Oct. 1998):8

⁸ Jacqueline Adams “Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women’s Protest in Pinochet’s Chile.” *Sociological Forum* 17, no. 1, (Mar. 2002): 26

Adams, are appliqué pictures in cloth. Through these images the women were told to develop a general theme, usually to depict the hardships and terror under dictatorial rule. Then these arpilleras would be clandestinely shipped and sold outside Chile. Usually, it would be exiled Chileans in Europe or the United States that would buy these arpilleras as a sign of solidarity. Yet, through the exposure granted by these exiled Chileans, the international community and independent collectors around the world would take notice of the plight of these women and Chile. The study focuses on the power of the organized movement and the simple yet tragic images they produced that contributed to the way the military dictatorship was depicted outside Chile.

Framing issues, such as police and military brutality in shantytowns, were some of the most important first steps toward the domestic and international recognition of the deplorable conditions by which these people lived. Secondly, the social networks that were created by these organizations made groups aware of the common feelings of distrust toward the government, furthering the resolve of the social movement. Finally, the production of arpilleras also permitted women that participated in their development to make money during tough economic times. Therefore, there was a nexus of emotional attachments and material justifications for these women to participate in these movements. Later in the article, Adams explains that unlike other artistic mediums, a visual artistic product can convey powerful messages with the cloak of anonymity attached to them and less worry of governmental reprisal. Adams continues to say that popular song is usually attached to an acknowledgment of the performer, therefore singers and songwriters are going on a limb if they offend state institutions. This is

unlikely with singers using more anonymous means such as radio. Another important distinction Adams makes on the impact of images over other mediums is how popular music has one element that makes it difficult to be accepted internationally; the language used in the lyrical content may complicate its consumption in other communities.

Although the statement does hold some truth, there is an element of transcendental understanding of music. When lyrical content in English is used in diverse cultures and countries for political reasons, it seems to counter the argument by Adams. Yet, this could also be an example of cultural hegemony by Anglo-Saxon music in the international music market more so than the “transcendental” nature of music.

Popular Culture and Politics

*Music is a world within itself
With a language we all understand
With an equal opportunity
For all to sing, dance and clap their hands*

- Sir Duke by Stevie Wonder, from *Songs in the Key of Life*. 1976

The study of interactions between popular culture and politics is relatively new for political science. Anthropology, cultural studies and ethnomusicology have delved into the topic for a longer period of time and therefore I will draw most of my analysis from these disciplines.

The reason that it is so important to understand how popular culture and politics intermingle is because of the basic question of political theory: “What is the political?” By including elements that are not generally inserted into the discussion of politics, the comprehension of how mundane elements of daily life affect our understanding of the political is furthered. Just as culture is assumed to be a continuous exercise, it is easy to

forget how matter-of-fact economics and politics play in our everyday lives. As alluded to in the introduction by Jodi Dean found in the collection of essays **Cultural Studies and Political Theory**, the figure of Michel Foucault and his approach toward analyzing these relationships are heavily discussed. Foucault's method of problematizing an issue and its relationship to politics, "rejects the idea that there is one answer that politics will provide to a given question, one solution or right arrangement."⁹ The meaning and role of politics is then analyzed to understand its formation and formulations. The second method, according to Dean, is pluralizing the political. This means disassociating the political from the strict conceptions of the State. In other words, the economy, ethnicity, public-private spheres and sexuality all play a part as political relationships to a certain degree.

In the book **Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture** by John Storey the importance of another theorist in the area of cultural studies and politics is mentioned, Antonio Gramsci. With the concept of "hegemony" and the revived efforts in recent cultural studies to revise it, Gramsci's ideas were utilized to view popular culture as a producer and reproducer of "hegemony"¹⁰. Identities are "established and contested" between "the interests of dominant groups and the interests of subordinate groups"¹¹. Later in the book, pop music in its "production, distribution, performance and

⁹ Jodi Dean, "Introduction: The Interface of Political Theory and Cultural Studies", *Cultural Studies and Political Theory*. ed. Jodi Dean (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2000), 3.

¹⁰ John Storey. *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 3.

¹¹ Ibid at 4

consumption” is considered as part of the political, especially when it is overtly so. “Politics is about power, and pop music can be powerful”¹² says Storey. He then refers to examples of politicians using pop music or musicians to attract younger voters: Harold Wilson courting the Beatles, Ronald Reagan using Bruce Springsteen songs, campaign songs, slogans and endorsements in recent elections by rappers. Artists can make their political views known through their art as was the case of Jimi Hendrix’s version of the Star Spangled Banner at Woodstock which sonically depicted wailing, screams as well as a distorted soundscape. Symbolically, Hendrix used a traditional and national emblem of the United States, such as the national anthem, during a troubling war in Vietnam to express discontent and confusion regarding his country’s political future. Other situations through which pop music seems to incur into the political is when government or private companies censor songs. This was the case with “God save the Queen” by the Sex Pistols during the Silver Jubilee (an example given by Storey). Examples range from total censorship of English speaking, specifically British, music in Argentina during the Falklands war and the de-facto censoring of the Dixie Chicks by radio stations because of their negative comments directed toward President George W. Bush. Political organization through pop music is also mentioned by Storey. By this he means, musicians and NGOs that use pop music to further a specific cause, as has been seen through Live Aid, Band Aid, Concert for Bangladesh and many others.

¹² John Storey. *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 126

The Rhetoric of Moral Protest: Public Campaigns, Celebrity Endorsements and Political Mobilization by Christian Lahusen is another book that expands on the ideas of musicians and NGOs calling awareness to political issues. Other sections of the book discuss the debates regarding how business structures in the music industry have (or do not have) the power to mold popular culture through a homogenous product. But most importantly these business structures are also described as economic and political processes by which corporations with medium-sized or small subsidiaries are organized as a profit making entity, regardless of quality or diversity of styles. Following these observations, a depiction of the debates created by the assumptions of many Western musicians that their music transcends “barriers of language” and identities begins. This idea is contested by Lahusen saying that music itself is a language that can use other semiotic schemes to communicate something. More importantly, the apparent transcending power of Anglo-Saxon songs and artists cements a sense of superiority of Western music and tastes over other identities in Western artist’s minds. Lahusen then refers to rock and pop music as “transnational culture” that includes diversity and plurality of diverse ethnicities and nationalities that share a predilection for Western pop and rock music. Popular music and Pop music, a distinction which shall be discussed later on, can serve as a “rhetoric medium to encode entertaining and persuasive products, moral appeals and calls to action.”¹³

¹³ Christian Lahusen “*The Rhetoric of Moral Protest: Public Campaigns, Celebrity Endorsement, and Political Mobilization.*” (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 84.

The connection that popular music and youth movements or symbolic rebellion have in Western culture are also discussed by Lahusen. From swing jazz in the 1930's to the hippie movement of the late 60's, artistic and musical movements have seemed to propel awareness of social movements or, conversely, be influenced by them. In fact it permits a debate between a hedonist streak versus self-realization and social betterment in popular music. The hedonistic strand relates to the vitality and desire for freedoms commonly attached to perceptions of young adulthood. It also serves as an acceptance of the pure entertainment value of pop music, regardless of its transformation into a commodity. The other vision focuses on individual development and a view toward the integrity involved in creating music as a social, and not solely commercial, product. This conception of popular music foments musicians to express their ideas and beliefs taking their art very seriously. Singer-songwriters of this strand view the over-commercialization of art as a problem since that is the basic function of art, according to these musicians, to create discussion. Deeper meanings and divergences between types of popular music can also be seen, according to Lahusen. The communitarian views expressed in folk music, country and soul are compared to a much more liberal and individualist understanding in psychedelic and punk rock are examples of the complex levels of debate inside Western popular music. This debate can be stylistically, lyrically or visually but the semiotics definitely complicate former descriptions of the importance of popular music.

Continuing with the influence of popular music in politics, **Popular Music and Communication** edited by James Lull, presents a variety of opinions regarding how

popular music is a vessel for the musician's point of view, as mentioned above. Through a slew of diverse interviews with musicians and performers, popular music is perceived as a potentially subversive vessel into a massive audience. The subversive nature of the music or its lyrics can be expressed through very personal narratives, direct political statements or abstract meanings. These messages expressed through the music are not necessarily going to change political systems but, according to many musicians, they can reach minds. In other ways, popular music can also be ironically viewed as a means by which conformity is reaffirmed through the business-oriented and commercial aspects of the music industry. The book **New Directions in Political Socialization**, edited by David and Sandra Schwartz, presents a dated yet important look at the significance of popular music as a socializing agent. Made in the mid-seventies, the book delves into the contradicting elements that permitted socialization for youth during the complex political situation in the 60's. Popular music was directly in the midst of the Civil Rights movement, the Anti-War movement and the appearance of the New Left in the political spectrum. According to the book, the traditional values expressed through the family and mainstream society, were constantly confronted by pop musician's values and political views. The most prominent targets of this conflict between conventional and alternative ideals were younger members of society, who actively consumed popular music. The investigations used in the book point to the conclusion that the more it is perceived that certain songs are politically charged, the more that this specific artist is seen in a positive affect. Therefore, an emotional bond is made with the music and the musician as well. Furthermore, those young people who tended to view their favorite music as political were more prone to be interested in political matters themselves. Unfortunately, the

causal relationship between political involvement and musical preferences is unclear. The relationship obviously exists but the nature by which these elements interact with each other seems to be more reciprocal than linear.

Scott (2003) covers the theoretical ground on politics and culture. Entering into the field of political theory, Scott discusses the long process by which popular culture is understood as an important element in politics and vice-versa. Western political theory had been focused on understanding the differences between cultures while accepting the idea that there was an objective “Reason” which analyzed them from an outside perspective. This was then transformed into paradigmatic theories about popular culture as social constructs in local and regional spheres, challenging each other through social interaction. Yet according to Scott, who concludes similarly to the commentaries made by Lahusen, there is still a tinge of ethnocentrism inside those pronouncements. Scott then tries to discuss the ways by which culture is discussed in the crux of political theory while still failing to state the role of culture in the political. The conclusions of this article are that culture is “undertheorized and underhistoricized”¹⁴ in political theory. According to Scott, culture is usually assumed to simply be present, without a need for it to be discussed. In a post-Cold War world, these discussions of culture and the political are essential to mastering the ways by which political philosophy can separate itself from Western ethnocentrism and cultural hegemony.

¹⁴ David Scott “Culture in Political Theory.” *Political Theory* 31, no.1 (Feb 2003): 111.

All these debates about the cultural struggles, whether referring to regionalism, nationalism, internationalism or social constructs, are highly indebted to Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. Gramsci's descriptions of the term "hegemony" that refer to a cultural and ideological dominance of the dominant capitalist classes permitted subsequent theorists to enter into a more complex view of culture and politics and how one infuses the other. Gramsci added that these ideologies were not simply imposed by the State but in fact were developed through compromise in all layers of society. The name he gave this upward social construction was "compromise equilibrium". Although Gramsci was analyzing this struggle strictly through a Marxist paradigm, the analytical progress made toward considering culture as an important battleground was an essential step forward. Michel Foucault, through his various works, offers a historicist approach toward shifting cultural, societal and epistemological norms. Foucault examines how political institutions reflect these changing historical circumstances as well as how new social constructs stem from former transmutations. Another important element to Foucault's complex views are that power, in its diverse interpretations, is nothing without resistance. The progress made by these two figures permitted a more nuanced interlay between culture and political institutions that permitted developments in contemporary cultural studies, political science and anthropology.

Theory

As presented throughout the introduction, this thesis intends to describe the political impact that NC had on three Latin American countries in times of social, economic and political upheaval. This second part will begin with a historical depiction of the NC movement. The complicated political events of these Latin American states will be chronicled first as to understand the similar settings, while contextualizing the ability of these democratic movements to survive.

The intent of this historical approach will be to discern the organizational challenges of this movement and what effect did the movement and their music had in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The NC genre of popular protest song was a coalescing force for socio-political movements in these nations. As a catalyst for others social movements, the NC movement itself had some of the elements that are discussed in Adams - referring to the role of art in social movements – and contributed to a sense of community among musicians and left-wing politicians. Elements such as movement

organizational skills, resources, social networking, framing of issues and emotional attachment shall be the other elements that are central to this discussion. The organizational factors may hold the key for explaining how NC reached a high level of political action in the Southern Cone during the 1960's and 1970's. These will be discussed through the case study.

It is paramount to understand the movement as a whole under their specific socio-political circumstances that nurtured or complicated this artistic movement's salience in Latin American popular culture. The loose organizational quality of the NC artistic movement and its sundry ideological components may contribute to an appreciation of their role in political socialization and grass-roots level participation. These characteristics can also point to the possible motives by which the movement did so well under certain social and political circumstances and why it weathered relatively well under the yoke of oppressive regimes in some cases but not in others. Therefore, the strategic elements and emotional power, that according to Goodwin, Jasper and Khattrra are usually relegated as superfluous in PPT, shall be the focus of this thesis.

As an introduction to the socio-economic and political problems that were prevalent during the time period in which NC emerged, the next section will describe in general terms these conditions as a context.

Political Background

The political scene in Latin America during the time the NC movement came to prominence were complex and violent. Political conditions in Argentina and Uruguay

during the late 60's were looking quite similar and Chile would soon follow by the beginning of the 70's. Both countries had conservative dictatorships which worked in cooperation to limit the influence of the New Left political movements. Whether through censorship or force, these governments felt an urgency to deal with any type of radical reformist groups. Usually authorities were prone to use force, viewing the New Left as total anathema to national progress and the traditional Christian values that held these countries together. The advent of Marxist guerrilla groups, influenced by the Cuban Revolution and especially the Argentine revolutionary leader Ernesto "Ché" Guevara, presented an incredible challenge for these Latin American States suffering through painful economic conditions. Although contact between these groups and the New Left were possible, the differences were apparent in terms of their political approach. The Marxist guerillas were willing to use political kidnappings and assassinations to achieve the transformation of these States into communist entities. Meanwhile, the New Left movements preferred the use of national electoral systems so as to gain power through democratic means, having a constituent wing which promoted pacifism as a modus operandi of the movement. Unfortunately, this permitted the military authorities to confuse both or purposefully skew the differences as to eliminate all dissent. The NC artists usually found themselves immersed in the New Left movements of the 60's and early 70's. If not because of a direct ideological link with the New Left or Marxist guerillas, the NC movements' open admiration toward policies promoting redistribution of wealth, agrarian reform and social justice, made them targets of the state repression.

Argentina

After years of Peronist dominance in the 40's and 50's, a united military action in 1955 to not only depose Juan Perón but to also prohibit the Justicialista party (Peronist) from even participating in national and provincial elections, seemed to cement further political worries of socio-political disarray to loom into the future. The succession of failed political leaders to turn around Argentina's political tensions and stabilize the nation's economic growth led to another military intervention. The "Onganiato", named for military officer and President Juan Carlos Onganía, was a coup organized by a socially conservative faction of the armed forces. This return to military control of the government in 1966 was seen as a total reactionary reorganization of the Argentine political party system. This reorganization permitted "participation" from diverse interest groups but frowned upon political parties. Onganía also presented this "Argentine Revolution" as a needed confrontation to back-track the supposed cultural "excesses" of liberalism and Marxism. This meant reform in the university system and higher learning institutions followed by repression of "immoral activities". According to the dictatorship, "immoralism" included young men with long hair, women using mini-skirts and avant-garde artistic movements, affecting the NC movement quite directly. These reforms also meant wage freezes for workers and unions so as to crackdown on inflation, trailed by subsidies of the industrial sectors by taxing farming exports. But inner tensions between military factions left Onganía's authority on shaky ground. The Colorados thought that the actions taken by the State were not enough to bring order to the country and the Azules, a more liberal-minded splinter group, wanted an immediate return to the liberal

democratic structures that permitted political parties. When student protests in 1969 were met by police brutality, the visibility of the ruthless actions committed by the authorities ended up mobilizing more popular discontent with the “Onganiato”. Within no time, the military leaders ousted Onganía from power. What seemed as the ever-changing figureheads of the regime, were then being steadily pressured by the populace to return to civilian rule. After riots erupted in Córdoba and the military had to occupy the city, General Alejandro Lanusse became the new president and consequently reached an agreement to hold elections to quell any further commotion. The ban on the Peronist party was lifted, with only one exception: Perón himself could not run for President.

As the primary opponents of the civil and military regimes that came to power and failed to alter Argentina’s economic and political woes, the national unions with Peronist ties were once again gaining enough influence to take government back into Peronist hands. After the national elections, the Peronists had won a stunning victory with 49.5% of the vote and thereafter, Héctor Cámpora became the President of Argentina. Despite the fact that Cámpora was Perón’s representative during the transition period, he had no political experience and fell under the pressures of the office by his fifth week in office. The befuddlement that overcame the military led them to agree that only Juan Domingo Perón could bring stability to the country. On June 20th, as people in Ezeiza International Airport expected Perón to return from exile, a fray between Montaneros (a leftist guerrilla organization working alongside the Peronist Youth), guards and AAA (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) members erupted. The result was 13 people dead and 365 injured, although there are accounts by which more people were affected. This event

bolstered the split between the left and right wings of the Peronist movement, giving a preview of the horrors yet to come. Perón's reaction did not help to create unity among his ranks. He ordered the end of protests by the youth organizations and the unions. He then sent mixed messages through the diverse organizations inside Peronism (CGT, Peronist Youth, Justicialista Party) regarding the new political direction of the movement as a whole. Finally clarifying this new rift, Perón publically criticized the leaders of the Peronist Youth and the Montoneros, consolidating an alienation of the left-wing inside Peronism. Before any other official action was made, Juan Domingo Perón died of a heart attack on June 1st 1974. The new government's aims were perceptible under the unprepared command of Isabel Perón and the direct advisement of José López Rega: eradicate the left in Argentina. This administration was involved in counterrevolutionary actions and state terrorism through the assistance of the AAA, López Rega being a founder of the group and carrying the most weight as Isabel Perón's private secretary. Raids, bombings, kidnappings and assassinations of opponents and sympathizers became common. Called the "Dirty War", the oppressive actions of the state only reinforced the willingness of groups such as the Montoneros and the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) to retaliate. The level of violence kept escalating, only increasing as a military junta overthrew Perón's ineffectual and unpopular government. Under the authority of Jorge Rafael Videla, Commander-in-Chief during the last year of Perón's rule, the Argentine state and subsidiary groups such as the AAA, continued to ravage the country. It was the military fiasco of the Falklands War during the months of April to June 1982 that permitted the collapse of the military junta and concluded with the return to civilian rule.

Uruguay

In Uruguay, after a decade of rising inflation reaching up to 125% and negative economic growth that only surpassed Malawi and Dominican Republic at .9% during 1965, political tensions were at an all time high. The economic crisis in turn compelled a growing popular acquiescence of constitutional reforms that granted a stronger presidential system. With the ascension to power of Colorado party member Jorge Pacheco Areco in 1968 as the new president, government censorship of leftist newspapers became commonplace. A decree banning the Socialist party and other minor anarchist organizations was also put in place during this time. When Pacheco established a state of emergency to “resolve” labor disputes and deal directly with guerrilla movements, the step was seen as one that agitated urban socialist youths. The move fortified the Tupamaros (from the Inca chieftain Tupac Amaru) or the National Liberation Movement (MLN) created as a disenchanted faction of the Socialist Party in 1963. The political violence between these radical Marxists guerrillas, the Tupamaros, and the government would soon spiral further, only creating a hostile situation for leftist movements and sympathizers alike.

Similar to economic policy shifts in other Latin American countries, a decree announcing wage and price freezes were some of the first policy instruments used to curb inflation and gain International Monetary Fund assistance. In spite of some successes in curtailing inflation, soon consumer prices began skyrocketing by 25% annually from 1969 to 1971. Yet, as party dominance for the 1971 election depended on government spending, a subsequent fiscal deficit of 30% and a negative trade balance left the

Uruguayan economy with few positive developments as well as added repeals of constitutional safeguards through obvious political repression. After a set of disturbing kidnappings and assassinations during 1970, the Tupamaros were faced with a public perception that they were responsible for the dissolution of democracy. Notwithstanding the fact that the Tupamaros called a truce for the 1970 election, this ended up favoring the government to engage in despicable acts of repression under a new administration and the transition from a healthy Latin American democracy into a dictatorship.

The Colorado party candidate for 1970, Juan María Bordaberry, won the election although under dubious circumstances. Bordaberry was easily pressured to work as the guise for a military dictatorship. During the following decade, Uruguay became the country with the largest rate of torture and political prisoners per capita. The intentions of the Bordaberry administration were evident as the amount of funds allocated toward education had been cut by 7% while military spending increased by 12.3%. This apparently was just the beginning. The military began overseeing elections and defined “state survival” as the goal of any policy decision. In a matter of months, the Tupamaros were destroyed. By 1973, the “state of emergency” turned its sights into other areas of opposition. Therefore, intellectuals, teachers and union leaders were besieged by the military and police authorities. Freedom of assembly was something of the past. Unlike, the military dictatorships in their adjacent countries, Uruguay’s system functioned through a complex yet ultimately centralized bureaucracy. Even when a military leader such as General Gregorio Álvarez saw himself as the equivalent of Chile’s Gen.

Pinochet, his aspirations were thwarted by in-fighting in the military bureaucratic model in Uruguayan state affairs.

Any activity, whether political, cultural, social or religious, had to be run through the police with a ten-day waiting period. Educational curricula could not delve deeply into the French Revolution or discuss ideals of the “equality of man”. By 1976, certain keywords, such as “people”, could not be used in popular song. In 1981, after a plebiscite regarding military-favored constitutional reforms had taken place and lost afterwards, the word “plebiscite” was included as one of the keywords censored by the authorities. Songs were to be verified by officials before ever being played and there was a common denial of any outdoor activity where popular music could be played. It was not until 1985, that the transition to a liberal democracy was made complete.

Chile

Chile, on the other hand, had a tumultuous democratic battle between three coalitions. Unión Popular (UP), a coalition of Socialists, Communists and provincial Radicals (commonly considered as centrists), had achieved a stalemate regarding seats in the parliamentary elections. Therefore, it was thought very unlikely that UP would win the presidential elections. Meanwhile, the National Party, the right wing political party, having gained 6 percentage points in these elections were thought to have the upper hand since it appeared that the middle classes were more attune with this party’s call for order. This party decided to support the independent candidacy of former President Jorge Alessandri. Alessandri was promising the return to order in the universities, the curtailing

of agrarian reform as well as a shakedown against union strikes. The party in power in the presidency as well as the congress, the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) had new leadership that took the party into a left-leaning position, posing the problem of making it less likely to attract middle-class voters. When the election took place, UP's candidate, Salvador Allende, won 36.2% of the vote, yet did not have the majority. The decision was up to the congress. Looking for an alliance to strengthen their standing, the UP and CDP agreed on Salvador Allende as the new President of Chile under certain "democratic guarantees". During his first year, the Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean armed forces, René Schneider, was assassinated in a kidnapping attempt. Schneider had committed himself to uphold the elections regardless of the outcome. It is suggested that the assassination took place with help from the C.I.A. Conversely, this transformed public opinion into momentary support for the UP government, even by the military authorities.

The UP's economic policies of giving workers a 35 to 40% raise, followed by a price freeze concluded with a drop in the inflation and the unemployment rate. The temporary popularity of the UP among the Chilean people permitted further gains in local elections, but soon the increased purchasing power created excess demand. This put a strain in the supply and caused scarcity of important items, such as bathroom tissue. Out of these situations two important developments emerged, the creation of a black market and the first signs of organized opposition to the UP government.

The "march of the empty pots" was the event in which middle-class women organized, calling on the Allende's administration to deal with the scarcity of products by banging empty pots and pans throughout the streets of Santiago. Simultaneously, a

fascist-style organization called “Patria y Libertad” (Fatherland and Freedom) began to cause frequent blackouts in the biggest Chilean cities, as to then blame left-wing guerillas or the inefficient government for the plight of the citizens. The primary goal of this group was to overthrow the UP by any means necessary. Another assemblage, formed out of what they deemed a necessity, were vigilante groups formed by landowners. Specifically in Southern Chile, “fundos” or agricultural lands were rapidly being expropriated by both the UP government and poor farmers groups. Shoot-outs between “campesinos” (rural peasants, usually of Inca or Quechúa ancestry) and the landowners became something common. To complicate matters, a series of strikes in 1972, headed by truckers, retail merchants and professionals forced Allende to invite the military into his cabinet. Instead of trying to reach consensus, Allende and the UP sought to acquire some of the failing independent media markets, only enraging those in the middle-class and in the establishment who were already opposed to his administration. Allende’s policies, but specifically his ideals, had already alienated any financial assistance by the United States, through new loans or grants.

Although the national strike of 1972 was eventually quelled by the military participation in the cabinet, the far left-wing of the UP did not trust the military and wanted them out immediately. In 1973, the government’s luck kept getting worse as a miners’ strike and a coup attempt by junior officers in June impelled Allende to have military in his cabinet once again. Allende tried to handle the strike while Gen. Carlos Prats, Chilean Commander-in-Chief, thwarted the military uprising. Allende thereafter sought a negotiated peace between the political parties. After the negotiations, scandals

regarding Gen. Prats and an irate confrontation with a recognized citizen caused him to resign. The new Commander-in-Chief was General Augusto Pinochet paving the way for the September 11th coup.

The military junta directed by Pinochet would try and reorganize the political system but also severely distort the cultural make-up of Chile. Although the most discussed factor of the Pinochet years were his economic policies, the human rights violations were at the crux of understanding Chilean popular music after the 1970's. "The economic miracle" as it was regarded by many, left the country with high unemployment rates, a wider range of inequality among Chileans as well as the psychological scars of state repression. Intellectuals, journalists, unionists, activists and artists were imprisoned, tortured and, in some cases, killed. Despite the efforts by the Chilean left to reorganize, Pinochet's hold on power was quite strong as well as supported by American intelligence. Only during the Carter administration did relations between the two countries become strained, yet they returned to normal with Ronald Reagan's presidency. In 1986, a failed assassination attempt on Pinochet only created more problems since it resulted in the arrest of their leadership. Pinochet ruled Chile until a 1988 referendum on his "presidency" which sealed the transition to democracy ; 55.99% of voters voted against maintaining Pinochet in power and calling for a general election. Yet, Pinochet remained as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces until 1998 and afterwards was named Senator-for-life. The constitutional reforms after 1989 still needed the approval of Pinochet followers, right-wing parties and the man himself.

It is also significant to note that Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil along with other Southern Cone countries, were conducting a shared intelligence initiative supported by the U.S. called “Operation Condor”. This orchestrated effort permitted these dictatorships to persecute and kill those left-wing activists that were considered of interest. “Operation Condor” members threatened a U.S. statesman, Former Congressman and later Mayor of New York, Ed Koch. Chilean intelligence officials also car-bombed U.S.-based Chilean activist and economist Marcos Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. Both were targeted for their outspokenness against these regimes and the dangerous precedent their actions were setting.

In a certain sense, “Operation Condor” also served as a unifying force for social movements in these countries. Exiled artists and grass-roots organizers in North America and Europe used their talents to frame the issues of human rights violations and gain international support for their cause. As mentioned earlier, popular rock musicians and artists used their fame to bring awareness on the conditions of these Latin American dictatorships.

Case Study: “Nueva Canción” in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay

“Nueva Canción”, Spanish for New Song, is defined as a musical and cultural movement with its ascribed origin specifically tied to Chile and the Southern Cone. Well-known figures such as Violeta Parra from Chile and Atahualpa Yupanqui from Argentina established the foundations for the movement that would soon materialize as “Nueva Canción Latinoamericana” (NCL). Despite its roots in Andean and Southern American regionalized character, the musical movement spread among diverse Latin American countries and inspired a slew of artists in the Iberian Peninsula and the world. The Oxford Music Online dictionary defines this “new song”, as a genre of popular music highly nurtured by Chilean artistic achievements in music and poetry during the late 1950’s and 1960’s. The term “popular” is used in a loose sense; it is understood in that the genre derives from the culture of the masses, not necessarily produced for commercial consumption by them but representative of them and their customs.

Experts and historians¹⁵ agree that the movement's nomenclature as well as its own recognition as a cohesive socio-political endeavor originated in the *Primer Encuentro de la Canción Protesta*, from July 29th to the 10th of August in 1967. The historical gathering of fifty musicians from eighteen countries in which artists could perform, share ideas and discuss multiple musical and songwriting techniques was held in Varadero, a resort town in Matanzas, Cuba. Through a compromise between the artists congregated in this tropical resort, they debated how to classify themselves as “revolutionaries”, “proponents” or “protesters”. The discussion ranged from the acquiescence of how much influence did the American folk and “Protest song” movement have on most of these musicians’ style and delivery; but also to the social consciousness displayed by these American counterparts. American folk musicians stood in the picket lines, fought alongside African-Americans for civil rights, carried banners and sang about abstract notions of freedom, love and, peace, while still being able to have the courage to back those words up through political action. In the midst of such turbulent and violent times, the bravery and genuine commitment of these artists presented this movement with a re-imagined role for the troubadour. Disappointment was also revealed referring to how, in their eyes, over-commercialization had degraded American “Protest song” into just another commodity in capitalist society. The musical trends that soon followed would be labeled in such diverse ways that it would be easy to forget how connected they were in mission. “*Nueva Canción*”, “*Nova Trova*” (from Cuba and the

¹⁵ Jan Fairley, “La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana.” *Latin American Research* 3, no. 2 (1984) : 107-115.

Caribbean), “*Canción protesta*” or Protest song, “Música Popular” and “Tropcália” (from Brazil), were some of the stylistic experiments that emerged out of this artistic reunion.

Political Influences: International and Domestic

As mentioned above, external stylistic factors such as the politically active American Folk movement and international events also colluded to foster the fruition of NC in Latin America. Vilches (2006) alludes to the Cold War as one of the single most important factors for the maturation of NC in Latin America. He points out how these Latin American countries did not want to be boxed into caricatures of either side, whether free-market capitalism or Soviet communism. Most of the political elite in Latin America decided to employ economic and political models that negated the dogmatic notions of both ideological blocks and conspicuously asserted a separate national and regional identity. What these countries defined the “third way” led to the implementation of an import-substitution-industrialization (ISI)¹⁶ model in the economic spheres along with the threat of quite protective cultural policies. New agencies to foment national culture were implemented, especially in the area of music. But, the most known cultural policies offered in countries such as Argentina and Chile were aimed to increase the amount of

¹⁶ Thomas Oatley, *International Political Economy: Interests and Institutions in the Global Economy*, 2nd edition, (New York, NY: Pearson Longman, 2006) : 111-163. ISI refers to the use of protective tariffs on foreign trade combined with subsidies of domestic capitalists and industrialists. In other words, the state substitutes many of the markets which were dominated by imported goods through government funded industries. In cases such as Argentina, agricultural exports, being the most lucrative and competitive for these countries in the world market, were taxed to stabilize government budgets and trade balance of payments.

local folkloric and original music broadcasted in the radio airwaves. These governments put forth biased estimates and percentages on just how much “foreign” music should be consumed by the public, at least through radio and later on, television. In most cases though, governments did not come through or fell short on those promises. It did not matter though, however, since the local musical industry and production companies were doing well and were quite popular among the masses. An example of the kind of musicians that were positively affected by government policies and a burgeoning music industry would be the “Nuevo Cancionero” movement in Argentina during the 1950s. According to Vilches, the central figure of the movement was Héctor Roberto Chavero, a.k.a. Atahualpa Yupanqui, which compiled and wrote an impressive amount of songs that would later be made internationally famous by the following generation of Argentine singers. It is worthwhile to note that during his early career Atahualpa Yupanqui was closely linked with the Communist Party in Argentina. Adversely affecting his musical production was how his political affiliation that caused him to be censored under the Perón regime. Soon after he broke his political links with the Communist Party, his music was not censored and his popularity grew, even coming to represent Argentina in the international realm. After Lt. Gen. Videla came to power in 1976, Yupanqui barely ever returned to Argentina. His art and activism in turn influenced Chile to produce the artists that would solidify some of the cultural conditions that made NC possible.

The other international factor that greatly contributed to the cultural growth of NC was the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The overthrow of the Batista regime in summation with the new and charismatic Latin American political figures that emerged out of the

revolution, Fidel Castro and Ernesto Guevara, added a sense of prospect to socialist movements all around Latin American. The Cuban Revolution also reinforced a dream in which it was possible to install what then seemed to be a utopian political system based on the forgotten masses. The Socialist government that emerged out of the Revolution was very keen to the importance of cultural production. Stimulating artists to produce for the Cuban state through special programs, some Cuban and Latin American musicians were highly regarded by the political leaders because of their popularity. Regardless of the opinions most people have about the Cuban Revolution today, among artists, politicians and activists it was then seen as an inspiration. Even the capture and assassination of “Ché” in Bolivia by 1967 only martyred him and elevated his ideals in the hearts and minds of many artistic and political circles in Latin America.

Characterized by the social awareness of its content, the NCL movement was not always explicitly political. Yet, the genre was always mindful of the social and cultural value of artistic output as a means of putting certain issues into the forefront of political discussion. Commonly using critical references to the social problems that plagued their countries coupled with a yearning for social justice and equality, their intent was clear, but the means by which to change social structures were not. Themes such as northern imperialism, racism, poverty, defense of democracy, human rights, protection of tradition and empowerment were packed in what seemed to be highly complex and multifarious poetic experiments. The music and songwriting was intended to construe a new collective embodiment of what it means to be “Latin American”. Through art and culture, we could

see a struggle between European–American cultural hegemony pinned against an alternative hegemony of greater Latin American solidarity.

The unifying and, at once, challenging quality of NCL permitted the basic tenets of the movement to extend into other countries. And when the historical narrative of these countries suffered through a set of similar political tragedies, as mentioned earlier, the message that the movement wished to convey became that much more prescient and transcendent. The focus of this protest song then became to expose a common plight among peoples in the Third World and developing nations. Displaying universality in their humanist themes, it could even gain the attention of artists in European countries as in Spain under the regime of Gen. Francisco Franco. This was the case of Catalanian singer-songwriter, Joan Manuel Serrat, who felt himself quite connected with his Latin American equivalents and was acclaimed throughout these countries. Simultaneously, it allowed the movement to develop under distinct national characteristics that embraced originality yet remained quite inclusive. NCL was truly devoted in actually exemplifying democracy and multiculturalism under its scope. It may be said that the NCL movement was grander than merely another local artistic phenomenon, engaging artists to insert their own cultural ingredients of national identity. Promoting pride in the uniqueness of one's culture while understanding a shared social responsibility among artists of the Latin American world was among the primary goals of NCL.

Political differences between artists inside the NC movement should also be pointed out. It has been a common mistake to immediately assume that all these artists were homogenous in thought and practice. There were several cases in which Chilean

musical groups, regarded as proponents of the NC, had much more right-wing or socially conservative leaning views. Some examples of this are groups like Los Huasos Quincheros, Willy Bascañan y Raúl De Ramón. In general, it appears that the most politically active musicians were on the left of the political spectrum.

Exiled Chilean musician, writer, songwriter and journalist Patricio Manns defined NCL's objectives in a lecture he gave at the workshop discussing the "stylistics of nueva canción" called **the Problems of the text in nueva canción**. These were presented as:

...first, to embody the revision of conventional values, rooted on the one hand in the traditional song, and on the other, at the heart of the intellectual organization of our societies; and, second, its very strength and drive involved it directly in all the liberation struggles which we have been called upon to wage in these late years of the century, just one of which is the struggle against military dictatorship.¹⁷

Manns continues throughout this lecture to explain that illiteracy is worse than a dictatorship, because it degrades the level of citizenship and democracy. Therefore, song is necessary as one of the most, if not the most, direct mediums by which to reach both the middle-classes and the uneducated populace. As he goes on, Manns indicates how oral traditions became the most important building block for the movement in regards to the lyrical content but not the only one. These oral traditions of popular poetry descended from the diverse and conflicting influences of the Spanish Conquistador, the Araucano and Mapuche indigenous tradition as well as Creole working and middle-classes. Forms such as *cuecas*, "*a lo pueta*" chants and, *Lira Popular* were all popular types of verse,

¹⁷Patricio Manns, The Problems of the text in nueva canción, trans. Catherine Boyle and Mike Gonzalez, *Popular Music* 6, no. 2, Latin America (May, 1987): 193

song and dance. *Cueca*, for example, took elements of Spanish *fandango*, fusing it with Creole and African musical characteristics as to primarily comment on the Wars of Independence in Latin America, building up morale for their countrymen in tough times. Meanwhile, *Lira Popular* was the clearest ancestor of Chilean NC, engaging audiences on timely political issues and even inciting workers strikes.

It was the influence of contemporary vanguard poetry though that could not be overstated. Writers and poets like Nicolás Guillén, Nicanor Parra, Federico García Lorca and Pablo Neruda were instrumental in the literary instruments that would become a distinguishing feature of NCL. The revolutionary use of language to experiment with traditions was an essential feature in the evolution of NCL. Manns stresses how the songwriter following in the steps of the NCL movement has to be rigorous with the use of words and exercise constantly with semantics:

Words, the knowledge of words, are absolutely fundamental. You have to conquer a dozen words a day, learn to smell, lick, weigh and absorb them. Without an understanding of the (semantic) meaning of each word there can be no transmission of ideas, no message, no conspiracy, no complicity; in short, there can be neither poetry, nor history, nor action...¹⁸

As already mentioned, another important component in any probing of this artistic movement must take into consideration the strictly musical traditions they used as their foundation. Instead of accentuating only their Iberian heritage, artists in these Latin American countries used the musical principals of the displaced and oppressed peoples

¹⁸ Patricio Manns, The Problems of the text in nueva canción, trans. Catherine Boyle and Mike Gonzalez, *Popular Music* 6, no. 2, Latin America (May, 1987): 194

distinctive of their specific cultures. So for Chilean artists such as Inti-Illimani, stories of the rural peasant, commonly of Mapuche indigenous ancestry; was now turned into the main character of their popular song. Meanwhile, Caribbean strands of the movement from Cuba and Puerto Rico emphasized on the African slave and the Taíno as their heroic symbol. The tonalities, harmonies, melodies, modalities, dynamics and rhythmic elements used by these musicians were all based on traditional rural music. This also extended into the instrumentation used by musicians. Most NCL artists took their cues from indigenous musical traditions that were being rediscovered and redefined because of new historical and archeological finds.

A clear example of rural instrumentation being introduced into popular music was the *charango*, a small string instrument using an armadillo shell as the body, which quickly became a staple of the NC movement in Chile. The symbolism of these seemingly unimportant choices was to honor these undermined cultures that lay under layers of prejudice for so many years before. Backlash against years of Eurocentric cultural hegemony was an essential factor in comprehending what was so revolutionary about this artistic movement. Embracing the honorable ancient past while criticizing what they viewed as a distorted idea of modernity under the yoke of European and North American cultural imperialism was at the heart of this revolutionary artistic movement. Traditional instrumentation came to be so connected with NCL, that after the Chilean

coup, the government censured all forms of NC but also prohibited the use of charango and other instruments, deeming them too “subversive”.¹⁹

Other performers preferred simplicity and bareness when it came to their instrumentation. NCL musicians of this mindset played with a single guitar and their voice as the only vehicle for their message. According to many musicians of the movement, this stylistic feature elevated the verse in importance and obligated the listener to pay less attention to the performer and more so to the content. The spare and minimalistic approach also accentuated a deep connection with the image of the rural peasant who plays music during a ritual or a celebration, which would only use a simple string instrument and their voice to entertain or inform their community.

Unlike earlier movements that may have explored traditional forms of Argentine and Chilean music, NCL also had a connection with lower and lower-middle classes. Typically, NC artists were of modest origins and felt a sense of connection with working classes. Musical groups in the bigger cities such as Santiago in Chile and Buenos Aires in Argentina were apparently a different species than what would emerge out of the NCL movement. Although they played similar folkloric music than some of the NCL troubadours that would soon follow, these groups were viewed to represent the upper-middle classes in their politics, educational level, morals and demeanor. Ensembles playing in these city nightclubs had apparel that was neat and fashionable for the time

¹⁹ Freddy Vilches “*Poesía, canción y cultura popular en Latinoamérica: La Nueva Canción Chilena.*” Doctoral dissertation presented to the Department of Romance Languages and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon (June, 2006)

period; their instrumentation and musical knowledge was more technical and intricate. These are cases in point by which state ventures into folklore before the NCL movement were more directed towards aristocratic and Creole cultural interests. The burgeoning NCL songwriters on the other hand were not afraid to use indigenous garb or modern yet simple casual attire such as a shirt and jeans. Even the image of NCL musicians permitted them to personify those modest origins that defined their musical aspirations and drive. The figure that stands out in the progress made by the movement is singer, songwriter and folklorist, Violeta Parra, sister of the aforementioned poet, Nicanor Parra.

Violeta Parra

A life dedicated to rediscovering Andean tradition, she spent years going to shantytowns and villages learning songs and manual crafts laid down by generations. Violeta Parra was comfortable in these towns since she herself was born and raised in similar circumstances. Beginning in 1953, Parra collected an approximate of 3,000 songs from the Chilean countryside. Her ability to inspire confidence as well as create real personal relationships with rural artists helped in her extensive research. Some of the songs which she investigated were only known through small portions of the oral tradition depending on each region. To solve this problem, she was willing to connect song fragments from multiple geographical areas or even complete songs herself. For these reason, Parra represents the turning point from merely rescuing traditions along with a profound folkloric recompilation towards transforming into the single most important artist to reformulate Chilean culture. Her most famous songs “La Carta” (The Letter) and “Qué Dirá el Santo Padre” (What would the Holy Father say?) would deal

aggressively with issues of deplorable poverty in Chile's rural towns and the failure of social institutions, such as the Church and all this through a sharp wit and sincere commitment for a better future. In her public life she was very active in Chilean progressive circles, specifically involved with the Socialist Party which would later merge with other left-wing parties to form UP. After a history of failed relationships and troubling economic circumstances, Parra committed suicide before ever seeing UP's political victory of 1970 or the subsequent coup d'etat in 1973. Her offspring, Isabel and Ángel Parra, continued her efforts and contributed greatly to the progress of the NCL movement in their own rite.

Ángel and Isabel Parra/ Patricio Manns

Nineteen sixty-five was the year in which the Parra siblings arrived in Chile and developed an idea that would be known as "la Peña de los Parras". A large house with modest furniture and traditional decorations near the center of Santiago, "la Peña" would be the cultural hub of the Chilean strand of NC. The audiences that attended performances in "la Peña" would not only watch and listen to the musicians play their material, but would also have the opportunity to converse with them. Through the creation of this historic cultural focus point, we can see how social networking became vital for the movement. The "peñas" permitted real emotional attachments to occur between musicians, poets and audiences. This obviously made the NCL a stronger and more committed movement. Soon the creation of "peñas" was very popular in cities such as Valparaíso and universities. During the rise of UP in 1970, which was partly due because of the participation of musicians active in this cultural center, government

support of the arts was increased. Some of the common faces in the “peñas” then participated in state entities related to culture; as was the case of Patricio Manns, who wrote a series of books and worked as a journalist under the State Publishing House. As their cultural importance grew, so did their political appeal and standing. Right-wing elites viewed these centers to be attracting the youth to leftist movements as well as becoming the official cultural movement. After September 11th, 1973, the “peñas” were, for all intent and purposes, illegal according to the military junta.

Victor Jara

Among many other important contributions to NC, Víctor Jara’s life and work would seem to be the most well-known of the movement and would seem to literally embody the movement’s rise as well as its abrupt end. Víctor Jara was a singer-songwriter with an early childhood clearly linked to the rural farm-worker and the working class that he sang about. Growing up in a musical household, his mother was a singer and had a vast knowledge of traditional popular music. His family managed to give him an education, eventually leading him to study theater later in his life, gaining then the vanguard elements of his later work. Being a member of Cumcumén and an artistic director of the group Quilapayún, helped in paving the possible musical direction for these groups and also designed their on-stage apparel. Like Parra before him, Jara researched traditional folk songs but developed his own style very quickly prompting him to public acclaim. He appeared not be intimidated of explicitly espousing Marxist ideals and his songs reflected that. “Te recuerdo Amanda” (I remember you Amanda), Jara uses what first appears to be a simple love song, to delve into a critique of capitalist

industrialism through metaphor. After Ché's assassination in 1967, Jara wrote a song dedicated to this figure and had to hide the title through code so as to not be censored. "Preguntas por Puerto Montt", a song directly dealing with a politically motivated massacre in 1969, led some members of the public to threaten Jara's life. "Venceremos", another combative song with a clear social message, became the song for the UP campaign, linking him directly with Salvador Allende's presidency. By 1973, Victor Jara had made songs both addressing the land-working peasants forcefully taking lands before the governmental expropriation took place and the support for construction unions. After the coup, Victor Jara would represent what appeared to be the death of NC in Chile by being tortured and later shot in the chest various times. Ironically, the stadium in which he was killed now bears his name.

The level of persecution targeted toward any sort of digression from the military junta and the leadership of Gen. Augusto Pinochet Uguarte was so violent that it pressured many in the artistic community to leave the country. Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Patricio Manns, among many others decided to continue their artistic careers in exile.

Alfredo Zitarrosa and Daniel Viglietti

In Uruguay, the two most creative minds of their strand of NC were Alfredo Zitarrosa and Daniel Viglietti. Zitarrosa consciously avoided using contemporary criticisms of the political structure in Uruguay. Preferring to base his artistic achievements on rediscovering and protecting traditional folk music of the rural Uruguayan, Zitarrosa used this popular poetry symbolically to oppose the government in

a subtle way. Daniel Viglietti, much more in tune with his Chilean comrades, decided to directly call out injustices committed by the police force and the military government. Viglietti's outspokenness cost him a temporary stripping of his freedom, getting a prison sentence in 1972. After his release Viglietti decided to continue his criticisms of Latin American military dictatorship, but from Cuba and later on, Europe.

“Nueva Canción”(NC): organizational factors, resources and emotional connection

The organizational features that played a part in the growth of the NC movement could be synthesized as such:

- Social Networking:
 - 1965 is the year that the cultural hub called “La Peña de los Parras”, created by Ángel and Isabel Parra, which served as a meeting place for musicians of the NC songwriters and where they would discuss ideology as well as political action. After the dictatorship came to power, this and many “peñas” like it were closed, complicating any direct contact between like-minded artists.
 - In 1967, *El Primer Encuentro de Canción Protesta* in Cuba served as another important contact between a number of NC musicians as well as other international advocates of “Protest Song”. This encounter permitted the NC movement to extend its influence over other Latin American countries and allowed interaction with popular protest singers from North America and Europe, by which the genre gained international attention.

- Resources
 - The Chilean record company DICAP, Discoteca del Cantar Popular, (Recording Company for Popular Song) was growing, permitting NC artists to reach a certain level of commercial success and a bigger audience by which to communicate their social and political message. The Pinochet regime closed the record company, therefore, limiting the opportunities for NC musicians.
 - The UP government in Chile was very involved with the arts and popular culture. There were endowment programs for the arts and, in the case of Patricio Manns, he had participated in a State Publishing House, Quimantú. As mentioned earlier, singer-songwriters such as Victor Jara and Patricio Manns wrote songs for UP campaigns and also had a direct relationship with Salvador Allende. Once the coup occurred, the state was not only dismissive of the arts but started to persecute these musicians for their political leanings.
- Emotional connection
 - Unlike other very direct mediums, such as political pamphlets or oratory, popular music (and other forms of art) created a sense real emotional commitment to social change and could reach people that did not have the educational level to appreciate written forms of political advertising.
 - This emotional connection led to continued political efforts by some artists forced into exile, such as Patricio Manns. For other artists, keeping the hope of democratic and civilian regimes in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay

led them to advocate their hopes through song to the international community.

Content Analysis: Songs of Outrage and Humanity

As an instrument to further comprehend the use of language, semantics as well as the musical elements that distinguish NCL, this section analyzes six songs written and performed by some of the founding artists of NCL from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The lyrical content of these songs is quite important since herein lies the powerful messages of the NCL movement. These songs touch on themes like extreme poverty, social inequity and, criticism of imperialist actions by the United States was complemented by wording that struck upon very effective emotional imagery.

The first song I have chosen is “Qué dirá el Santo Padre”, a song written by Violeta Parra, and performed by the group Quilapayún in one of many impressive versions. Unlike the simple arrangement of Daniel Viglietti of the same song, with only his guitar to accompany his voice, Quilapayún has a much more intricate instrumentation, vocal harmonies, countermelodies and dynamics. All these elements definitely add effect

to the song. The content, as stated earlier, is occasionally metaphorical but can be clearly understood as a cynical look at organized religion, specifically the Catholic Church.

*Miren como nos hablan de libertad
cuando de alla nos privan en realidad
Miren como pregonan tranquilidad
cuando nos atormenta la autoridad*

*¿Qué dira el santo padre
que vive en Roma?
que le estan degollando
a sus palomas*

*Miren como nos hablan del paraiso
cuando nos llueven balas como granizo
Miren el entusiasmo con la sentencia
Sabiano que mataban ya a la
inocencia*

*¿Qué dira el santo padre
que vive en Roma?
que le estan degollando
a sus palomas*

El que oficia la muerte como un

The song in English would read like this:

Look at how they talk to us about liberty

When they only deprive us of it in reality

*Look at how they tout to us about
tranquility*

As we are tormented by authority

What would the Holy Father say?

Who lives in Rome

verdugo

¿tranquilo esta tomando su desayuno?

*El trigo por lo sembro
regao con tu sangre Julian Grimao*

*¿Qué dira el santo padre
que vive en Roma?
que le estan degollando
a sus palomas*

*Entre más injusticia, señor Fiscal
Más fuerza tiene mi alma para cantar
Con esto se pusieron la soga al cuello
El sexto mandamiento no tiene sello*

*¿Qué dira el santo padre
que vive en Roma?
que le estan degollando
a sus palomas*

As they behead his doves

*Look at how they speak to us about
paradise*

When bullets are raining like hail

*Look at the enthusiasm with which they
sentence*

Knowing that they now killed innocence

<i>The one deals death like an executioner</i>	<i>With more injustice, Mr. Prosecutor</i>
<i>Is calmly having his breakfast</i>	<i>The more strength in my soul to sing</i>
<i>Wheat for what is sown</i>	<i>With this they put the noose around the neck</i>
<i>Watered with blood, Julian Grimau</i>	<i>The sixth commandment has no seal</i>

Although the translation takes away from the original impact somewhat, the lyrical content is scathing. The narration of a government that unjustly takes away civil liberties, only to persecute their own citizens is a striking commentary. But, the critique about the absent role of religious institutions to defend the innocent faithful seems more severe. The chorus refers to how an institution which is supposed to be the highest moral authority does not enable any earthly change to solve political and social problems because of its own terrestrial concerns. The line which includes the name Julian Grimau, refers to a Spanish communist member who after the Spanish Civil War was sought after for many years until his arrest, torture and subsequent execution. Finally, Parra's text finishes with a challenge toward injustice in general and practically makes an open threat, allowing the murder of the oppressors by saying that "the sixth commandment has no seal".

The next song by Victor Jara is a quite direct attack on the Vietnam War called "El derecho de vivir en paz" (The right to live in peace). The song ventures into what appears to be rock influences with the electric guitar and a lavish arrangement. The theme

of the song focuses on the right to self-determination and the basic right to live without fear:

*El derecho de vivir
poeta Ho Chi Minh,
que golpea de Vietnam
a toda la humanidad.
Ningún cañón borraré
el surco de tu arrozal.
El derecho de vivir en paz.*

*Indochina es el lugar
mas allá del ancho mar,
donde revientan la flor
con genocidio y napalm.
English version:*

*The right to live
Poet Ho Chi Minh,
That hits of Vietnam
To all humanity
No cannon can erase
The Furrow of your rice fields
Your right to live in peace.
Indochina is the place
Far away from the wide sea
Where they destroy the flower*

*La luna es una explosión
que funde todo el clamor.
El derecho de vivir en paz.*

*Tío Ho, nuestra canción
es fuego de puro amor,
es palomo palomar
olivo de olivar.
Es el canto universal
cadena que hará triunfar,
el derecho de vivir en paz.*

With genocide and napalm

*The Moon is an explosion
That fuses all outcries,
The right to live in peace.
“Tío” Ho, our song,
Is fire of pure love,
Is the dove of the doves
Olive of the olives
It’s the universal song
Chain that will triumph
The right to live in peace.*

Directly attacking the history of French and U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Jara presents images of the universality of self-determination. It is apparent for Jara that military aggression by U.S. is a part of an imperialist agenda, in a longer tradition of imperialism. Despite any of its justifications, the war remains unjustifiable in Jara's mind. Through poetry, he expresses his wishes of the respect for self-determination while also launching a line in the end that clearly states the prospect of socialism and a subsequent peace that will be extending over the whole world. The use of electric instrumentation, not common with the rest NCL artists, presents us with a personal desire that Jara had to experiment with different sonic textures. The song seems to build up slowly until arriving at a climax by the second minute. Here there is an explosion of free-improvisation with a guitar solo and a more pronounced percussion.

The third song used will be a song "Canción para mi América" (Song for my America) written and performed by the Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti. His approach is generally very minimalistic and direct. Only accompanied by his guitar, it draws attention to the words used.

*Dale tu mano al indio
Dale que te hará bien
Y encontrarás el camino
Como ayer yo lo encontré*

*Dale tu mano al indio
Dale que te hará bien
Te mojará el sudor santo
De la lucha y el deber*

*La piel del indio te enseñará
Toda las sendas que habrás de andar
Manos de cobre te mostrarán (1)*

Toda la sangre que has de dejar

*Dale tu mano al indio
Dale que te hará bien
Y encontrarás el camino
Como ayer yo lo encontré*

*Es el tiempo del cobre
Mestizo, grito y fusil
Si no se abren las puertas
El pueblo las ha de abrir*

América esta esperando

*Y el siglo se vuelve azul
Pampas, ríos y montañas
Liberan su propia luz*

*La copla no tiene dueño
Patrones no más mandar
La guitarra americana
Peleando aprendió a cantar*

English version:

*Extend your hand to the Indian
Go ahead, it will do you good
And you'll find that the road
As yesterday I did find*

*It's time for copper
Mestizo, scream and rifle
If you are not to open the doors
The people surely will*

*Extend your hand to the Indian
Go ahead, it will do you good
You will be wet with the holy sweat
Of the struggle and duty*

*America is waiting
And the century is turning blue
Pampas, rivers and mountains
Set free their own light*

*The skin of Indian will teach you
All the roads yet to be traveled
Copper hands will show you
All the blood that you are to let*

*Popular song has no owner
No patrons to dictate
The American guitar
Learned to sing by fighting*

The text of the song has the recurring themes discussed earlier, such as the indigenous population that has been oppressed, undermined and underrepresented in the New World. Clearly, it calls upon the listener to directly interact. In this piece, it is Creole culture that has a distorted value system, since its privileged place in society has disconnected him/her from the dignity of work and a sense of duty. When Viglietti refers to the “skin of the Indian”, it graphically portrays how the physical appearance of the indigenous population will show signs of the sacrifices to provide sustenance for their families. The burns on their backs from working out in the fields during a whole day, the deterioration in health common miners constantly suffer from because of dangerous working condition, are just some of the examples of pain-staking and honorable labor engaged by indigenous peoples. As the song reaches its conclusion, Viglietti warns of a change that is about to occur in the social structure. The indigenous worker is justified in taking what is his/hers, this includes violence if necessary. If doors will not be opened by the Creoles, then they will be by the people. Finally, Viglietti defines popular song as a social good, not a commodity. Song is under no authority, a metaphor for popular song as a true democratic product.

From Alfredo Zitarrosa, the song “Adagio en mi país” (Adagio in my country), presents a somber arrangement. The title speaks plainly about how this song is to be played and understood, since adagio is a musical term to describe a slow tempo. Two guitars and Zitarrosa’s voice are the basis of the song.

Presented with incredible economic and political challenges, Zitarrosa insists on the resolve of his people and an optimism of what the future holds. The sadness of the

song only reflects on what Zitarrosa observes in his country, the poverty, social unrest and inequality.

*En mi país, que tristeza
la pobreza y el rencor
dice mi padre que ya llegará
desde el fondo del tiempo otro tiempo
y me dice que el sol brillará
sobre un pueblo que él sueña
labrando su verde solar
en mi país que tristeza
la pobreza y el rencor*

*tú no pediste la guerra
madre tierra, yo lo sé
dice mi padre que un solo traidor
puede con mil valientes
él siente que el pueblo, en su inmenso
dolor*

*hoy se niega a beber en la fuente
clara del honor
tú no pediste la guerra
madre tierra, yo lo sé*

*en mi país somos duros
el futuro lo dirá
canta mi pueblo una canción de paz
detrás de cada puerta
está alerta mi pueblo*

English version:

In my country, what sadness

Poverty and resentment

My father tells me that it will come

From the depth of time to another time

And He tells me that the sun will shine

Over a people he dreams of

*y ya nadie podrá
silenciar su canción
y mañana también cantará
en mi país somos duros
el futuro lo dirá*

*en mi país, que tibieza
cuando empieza a amanecer
dice mi pueblo que puede leer
en su mano de obrero el destino
y que no hay adivino ni rey
que le pueda marcar el camino
que va a recorrer
en mi país, que tibieza
cuando empieza a amanecer*

*en mi país somos miles y miles
(en mi país)
de lágrimas y de fusiles
(brillará)
un puño y un canto vibrante
(yo lo sé)
(el sol del pueblo arderá)
una llama encendida, un gigante
(nuevamente alumbrando mi tierra)
que grita, adelante, adelante*

Working on their green vacant lot

You didn't ask for war

Mother Earth, I know this

My father tells me that one sole traitor

*Can do more than a thousand
courageous men*

*He feels that the people, in their
immense pain*

*Today negates drinking in the fountain
Of clear honor*

You didn't ask for war

Mother Earth, I know

In my country we are tough

The future will tell us

Sing my people a song of peace

Behind each door

Is my attentive people

And no one could ever

Silence their song

And tomorrow they will also sing

In my country we are tough

In my country, what lukewarm

When the sun begins to rise

My people say that it can read

In their worker's hand their destiny

And there is no soothsayer nor King

That can mark the way

That will be taken

In my country, what lukewarm

When the sun begins to rise

*In my country we are thousands and
thousands*

(In my country)

Of tears and rifles

(It will shine)

A fist and a vibrant chant

(I know this)

(The sun of the people will burn)

A flame that is lit, a giant

(Newly lighting my land)

That screams, ahead, ahead

References to the Uruguayan flag abound, when he constantly mentions how the sun will shine - a sun being one of the symbols of Uruguay. There is also a dichotomy in how Zitarrosa describes the ills of his country yet always leaves room for change. Hope and peace are main goals of this new Uruguayan country of which Zitarrosa speaks. It can be noted the constant references to workers holding the destiny of the nation in their hands. The piece concludes with a call to revolutionary action to bring about social and political restructuring through stoic defiance.

Our next songs come from two Argentine artists: Mercedes Sosa and Atahualpa Yupanqui. Beginning with Mercedes Sosa, we have “Zamba de los Humildes” (Zamba of the Humble). This piece is clearly stated as a zamba, which is an Argentine form of song and dance. The zamba is similar to the Brazilian samba in its melodic and rhythmic features. However unlike its Brazilian counterpart, it exerts more European traditions in its dance and garb. This version of the song has more instrumentation led by guitars and traditional percussion.

*Zambita para que canten
Los humildes de mi pago
Si hay que esperar la esperanza
Mas vale esperar cantando.*

*Nacida de los boliches
Donde el grito alza su llama
Su cancion de larga luna
Sabe la siembra y el agua*

*Como un canto de la tierra
Hay que cantar esta zamba
Hermana de los humildes
Sembradora de esperanzas
Alzada raiz de sangre*

Del fondo de la guitarra

*Mi pueblo la canta siempre
Como si fuera una ausencia
La cara hundida en el pecho
Hasta mirarse la pena*

*Un corazon de camino
Desde su canto regresa
A despertar el destino
Que el pueblo en su pecho lleva*

*Como un canto de la tierra
Hay que cantar esta zamba
Hermana de los humildes*

Sembradora de esperanzas
Alzada raiz de sangre
English version:

Del fondo de la guitarra

Zambita for you to sing

Planter of hopes

The humble ones of my pay

Raised root of blood

If we must wait for hope

From the bottom of the guitar

Better we wait while singing

My people always sing

Born of the boliches

As if their were an absence

Where the scream raises its flame

With face sunk in chest

Their song of a large moon

Until they see their own grief

Knows the sowing and the water

A heart made to wander the road

Like a song of the land

From their song it returns

We have to sing this zamba

Awakening destiny

Sister of the humble ones

That the people have hidden in their chest

With the text of this song, it can be noted that the NCL movement furiously continued to point out the misery of the “humble ones”. The working-class and peasants are almost always the main characters of these songs. Yet, most songs analyzed until now, have always come from a third-person perspective. The use of an omniscient narrator permits the audience to understand, empathize and sympathize with the

characters. The use of a reference such as “boliche”- a gambling game common in working class neighborhoods - is an example of details that only someone who experienced this culture could have written. The method also brings about a certain distance between the storyteller, the characters and the audience. Ironically, the song presents a stark imagery but does not include the audience in a direct connection with the characters, except in the action of singing.

The final song being analyzed is “Tierra querida” (Beloved country) by Atahualpa Yupanqui. Being one of the founders of the “Nuevo Cancionero” in Argentina and forefathers of NCL, his approach is minimalistic. Just as with Viglietti’s use of guitar and voice, the text is the focus of the song. No experimentation or irony in his lyrics, Yupanqui expresses a serious love for his country, Argentina.

*Una voz bella, ¡ Quién la tuviera ¡,
para cantarte toda la vida,
pero mi estrella me dio este acento,
y así te siento, tierra querida.*

*Pero mi estrella me dio este acento,
y así te siento, tierra querida.*

*Como un guijarro que se despeña,
vaga mi sombra, sueño y herida.
Yo soy arisco, como tus breñas,
y así te canto, tierra querida.*

*Yo soy arisco, como tus breñas,
y así te canto, tierra querida.*

*Andaré por los cerros,
selvas y llanos, toda la vida,*

*arrimándole coplas
a tu esperanza, tierra querida.*

*Arrimándole coplas
a tu esperanza, tierra querida.*

*Me dan sus fuegos, cálidos zondas,
me dan sus fuerzas, bravos pamperos,
y en el silencio de las quebradas,
vaga la sombra, de mis abuelos.*

*Y en el silencio de las quebradas,
vaga la sombra, de mis abuelos.*

*Lunas me vieron por esos cerros,
y en las llanuras anohecidas,
buscando el alma de tus paisajes,
para cantarte, tierra querida.*

*Buscando el alma de tus paisajes,
para cantarte, tierra querida.*

*Andaré por los cerros, selvas y llanos,
toda la vida,
English version:*

A lovely voice, who would have it!

To sing to you all my life

But my star gave me this accent

*And in that way I feel you, beloved
country*

Like a pebble that breaks and falls away,

*Wander does my shadow, my dream and
wound*

*I am unfriendly like towns between
mountains and weeds*

*And in that way I sing to you, beloved
country*

I will walk among the mountains,

Jungles and plains, all my life

Bringing up songs

To hope, beloved country

I feel your fires, warm winds,

*arrimándole coplas
a tu esperanza, tierra querida.*

*Arrimándole coplas
a tu esperanza, tierra querida.*

They give me strength, brave pamperos

And in the silence of the stream

Wanders the shadow, of my grandfathers

*Moons have seen me by those
mountains,*

And in those nightly plains,

Looking for the soul of your landscapes

So I can sing to you, beloved country.

Unlike former songs, the text of this piece at first glance is uncritical of political structures or social morays. As the title would indicate, the song is a nationalistic ode to the beauty of the Argentine landscape. But, there is still a subversive quality by the fact that it ignores engaging those same issues that would become very common for NCL. This patriotic chant is one of the stylistic steps toward what would be known as NCL.

As Yupanqui refers to the shadow of his grandfathers, the connection between tradition and modernity are made explicit. This movement would be based on the forgotten past while moving artistically forward. The apparent love all these artists had and have for their countries are what led them to be politically active in one form or another. In some cases it cost them their livelihoods, in others it caused them their lives.

Conclusions

In the three countries focused on by this investigation, what was defined as NCL had soon transformed out of necessity into “Canto Nuevo” (CN). CN was a lyrically moderate version of its antecessor. Using traditional folk music without its explicit political message permitted this new movement to survive in the political turmoil that permeated throughout Latin America. In fact, although the musical elements of CN were incredibly similar to that of NCL, rock movements in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile were the ones that inherited the political weight of their message. By the early eighties, “Rock Nacional” in Argentina was one of the leading cultural factors that assured the collapse of the military dictatorship, paving the way for the democratic transition.

Under the pressures of military dictatorships, most of the original NCL artists had been exiled, imprisoned or, in the worst of cases, killed. Moving to European countries or North America, the solidarity among these song-writers was still strong but since the actual movement was such a loose organization it could only do so much regarding

political activism. Whenever possible, festivals and concerts that included an array of artists such as Mercedes Sosa, Daniel Viglietti and Quilapayún were held to keep the issues of democracy and social justice in the international spotlight. An extreme example of post-seventies activism is the case of Patricio Manns, who actually supported the group that would try to assassinate Augusto Pinochet. To a certain degree, it could be said that the vast interests and messages that were expressed by the NCL movement had concrete political achievements both in the short and long term. In Chile, it definitely helped the UP to connect with student movements and working classes. NCL was the true cultural catalyst that solidified support in the international arena. The movement also represented how a democratically elected communist government would promote the arts. Here resources for struggling artists were multiplied by the creation of DICAP, a record company strictly designed for popular music. In a short time span of four years, this company managed to record an impressive number of albums and singles.

In the long-term, the NCL movement kept the ideals they elevated through poetry in the limelight of the international community. Therefore, NCL seemingly took part in the destruction of the regimes that had once forced these artists to leave their countries. And, at the same time, it is difficult not to point out the inability of these movements to engage the public to change the pernicious regimes immediately. Why did the working classes not rebel when the Allende government was overthrown? Why were more people not active in Uruguay as Pacheco Areco and later, Bordaberry began exploiting the “state of emergency”, if these artists made such a clear case beforehand? The possible answer is that however powerful the medium of song is and will keep on being, the economic

meltdowns and the ever-present fear of an oppressive government weigh heavy on the minds of the “people”. In other words, the same emotional and sometimes irrational aspects that lead to strong connections with art can be used in a contrary sense against it. Fear led some to inform on aspiring musicians or artists, stagnating the progresses made by NCL. Secondly, the NCL movement did have genuine connections with the elements of the working class, intellectuals and the youth sector, but not so with the majority of the middle and upper classes. As mentioned before, certain musicians that stylistically were considered part of the movement had conservative ideologies that contrasted with the most outspoken members of the NC movement. These sectors of society viewed NCL as a fringe movement that should be frowned upon, much as were the American Folk artists and Psychedelic Rock musicians in the U. S. Still, the effective role that NC music had during the mid-1960’s and early 1970’s cannot be overlooked. The emotional connection that people had to the lyrical content, imagery and message of these songs did attract young students, working class and marginalized members of society. In the clearest example, UP was highly indebted to the participation of NC musicians in the campaign, whether through campaign songs or lending themselves as spokesmen for the coalition party.

In terms of the limitations of this investigation, there was more information available than I originally thought. Did the records in all cases indicate a clear relationship between NCL and socio-political movements? No, they did not. In some cases the study needed more literature and historical accounts to draw close comparisons between the NC in these countries. Another critical point to make is how the case study

was chosen. The countries that were picked were quite similar in political conditions but they were obviously not exact. In terms of the cases in which there was government censure or banning of instrumentation, the data available was very general and not specific enough to delve into cultural policies of the military dictatorships. In a possible extension of this study, including a larger number of countries for the case study would be an important step toward comprehending the vastness of the artistic movement and its representations in distinct countries. More songs for the content analysis and a more intricate knowledge of the ethno-musicological elements of these styles and their predecessors would augment the depth of the study as well by understanding these elements on their own instead of part as a general conception of NC. Another element that could be considered for further study are ethnographic studies and interviews with living NCL musicians as well as activists could also greatly benefit the scope of the study by capturing personal experiences of the artists, what effect they think their music had and how the NCL movement came to network the way that they did. Finally, through codification of terms, the application of quantitative methods for the available data could be another way to analyze this information.

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Appendix A

Alternative Theoretical Frameworks for Latin American Politics

Because this thesis is using case studies of three Latin American countries, the singularities of the region and the theoretical models used to analyze this region in comparison to the rest of the world should be addressed. In this section, an expanded literary review is presented for the reader who is interested in these alternative theories.

Unitary Actors and Coalitions

To try and somehow synthesize Latin American political systems (or any regional or geographic area's political system) to a specific macro-theory that could explain or predict every single historical event would seem ludicrous and daunting. Yet, general

frameworks and models have been offered to clearly present institutional workings along with sociological and political processes. A great example of these models in more recent times is found in **Latin American Politics: A Theoretical Framework** by Torcuato S. Di Tella. This book exhibits a clear and structural approach to the analysis of internal relationships between political leaders, the military, religious institutions (particularly the Catholic Church) and class structures of Latin American countries. Presenting multiple historical examples of the Mexican, Peruvian, Brazilian and Argentine experience, Di Tella's analysis brings forth two insightful observations. Most important of these observations, the diverse definitions of what is considered democracy in the Latin American traditions, the understanding of which is relevant for any further discussion of politics in Latin American states. These states were (and to a certain degree still are) defined by philosophical divisions between those who believe in strong presidential systems nurtured by strong elites and those who do not. This kind of centralist philosophy may be structurally permissive towards autocratic permutations. The following concept of democracy is defined by those groups defending a much more radical participation by the whole population. Those Latin American moderate liberals and conservative thinkers that promoted a strong central government while giving representation only to property-owners would be represented by a line in the book:

A special type of leadership was necessary to obtain those results. And the required policies were generally at loggerheads with the established canons of economic development or balance of powers and individual guarantees. This is why Esteban Echevarría, Argentine liberal thinker of the early nineteenth century, maintained that representation should be granted to the 'people's reason' and not to the 'people' as such. p.30,1990

The latter vision, according to Di Tella, was spelled out in The Spanish Constitution of 1812 (influenced by French texts) and would serve as the “paradigm of progressivism for the Mediterranean and Latin worlds” [p.29, 1990] . These two contrasting visions of protection of the “people’s reason” by the elite and the opposite call to direct popular participation are the foundation of the political parties in Latin America according to Di Tella. Through both of these definitions, internal elements of the philosophies seem permissible towards strong government that manipulates culture in very similar ways. Populism does this with the “caudillismo” referred to by Max Weber²⁰. The populist political movements personalize the stakes, through a charismatic leader, and stridently divide those in favor of the “caudillo” from those who oppose him. Despite possible interpretations, populist movements may fall anywhere in the ideological spectrum, whether it be right or left. The strength of these movements can be partially issue-based or related to certain policy initiatives. But, it is the cultural, emotional and very personal attachment created between leadership and following that is common in these political situations. Therefore, the movements are highly dependent on that charismatic leader more so than on any specific issue. Di Tella then concludes that this points to an “organizational weakness” in these populist movements. Still, Di Tella overlooks how the emotional attachment toward the charismatic leaders could be transmuted into a emotional attachment toward certain policy area, after that leader is

²⁰Max Weber, *Politics as a vocation*, (Munich, Max Weber, 1919), http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/politics_vocation.html (accessed September, 2008)

gone or how the cultural impact of the leader's image may also serve as a symbol by which other movements may be founded in the future.

While depicting the actors and coalitions that interact in Latin American politics, Di Tella proceeds to conflate some movements inside broader definitions of certain actors while clearly allowing some leeway for others. For example, Di Tella describes how the Church, the Armed Forces and the State (as an autonomous actor) in these countries usually have been referred to in the past as “guardian” institutions for the dominant classes, reminiscent of Marxist analysis of bourgeoisie structures. But by no means do these institutions always act in the same historical patterns toward that mission according to Di Tella. The differences between naval forces-army and high clergy-low clergy dichotomies may indicate diverse ideological leanings and levels of participation (or intervention) in the political structures in Latin America. The subdivisions inside these institutions allow a portrait of non-monolithic institutions for some coalitions but not for others. Here, Di Tella presents the hypothesis of “potentially”²¹ and “effectively” non-involved institutions.

Other actors such as intellectuals, political elites and coalitions are not dissected as their religious and military counterparts. Classes or social stratifications, foreign

²¹ Potentially non-involved institutions refer to actors that are generally considered not to be incurring in direct entanglements with government structures but on more than one occasion do so. Effectively non-involved institutions points to actors that are generally consistent historically to stray from interrupting state entities or functions.

interests, ethnic, religious or national groups are mentioned by Di Tella. However, how their sense of identity and emotional attachment toward specific leaders, issues or goals affects their political weight is not mentioned. Political weight then is measured by the coalitions these interest groups enter into, how effective their organizational skills are and the availability of consistent economic resources. In using historical developments in Argentina as examples, Peronist strength during the 1970's was measured by the organizational power and strategic effectiveness of the working class, the Peronist Youth, provincial Peronist leadership and finally, the Peronist elite at the top. This characterization does not specify what groups occupy the working class. It thus depicts it and other coalition members as homogenous blocks.

In an example by which the coalitions discussed above are dissected, it could be seen that the most active sector in the working class would be the Consejo General De Trabajadores (CGT). Being the largest union with direct influence during earlier Peronist regimes in the 1950's, managed to maintain influence over sectors of the working class that still kept Peronist iconography and issues alive, despite various military governments and official suspension of the Peronist party. Although diverse independent unions did exist and competed for negotiating power, the Peronist-backed CGT played the most powerful role in labor relations in Argentina. In Chile, youth organizations supporting political parties were an important force in various protest movements, yet it is unclear where the students would fall inside the ample terms such as working class, intellectuals or middle class.

Silva (1993), going in a similar direction, focuses on the workings of specific business and landowning coalitions in Chile during the military dictatorship in 1973 and after. Using an analysis of the shifting actors and interests that held influence over the military junta and then General Augusto Pinochet over three distinct periods, Silva presents a clear interest-based vision of the workings of Chilean policies and urges this type of analysis for other Latin American countries. Silva argues that in the shifts that led to neo-liberal policies “[m]any analysts underestimate the role of societal forces in the shift from import-substitution industrialization to neoliberal economic policies...”²² because of three reasons. These reasons center on how the classes and social strata are aggregated without tapping into the workings of their interrelationships. Therefore, analysts overlook the struggles between coalitions and their diverse levels of organization. Added to these problems, the level of communication or relationships between all the actors are usually considered linear when in fact they seem to be a much more complex exchange.

While Silva and Di Tella present a similar course of institutional and societal factors, Foweraker just focuses on one actor and one set of coalitions. The shared idea between the three social scientists is that through politically weighted coalitions, the policies of the State may be affected through diverse pressures. And yet they ignore and minimize the importance of cultural and emotional attachment as well as other social

²² Eduardo Silva, “Capitalist Coalitions, The State and Neoliberal Restructuring in Chile: Chile, 1973-88.” *World Politics*, 45, no. 4 (Jul., 1993) : 531

elements in their respective diagrams of interrelationships between actor and actor as well as actors and the State.

Huber and Dion (2002) list successes and critiques about “rational choice”(RC) paradigms when used to analyze Latin American Politics. Firstly, they present the basic principles on which RC scholars agree²³:

- a) The actor’s behavior is governed by utility maximization; that is, the actor will choose means that are efficient and effective for achieving goals.
- b) The actor’s preferences are structured; in other words, these preferences must be capable of being rank-ordered and transitive.
- c) Analysis of collective outcomes focuses on individuals or unitary actors.

Despite these three points of consensus, RC has diverse conceptions of rationality.

The first conception being “thick” rationality, which refers to the actor’s being motivated by a set of specific material self-interest preferences. “Thin” rationality, on the other hand, refers to a wider range of behavior but runs the risk of becoming tautological. Huber and Dion offer psychological studies [Lewin 1991; Abelson 1996] and political science criticisms that contend how these RC principles are not all-encompassing or that a goal-attainment frame of mind is not necessarily the case for all actors. The RC approach and their subsets, such as Game Theory, therefore, are at risk of failing to

²³ Evelyn Huber and Michelle Dion “Revolution or Contribution? Rational Choice Approaches in the Study of Latin American Politics.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 44, no.3,(Autumn, 2002):2-3

present universal solutions they presume to bring. When used in Brazilian [Ames 1987, 2001; Hunter 1997] and Chilean politics [Boylan 1998], the RC approach does work convincingly when very limited and specific preferences are presented. Nevertheless, they do not explain the exceptions in which, despite constitutional and institutional restraints, actor's actions do not fall in place with RC assumptions. Huber and Dion conclude their article by writing:

Few, if any, RC research studies have forced a major rethinking of established tenets or have filled major lacunae in our understanding of Latin American politics. Nevertheless, some have enriched our understanding by introducing new ideas and evidence to explain phenomena that before were only partially understood.(p.18)

In other words, important contributions to the field have been made in reference to specific political situations. Inner workings between political bodies, actors using increased public expenditures to build political support, conditions by which civil service reform could be passed in legislatures among countless other events are now better understood because of the RC approach. Despite possible objections toward the lack of rigor or the relative newness of this approach to Latin American politics, Huber and Dion espouse the idea that if shifting power relations are acknowledged, then the RC assumptions will seem unachievable in the long run. It is then that the focus should be questioning the conditions under which these shifts are warranted by actors. Ideas, culture, group identities, emotions and “smaller” actors are then undermined and leave analysis incomplete to understand certain policy choices.

Political Psychology and Anthropological Approaches

Ardila (1996) presents a plethora of areas in which Latin American political psychology has opened new doors. The progress of political psychology in Latin America has been impressive despite the fact that it is a relatively new area of study. Ardila describes developments in the study of national identity and social conscience, political socialization as well as the effects of torture and human rights violations on victims and population. Some of the studies he discusses are for example, the generally negative connotation that Latin Americans have of themselves when compared to other national or ethnic groups. In the study of political socialization, how family and peer groups in schools affect political preferences were very important. These and many other studies, further the understanding of how relationships influence or strengthen political ideology and participation in politics. They do not however delve any deeper into levels of strong emotion toward issue-areas. Although Ardila does mention studies in which the use of poetry and music in the early education of children affects their national identity, they do not consider the use and psychological impact of these cultural elements on social movements or NGOs.

A much more complex theoretical paper, Hale (1997) narrates the diverse struggles of “identity politics” in anthropology. The liberal democratic principles that have reappeared in Latin American politics have permitted contesting identities to thrive. These identities based on ethnicity and separateness from the Latin American liberal state have now turned into the central focus of many anthropology and cultural studies. Similar to the theoretical discussion in Yashar, essentialist conceptions of identity (primordial)

find themselves in competition with post-modernism/constructivist (post-structural), “strategic essentialists” (instrumentalists) and lastly, Marxist underpinnings. The conclusion of this article is pushing the need for further investigations on the creation and recreation of cultural production through multifaceted identities as well as the strategies and tactical practices by diverse movements to enhance their political standing. In a sense, this refers to the use of tools of the liberal free-market state for the achievement of specific goals that once were used against marginalized groups (women, rural communities and indigenous movements).

Appendix B

Discography of material discussed in the paper:

Héctor Roberto Chavero Aramburo a.k.a. Atahualpa Yupanqui

Compilations

1947 - El Album de Oro

Label: EMI

Format: MP3

Victor Jara

Studio Albums

1967 – Victor Jara

Label: Odeon/ Alerce/ Warner

Producer: Victor Jara

Format: MP3

1970 – Canto Libre

Label: Odeon/ Alerce/ Warner

Producer: Victor Jara

Format:MP3

Compilations

1992 – 20 Años Después

Label: Fonomusic

Format: MP3

Quilapayún

Compilation

2005 – El Reencuentro

Label: Wea International

Format: DVD

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4EsqFP8bSQ> (Accessed September, 2008)

Violeta Parra

Compilations

1994/ 1998– Las Últimas Composiciones (1966)

Label: Ans (1994)/ WEA International (1998)

Format: MP3

2005 – El Folklore y La Pasión

Label: EMI

Format: MP3

Mercedes Sosa

Studio Albums

1994 – Canciones con Fundamento

Label: Ans/ Universal

Format: MP3

Compilations

1994 – Mercedes Sosa en Argentina

Label: Universal

Format: MP3

Daniel Viglietti

Studio Albums

1960 – Canciones folklóricas y 6 impresiones para canto y guitarra

Label : Antar

Format: MP3

1971 – Canciones Chuecas

Label : Orfeo

Format: MP3

Alfredo Zitarrosa

Compilations

1989 – En Homenaje

Label : Fonarte Latino

Format:MP3

