Creation of Identity in the Chilean Nueva Canción and the Cuban Nueva Trova

by

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A mi mamá
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Glossary of Technical Terms

Balada  Poetic musical composition divided into equal and simple stanzas. It contains a chorus. *Baladas* generally narrate sentimental legends and popular traditions.

Bolero  A song and dance composition. The Cuban bolero, which follows a two by four beat, emerged in the latter third of the 19th century as part of old *trova*. Its early stages demonstrate a fusion of African and Spanish elements. The *bolero* has evolved in the 20th century, evidenced by the incorporation of harmonic ornaments and its spread to other Latin American countries.

Bombo  Large drum played with a leather-covered drumstick. It is used in orchestras as a percussion instrument.

Bongó  (Cuba) Percussion instrument of African descent consisting of two small drums, one slightly larger than the other. It is held between the knees and played by beating it with the fingers and the palms of the hands.

Cantata  Lengthy poetic composition written to be sung by one or more voices. It originated in the 17th century. Today, the *cantata* can consist of solos and choruses, and can be accompanied by a full or small orchestra. It is characterized by an epic or narrative quality.
**Charango** (Andes) Small Andean guitar with four or five double or triple courses (set of strings tuned to the same note). The back is often made of an armadillo shell, or wood carved into that shape, but may also be flat.

**Claves** Percussion instrument consisting of two small wooden rods that are struck together to mark the beat.

**Conga** (Cuba) Drum of African origin about one meter tall and barrel shaped. It is played sitting down, standing up, or marching.

**Copla** Poetic composition that also provides the structure for popular songs. It consists of four-verse stanzas, each verse containing eight syllables, where the first and the third verse do not rhyme and the second rhymes with the fourth. It may contain an *estribillo*, or chorus.

**Corrido** (Mexico) Mexican ballad that narrates an important happening or a humorous or amorous story, and is usually anonymous. Its stanzas contain four, six, or eight verses, of eight syllables each, and include choruses and interjections. Its music consists of one or two melodical phrases that are repeated throughout the song.

**Criolla** (Cuba) Song genre created by Luis Casas Romero in Cuba in the 1800's. It developed in urban areas although its themes sometimes allude to rural life. It superimposes a six by eight beat on a three by four accompaniment.
**Cuarteta** A form of the *copla*. It consists of a four-verse stanza with an abab rhyme scheme.

**Cuatro** (Venezuela) Small guitar with four strings that accompanies a singer or other instruments.

**Cueca** (Chile) On December 18, 1979, the *cueca* was determined by the "Decreto 28" to become the national dance of Chile. The *cueca* originates from the Peruvian *zamacueca*. Its structure consists of a *cuarteta* followed by a *seguidilla*, whose fourth verse is repeated with a "Sí." Its melody is formed by a few notes, which are repeated and gradually increased. The *cueca* is a vivacious and flirtatious dance in which a man and a woman dance face to face, with a handkerchief in the right hand, while the audience cheers. The dancers move in semi-circles, in the manner of a chase, and exchange places, when prompted by the singer, in the shape of the number eight. There is an interlude towards the end of the song where the dancers approach each other and step noisily to the beat of the music.

**Décima** A ten-verse poem, with eight syllables each, with the following rhyme scheme: first and fourth, second and third, fourth and fifth, sixth and seventh, seventh and tenth, and eighth and ninth.

**Guajira** (Cuba) Song genre consisting of alternating three by four and six by eight beats. Its themes allude to an idyllic rural life, and it usually follows the scheme of the *décima*. 
**Guaracha** (Cuba) Song and dance genre that is often humorous and satirical. The *guaracha* appeared in Cuba in the mid 1800's, and its structure has changed from a *copla* *con estribillo* to one where a choir follows a sung section. Its beat combines six by eight or three by four with two by four.

**Quena** (Andes) Flute commonly made of cane, used by the indigenous people of Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile and Argentina. Today, the *quena* normally has six finger holes and one thumbhole.

**Seguidilla** A 15th century Spanish poetic composition that consists of a four-verse stanza and follows an imperfect rhyme scheme. The first and third lines contain seven syllables and the third and fourth contain five syllables. Three more verses, which constitute the chorus, may follow. The first and third, containing five syllables, rhyme, and the second contains seven syllables and does not rhyme with any other verse. It is also a musical composition and a dance.

**Sirilla** (Chile) The name given to the *seguidilla* in Chile. The *sirilla* was used for religious songs, especially Christmas carols, and for festive occasions. As a dance in the island of Chiloé, it consists of four people dancing with a handkerchief and executing a turning pattern with a stepping interlude.

**Son** (Cuba) Song, instrumental, and dance genre that fuses African rhythms and European lyrical structures. Originating near Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo, Cuba, in the 1800's, it
incorporates instruments such as the *tres*, the *claves*, the guitar, and the *bongó*. Its structure consists of a solo and a chorus, which is repeated, called *montuno*.

**Tiple** (Colombia) A small guitar that accompanies the voice of the singer. It has twelve steel strings that produce four distinct sounds. The *tiple* is played like a Spanish guitar, with the right hand alternating between strumming the strings and beating them.

**Tonada** (17th century Spain) A secular or sacred solo song. (Chile) A love song, solo or duet. (Trinitaria) Song genre born in Trinidad (Las Villas province), Cuba, in the 1800's. The song begins with the "guide" singing a theme, to which a chorus responds. Then, the "guide" sings an improvised rendition on the original theme, and the chorus continues to respond.

**Tres** (Cuba) String instrument that derives from the Spanish guitar. It has three steel double strings on a wooden body and neck.

**Trova** (Cuba, late 19th century-early 20th century) See definition on page 39.

**Tumbadora** (Cuba) Barrel shaped drum that is played with the hands and placed between the legs or hung on the shoulder by a leather strap.
Guide to the Accompanying CD:
Selected Songs from nueva canción and nueva trova

Please be advised that when these songs were recorded on this compact disc, it was not possible to keep their volumes constant. Be careful when listening to it.

Introduction

1. Todo cambia
   written by Julio Numhauser
   taken from Mercedes Sosa: 30 años (1994), performed by Mercedes Sosa

2. Unicornio
   written in 1980 by Silvio Rodríguez, released in 1982 as part of Unicornio
   taken from Canciones urgentes (1991), performed in concert by Silvio Rodríguez

3. Gracias a la vida
   written in 1965 by Violeta Parra, released in 1966 as part of Ultimas composiciones
   taken from Violeta Parra: Antología (1999), performed by Violeta Parra

Chapter II

4. La maza
   written in 1979 by Silvio Rodríguez, released in 1982 as part of Unicornio
   taken from Canciones urgentes (1991), performed by Silvio Rodríguez

5. Pobre del cantor
   written by Pablo Milanés, released in 1984 as part of Comienzo y final de una verde mañana
   taken from Querido Pablo (1985), performed by Pablo Milanés

6. Playa Girón
   written in 1969 by Silvio Rodríguez, released in 1975 as part of Días y flores
   taken from Canciones urgentes (1991), performed by Silvio Rodríguez

7. El breve espacio en que no estás
   written by Pablo Milanés, released in 1984 as part of Comienzo y final de una verde mañana
   taken from Querido Pablo (1985), performed by Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés
8. Miren como sonríen  
written between 1961 and 1963 by Violeta Parra  
taken from Violeta Parra: Antología (1999), performed by Violeta Parra

9. Carabina 30-30  
anonymous corrido* from Mexican Revolution, released by Quilapayún in 1969 as part of Basta  
taken from Basta (1969), performed by Quilapayún

10. Yo pisaré las calles nuevamente  
written by Pablo Milanés, released in 1978 as part of Aniversario  
taken from Antología (1997), performed by Pablo Milanés

11. Cueca a la Balmaceda  
written by Quilapayún, released in 1969 as part of Basta  
taken from Basta (1969), performed by Quilapayún

12. Vamos mujer  
written by Luis Advis, released in 1970 as part of Cantata Santa María de Iquique  
taken from Quilapayún en Argentina Vol II (1985)

Chapter III

13. Ojalá  
written in 1969 by Silvio Rodríguez, released in 1978 as part of Al fin de este viaje  
taken from Mano a mano (1993), performed in concert by Silvio Rodríguez

14. El árbol  
lyrics adapted from introductory poem to “Los libertadores,” the fourth section in Canto general (1950) by Pablo Neruda, music by Quilapayún (1968), released as an instrumental piece in 1968 as part of Quilapayún tres, and released with the lyrics in 1979 as part of Umbral  
taken from Quilapayún en Argentina Vol II (1985), performed by Quilapayún
Introduction

I grew up listening to "Todo cambia," "Unicornio," "Gracias a la vida" and other songs that I later learned belonged to the Latin American song movement generally known as New Song. I have an inclination towards this music because ever since I can remember, my mother has played it at home, first on cassettes and now on compact discs. Also, I was born and lived for nine years in Chile, a country where New Song is particularly widespread.

New Song has flourished in many Latin American countries, and songs written by non-Chilean musicians often reached my home. My interest in Cuba thus emerged from listening to its own New Song artists, who have composed some of the best loved music in this movement.

When looking for a topic for my thesis in Latin American Studies, I suggested to my advisor the general theme of "New Song," with an emphasis on Chile and Cuba. I lacked confidence in my choice, however, believing that, because of its popular appeal, this topic had not been taken seriously by intellectuals, critics, or theoreticians. My advisor, who knew better, supported the idea, and I was, in turn, shocked to find abundant material on New Song that included theoretical analyses, historical accounts, and interviews with the artists themselves. From these sources, I learned basic facts about the movement. I learned that in Chile it was called nueva canción from its beginnings in the 1960's until the military coup on September 11, 1973. After that date, nueva canción became a target of censorship and subsided for a few years. However, it then reemerged as canto nuevo with new artists, goals, and characteristics. In Cuba, the movement consolidated under yet another name, nueva trova, even though it was greatly influenced by the Chilean nueva canción and equivalent movements from other countries. I also
learned about the lives of my favorite singers, some history behind their songs, and major trends in *nueva canción* and *nueva trova*. However, I was not satisfied with this information. Even though Chilean and Cuban New Song had been studied, critiqued, and explained by both artists and critics, the publications I found tended either to offer only a biographical sketch of the artists with little analysis of their musical projects, or to focus on a single aspect of New Song without reference to the larger picture. Regarding my specific interest in Chile and Cuba, I found no study that compared the trajectories of the movements in these two countries. Some sources dealing with one country made passing reference to the other, but none offered the kind of detailed comparison I was looking for.

In this paper, I attempt to provide a comparative analysis of the Chilean *nueva canción* and the Cuban *nueva trova* that traces the process by which the artists of both countries developed their artistic projects. This comparison is based upon two characteristics shared by both movements. First, the artists succeeded in creating both a personal and a group identity that was reflected in their work. Second, similarities between the processes of identity creation in both *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* delineate four shared stages of development: I) consciousness and commitment, II) introspection and definition, III) expression, and IV) public influence. Chapter I addresses the first stage, in which the artist becomes aware of his or her place within a group that has gone unrecognized by the official political or cultural disseminators and, as a result of this new awareness, commits him or herself to expressing the experiences of this group through music. The second stage, discussed in Chapter II, deals with the time when the artist reflects upon him or herself and articulates the goals of his/her musical project. In the third stage, the topic of Chapter III, the artist chooses the characteristics of his/her music and the means of expressing it. Last, in the fourth stage, which constitutes Chapter IV, the music
influences the audience by heightening its awareness and promoting social change.

I limit the scope of this project to the formative years of the movement, starting in the 1950's and proceeding roughly to the early 1980's. I do not focus on work done over the past two decades, which includes the Chilean canto nuevo, prominent work by Chilean artists in exile, and new tendencies in the nueva trova that reflect the impact of two additional decades of life under the ever-evolving Cuban revolution as well as the perspectives of younger artists. Also, although I make general statements about nueva canción and nueva trova, I draw on the work of mainly four artists for more specific examples: Violeta Parra and Quilapayún, of Chile, and Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez, of Cuba. Among the best known artists of the New Song, they are the creators who have helped to enlighten me in this project, and together they provide a multitude of examples that enrich the analysis.

Please note that all songs cited in this text, with the exception of “Por Vietnam” and “Canción final,” have been recorded on the accompanying CD and are noted on the “Guide to the Accompanying CD.” Also, all musical technical terms have been marked with an asterisk (*) and have been defined in the “Glossary of Technical Terms.”
Chapter I

Consciousness and Commitment

In his book Orientalism (1994), Edward Said explores how a dominant group can create an inferior "other" and produce a we/they dichotomy that serves the interests of the group in power. Said applies this theory to the construction of the Orient (the "they" and the "other") by the West (the "we"), which through power relations places itself on a superior plane. Michael Apple employs the same idea of a we/they dichotomy in "Constructing the 'Other': Rightist Reconstruction of Common Sense" (1993). He argues that the Right in the United States has defined its values as desirable and has displaced those that do not conform to its ideology into the "they." Both authors recognize that the "we" are those in power who, in accordance with their ideals, define themselves using positive terms and isolate the powerless "they" by defining them in contrast to themselves. This concept of "othering" can also be used to describe the process by which the New Song movement emerged in Chile and Cuba. The pioneering artists of the nueva canción and nueva trova recognized their position as part of the alienated "they" in a society upon which a dominant "we" imposed its values. In reaction, these artists decided to reverse the positions by means of their music.

In a situation where a "we" controls the power, the "they" begin to assimilate the ideologies held by the "we." For example, Apple describes how the Rightist "we" promote their views to the point of constructing a mythical consensus in the general population that reflects these values. Albrecht Moreno also explains how a dominant group creates a consensus by applying this concept to the Chilean class power structure of the 1950's. In his article "Violeta
Parra and *La Nueva Canción Chilena* (1986), Moreno cites Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of The Oppressed* (1970) and notes that a situation where dominant classes dictate cultural values, control cultural exposure, and deny "the oppressed" the means of cultural dissemination, "fosters a situation whereby the poor are denied the opportunity to express their own culture while, at the same time, they gradually internalize the values of their oppressors [...]" (109). Moreno argues that, through her work with Chilean folk music, Violeta Parra started a process that challenged the existing power structure. In this manner, when Violeta and the other New Song artists opposed the "we" in power, they simultaneously worked against an imposed and fictitious consensus that negated the realities of the people and sustained the power of the "we."

In a 1977 speech, Audrey Lorde indicates that once a person discovers his or her own identity, he/she is compelled to take action. She exclaims, "Because I am woman, because I am black, because I am lesbian, because I am myself, a black woman warrior poet doing my work, come to ask you, are you doing yours?" (21). A similar evolution leading to action took place within the New Song artists. Unlike Lorde, however, they did not start by defining themselves as a multitude of identities³; the Chilean and Cuban artists took action when they recognized that the lower classes and the revolutionary population, respectively, were being defined by someone else. After reaching this awareness, the artists made themselves the "we" with the ability to define themselves and those they aimed to speak for against the "they," who, depending on the country in question, consisted of the government, the upper class, the media, the United States, and European-centered values. As Jane Tumas-Serna writes in "The ‘Nueva Canción’ Movement and Its Mass-Mediated Performance Context" (1992), *'nueva canción* symbolizes a search for political, economic, and cultural identity in order to counteract widespread cultural stereotyping, economic domination by transnational corporations, and political manipulation by
North-American policy” (139).

The editors of Breaking Free: The Transformative Power of Critical Pedagogy (1996) provide definitions of "dominant ideologies" and other terms that are useful in my analysis of New Song. For them:

 Dominant ideologies are bodies of ideas held by cultural groups that are politically, socially, and economically in positions of power and are therefore able to impose on the greater society, through various social institutions and practices, particular traditions, bodies of knowledge, discourse styles, language uses, values, norms, and beliefs, usually at the expense of others. (Leistyna et al. 336)

Consensus results when this imposition leads to "internalized oppression," which, as described by the same editors, "occurs when a member(s) of an oppressed group, after a period of abuse and criticism, comes to believe in the dominant group's description of them as 'inferior.' As a result of such oppression, people often attempt to assimilate into the dominant culture" (338).

The artists of nueva canción and nueva trova committed themselves to creating an art that expressed their own reality and that of the other people belonging to the marginalized "they" group. Their art form was music, and this music became the discourse through which the artists defined, communicated, and critically thought about these realities. In this context, "discourse":

[...] represents the ways in which reality is perceived through and shaped by historically and socially constructed ways of making sense, that is language, complex signs, and practices that order and sustain particular forms of social existence. These systems of communication, which are constructions informed by particular ideologies, play a significant role in shaping human subjectivities and social reality, and can work to either confirm or deny the life histories and
experiences of the people who use them. If the rules that govern what is
acceptable in a particular society are exclusive, discourse can be a major site of
contention in which different groups struggle over meaning and ideology. (336)

By this definition, the artists of New Song shaped their music according to their emerging
consciousness, which told them to validate the experiences of groups that had been excluded by
the dominant ideologies and instill in the public both the discourse and the skills of critical
thinking that they themselves were attempting to employ. "Critical thought" is "not to be
confused with what's traditionally thought of as the higher order thinking skills (problem-solving
skills), critical in this sense implies being able to understand, analyze, pose questions, and affect
and effect the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape our lives. Throughout his [life]
work, Paulo Freire refers to this idea as 'conscientization'" (333-334).

In Chile, the artists felt alienated both by the commodified\(^4\) popular music\(^5\) of the 1950's
and 1960's, which did not speak to their realities, and by the Christian-Democrat government of
Eduardo Frei (1964-1970), which did not provide enough services and support to the
marginalized populations. These two exclusionary forces endorsed dominant ideologies and
caus ed the Chilean artists to create an art that denounced them.

Osvaldo Rodríguez notes in “Acercamiento a la canción popular latinoamericana” (1985)
that when he was growing up in Chile in the 1950’s, the songs in the media spoke of people that
did not exist in his life. He writes, "¿Dónde estaba, nos preguntamos, la miseria que se veía en el
borde de las ciudades, en las caletas de los pescadores, en las miserables faenas del campo con
arado de madera y cabaña de tierra apisonada y paredes de caña brava? ¿Dónde estaba aquella
gente? ¿Cómo cantaba aquella gente? ¿Qué sufría aquella gente? A la miseria la habían ocultado
“con vergüenza” (62). He goes on to explain that the songs that were popular in Chile at the time were mostly in English; also:

[...] las pocas canciones en Castellano que ensayaba el coro del colegio no nos decían nada. Allí sólo había paisajes con humito al atardecer, se divisaban animales pastando, un riachuelo que corría cristalino y sonoro, o una casita blanca en medio de los álamos cuando está a punto de salir la luna o esconderse el sol. ¿Eso era todo? ¿No había nadie más en ese país que esos señores en el campo luciéndose en sus rodeos con sus mantas de colores y sus caballos enjaezados? ¿Dónde estaban los mineros que - se decía - trabajaban de sol a sol en las minas del salitre o metidos en las entrañas de la tierra para extraer el cobre o el carbón? ¿Dónde estaban los pescadores de alta mar, dónde los arrieros que cruzaban las cordilleras? (62).

The author thus lets us know that the music he and other youth heard did not communicate the reality of many people who were visible but not acknowledged by the makers and disseminators of popular culture.

Rodríguez's account points out that the popular music in the Chile of the 1950's tended to be foreign music, namely from the United States. However, not only were the tastes of the United States imposed on the Chilean public, but European tastes and values were as well. Rodríguez writes that, “Entonces nos dijeron que había que ser europeos [...] Y había razas distintas, nos dijeron, unas mejores que otras, había que borrar nuestros negrísimos ojos moros, nuestros cabellos árabes o bien había que olvidar nuestros bellos ojos rasgados o los cabellos lisos que caen como cascada sobre la frente redonda, sobre esos rostros de pómulos alzados [...]

20
y así seguimos cantando marchas que no nos pertenecían” (61-62). This description tells how standards upholding white superiority were also being promoted among the Chilean people, in addition to the consumer values of the economic elite.

Rodríguez continues his narrative, writing that as time passed, he and other young Chileans noticed that in countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Colombia, Bolivia, and Perú, music was being produced whose rhythms and lyrics spoke more directly of their respective national populations. This music from elsewhere in Latin America came to serve three purposes in Chile. First, it focused attention on Spanish as an acceptable language for music. Second, it helped future artists realize that their experiences were similar to those of other Latin Americans. Third, it helped them realize that it was possible to express their own experience in their own language and rhythms. These three effects started to reverse the process by which the tastes of the dominant group had been internalized by the masses.

A second process that assisted in this reversal was the appearance in the 1950's of what were to be known as "neofolklore" groups. During this time, an interest in Chilean folk music emerged throughout the country, from universities to local and tourist pubs. Equally noteworthy is that this interest was supported and promoted by the domestic music industry. These groups recorded and performed songs in Spanish and based on national themes that validated Chilean life. However, the neofolkloric expression did not satisfy the needs of the future nueva canción artists, for the neofolkloric groups were the ones who disseminated the songs that, according to Rodríguez, spoke unrealistically of Chile and its people. Quilapayún's Eduardo Carrasco further characterizes this music in his book Quilapayún, la revolución y las estrellas (1985). Carrasco writes that neofolkloric groups:
 [...] estaban influidos por una corriente que a nosotros no nos gustaba. Se trataba de grupos de cuatro o cinco integrantes, que parecían productos en serie porque siempre tenían la misma estructura musical y la misma apariencia. En sí mismos no eran muy interesantes, pero habían logrado atraer la atención del gran público a las canciones folklóricas, cosa que no era insignificante en un medio artístico tan influido por la música comercial como era el nuestro [...] El 'neofolklore' fue como una versión del folklore para las capas medias, es decir, un intento de tomar la música folklórica en sus aspectos más inofensivos y tranquilizadores y de vestirla al gusto de los sectores intermedios de la sociedad chilena, la cual durante ese período pasó a ser la clase dirigente. [...] Así, con extraordinario éxito, eran estos conjuntos los portavoces de una imagen idílica del hombre de la tierra, de su vida y de sus virtudes, siempre cantadas con exageraciones románticas y patrioteras. Esta línea de canciones de tarjeta postal hablaban inofensivamente del arriero, de la lavandera y del huaso y eran interpretadas con voces dulces y entonadas por estos jóvenes de zapatos impecables. [...] Aunque en algunos casos las canciones 'neofolkloricas' le daban al pueblo un falso retrato de sí mismo, este vió en ellas sobre todo su carácter nacional y no se equivocó valorando positivamente este movimiento y viendo el él, por encima de las falsificaciones, la fuerza que tendía a nacer y que exigía expresarse en canciones auténticamente nacionales y verdaderamente populares. Esto bastó para que todo nuestro país cantara con estos artistas, los cuales sin tener plena conciencia de ello, estaban contribuyendo a despertar profundas raíces, de las que saldría buena parte de lo que se hizo después en este campo. (35-36)
The neofolklore groups were the musical equivalent of the centrist, mildly reformist government of Eduardo Frei; they tamely navigated somewhere between opposite expressions. Although these groups did not accomplish drastic change, they introduced something new into the national consciousness.

Eduardo Frei's presidency followed that of Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964), who was elected as an independent candidate despite being backed by the Right (composed of the Conservative and Liberal Parties). Alessandri's background as a successful businessman helped explain his belief in technocracy as the ideal form of government. Under Alessandri, "economic policies were in no doubt in the long-term interests of the economic elite," and workers went on numerous strikes to protest low wages and a rapidly increasing inflation (Angell 145-146). The worsening economy strengthened the other two major parties, the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) and the Frente de Acción Popular (FRAP, an alliance formed in 1956-57 between the Socialists and the Communists). In the following presidential elections of 1964, Frei, the PDC candidate, won with 55.7% of the popular vote and the financial and technical assistance of the United States, which, ever heedful of Cuba, did not wish to see another country in Latin America ruled by the Left.

Chile did not experience any major conservative or liberal shifts under the Christian Democrat presidency of Frei (1964-1970). By the end of his term in office, the major policies enacted under his middle-of-the-road government outraged conservatives and dissatisfied liberals. However, even though Frei did not greatly improve conditions after Alessandri's conservative rule, he did set the stage for Allende's "socialist road to democracy" government that started in 1970 and ended violently with the military coup of September 11, 1973.
The most prominent accomplishments under Frei were the "Chilenization" of copper, a modest land reform, and the 1967 law allowing unions to be formed by rural workers and employers. These three policies contributed to the reaffirmation of a national identity by integrating the copper industry more into the Chilean economy. They also legitimized the needs of rural workers by redistributing land (although initial government goals were not fully met) and encouraging the creation of rural unions, which increased from almost none in 1964 to over 400 in 1969, with more than 100,000 members (Angell 153).

It was during Frei's term in office that three university students in Santiago founded "Quilapayún." In the winter of 1967, Julio Numhauser and Julio Carrasco invited the latter's brother, Eduardo Carrasco, to form a music group. Seduced by the spirit of the decade, they were keenly interested in folk music, believing that "lo único capaz de terminar con lo neblinoso de nuestras tres vidas era el proyecto de formar un grupo musical" (Carrasco 33).

The trio's musical project did not begin with a defined and conscious objective, but rather with a sense of what it did not want to be. The three men knew they did not want to become yet another neofolklore group, and this rejection served as their starting point. Neofolkloric music, which only told idealized stories and spoke nothing of people's daily work and struggles, made it clear to them that current popular music did not reflect the real lives of Chileans. As a result, these original members of Quilapayún repudiated the existing popular music, and committed themselves, although not knowing exactly how to achieve it, to a "creación más fiel a lo que entonces ocurría en nuestro país" (35).

Violeta Parra was born in Ñuble, Chile, in 1917. At the age of fifteen, she left the countryside to live with her brother Nicanor in the capital city of Santiago. Nicanor promptly enrolled Violeta in a normal school, where she stayed only two years. Violeta and her sister
began to work at pubs and other similar establishments where they performed the foreign or Chilean popular songs that the public requested. Violeta did not enjoy her work; she had been raised in the countryside hearing people sing songs that were free from the influence of music corporations and of mass media like the radio, and so she rejected the popular music then in vogue in the capital. However, she had to provide what the public demanded in order to make a living. Her brother Nicanor then encouraged Violeta to travel throughout Chile and compile all the songs and rhythms she found. Violeta followed his advice, and her work resulted in her finding over 3,000 unwritten songs that she learned from local people. Her intuition and profound respect for the culture she encountered guided her work to its completion. In 1985, Osvaldo Rodrigues tells Juan Armando Epple in an interview that, "Cuando ella comenzó su trabajo de recopilación folklórica lo hizo prácticamente con las manos vacías, y sin estar guiada por un método. Podríamos decir que por fortuna fue así, porque si hubiera comenzado con un método estricto quizás no habría llegado a rescatar todo lo que rescató" (43). These two experiences, singing music to live audiences in the capital and compiling folk music gathered from the people in the countryside, enabled Violeta Parra to see that a large part of the population was not represented by the popular music of the 1950's. Her subsequent career, which advocated social change and popular culture as she experienced it, led her to be considered by many what Cuban Pablo Milanés says of her in an interview, "una de las artistas más puras de nuestro continente" (Orellana 1985).

In Cuba, Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez sided with the Revolution, and so they felt part of the politically dominant group. However, as happened in Chile, they rejected contemporary popular music because of the breach they saw between it and the daily lives of
Cubans. In response, they sought a musical expression that united the realities of the people and their common support for the revolution.

Fidel Castro assumed power at a time when the Cuban lower and middle classes were in crisis. Unemployment and under-employment were at 17 and 13 percent respectively, agricultural workers earned one third less than their industrial counterparts, far fewer rural inhabitants possessed running water and electricity than urban dwellers, average annual per capita income was at $374 compared to the United States per capita of $2,000, and in large part the United States controlled telephone and railroad services, as well as sugar production (Domínguez 88-89). In addition to the factors signaling a declining economy, the dictator Fulgencio Batista was rapidly losing power. The guerilla, led by Castro, had been preparing its revolution in the Sierra Maestra mountains of the Oriente province since December 1956, and, by January 1959, the number of armed citizens that supported it surpassed 50,000. When Castro arrived in Havana that month, Batista had already fled the country, and the army was no longer resisting guerilla attacks. Conditions were set for Castro to become the new Cuban leader.

Pablo Milanés was born in Bayamo, Cuba, on February 24, 1943. He started singing at the age of thirteen or fourteen on amateur TV and radio programs (Orellana 127). When the revolution triumphed in 1959, a structure was devised by which promising singers like Milanés were summoned, evaluated, and given professional status. In this manner, he was taken under the cultural wing of the revolution at the age of sixteen.

[...] al mismo tiempo empiezo a reunirme con otros compositores jóvenes que, sin saber cómo, espontáneamente, también buscaban, como yo, un camino para la nueva canción popular cubana. Para nosotros resultaba un poco trillado seguir en los cánones de la música anterior a nuestra generación [...] De lo que se trataba era de trascenderlos, aunque no sabíamos muy bien cómo. (128)

After a few years of meeting with other young composers, Milanés tells that "teníamos claro lo que estaba pesando en nosotros el hecho revolucionario, la conciencia de que como jóvenes y como creadores revolucionarios, teníamos la obligación de buscar un lenguaje apropiado a nuestra edad, a nuestra generación" (128). In this way, Milanés's intentions resonated with those of Quilapayún and Violeta Parra in Chile; Milanés felt a need to develop a musical expression that was Cuban and spoke of his own reality. The difference was that Milanés sang in favor of the dominant ideology held and promoted by the government, which in turn supported him.

Silvio Rodríguez was born on November 29, 1946, in La Havana, Cuba. He began to compose songs at age eighteen, towards the end of 1964, while doing his military service in Managua. Quite spontaneously, Rodríguez discovered he could entertain his fellow soldiers with his music, and he participated in amateur competitions. However, it was not until June 1967, after finishing his service, that he started his musical career. Mario Romeu, director of the orchestra of the Instituto Cubano de Radiodifusión (ICR)⁷, met Rodríguez while he was still in the service, liked his songs, edited three of them, and took him to "Música y Estrellas," a famous television program. Rodríguez signed a contract and began to appear regularly on the show.

Rodríguez had grown to maturity as part of the revolution, and he admits that his experiences as one of its products formed the greatest influence on his music. In an interview
with Isabel Parra (daughter of Violeta Parra) for *Araucaria* in 1981, Rodríguez says the following about his poetry and music:

> Yo creo que esta poesía de la que aquí se habla, no pudiera haber existido si yo no hubiera sido alfabetizador en el año 1961, junto con otros cien mil jóvenes que fueron alfabetizadores y que se fueron a los campos, a la montaña, a alfabetizar campesinos, que no pudiera haber existido si no hubiera habido un ataque por playa Girón, que motivó que unos tuvieran la oportunidad ahí de combatir, de defender la revolución y otros como yo, que hasta entonces no éramos milicianos, nos hicieramos milicianos y empezáramos con ese paso a convertirnos en hombres, a participar cada vez más, cotidianamente, no sólo en la vida, sino ya en el fragor de nuestro pueblo, en el fragor combativo de nuestro pueblo. (62)

In the early years of his musical career, Rodríguez was trying to decipher exactly what the revolution signified for him, and he wanted his music to convey this meaning. He tells Rina Benmayor in a 1980 interview that, "Hubo un momento en que la nueva trova cobró conciencia de lo que empezaba a significar para los jóvenes. Hablábamos mucho sobre el papel que debía jugar la canción en una sociedad como la nuestra" (13). He also believed that "la canción había sido relegada a un pseudo-arte de consumo" (ibid), and he wished it to express the realities of the Cuban people, especially those of his own age. Thus Rodríguez, like Milanés, searched for a new musical expression that spoke of his own experiences, the lives of other Cubans, and especially of his generation under the new revolutionary government.
Chapter II

*Introspection and Definition*

After the artists gained consciousness of their position within their society and committed themselves to a musical expression that better reflected their own values and experiences, they entered the next phase of the creation of their identity. They needed to reflect upon their lives and define in greater detail the various aspects of their musical project.

These artists needed to articulate the content of their music and the context within which it was being generated. The concept that guided this stage was a search for "authenticity," and so what "authenticity" came to mean for them influenced every other characteristic of the *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* during this time.

*Rejections*

Sometimes a group does not define itself as what it wishes to be, but rather in opposition to what it disapproves of. As explained before, the first decision that Quilapayún made regarding the goal of their music was that they rejected *neofolklore* and the commercialism it stood for. Eduardo Carrasco confesses that, "Aunque todavía no supiéramos definir con exactitud lo que nos proponíamos hacer, teníamos muy claro lo que 'no' queríamos hacer y este tipo de música 'folklórica' entonces muy de moda no nos gustaba nada" (33). However, aside from the unrealistic themes that this music disseminated and that Quilapayún wished to dismantle, Carrasco and his partners were also against the idol status given to musical artists by
the public, the media, and the music industry. To Carrasco, this neofolklore expression was a "degradación del arte popular" (37) and "idolismo," its most visible proof:

El "idolismo" es el resultado de las relaciones mercantiles introducidas en el dominio de la canción y que consiste en hacer creer o intentar hacer creer que los artistas de este género son unas especies de semidioses con extraños poderes sobre el público. [...] El éxito es cosa muy difícil de comprender y muchas veces su valor no es otro que el que se puede medir por la cantidad de dinero ganado. Éxito y valor artístico no son lo mismo. [...] Desde nuestra situación, muy exterior a todos estos fenómenos empresariales, estas operaciones nos parecían maquivélicas [...] Los artistas del "neofolklore" no pudieron sustraerse completamente al exitismo y al idolismo porque en la época no había otra manera de llegar al gran público. (37)

Thus, Carrasco, his brother, and Numhauser were determined not to become "stars," whose relationship with the audience depended more on their commercial promotion than on their talent or vision. In defining its goals, Quilapayún made itself the "we" that defined itself against the "they," which in this context they defined as the music stars and music business. Previously, this new "they" had sustained the conditions they now repudiated.

Violeta Parra also avoided becoming an idolized star, and cherished the relationship that developed when the audience interacted with her and did not remain at a distance from the stage. She said the following of La Carpa de la Reina, a tent she set up in 1965 in Santiago, so that she could develop her numerous artistic projects and share them with the public:

Yo creo que todo artista debe aspirar a tener como meta el fundirse, el fundir su trabajo en el contacto directo con el público. Estoy muy contenta de haber
llegado a un punto de mi trabajo en que ya no quiero ni siquiera hacer tapicería ni pintura, ni poesía, así suelta. Me conformo con mantener la carpa y trabajar esta vez con elementos vivos, con el público cerquita de mí, al cual yo puedo sentir, tocar, hablar e incorporar a mi alma. (qtd. in Parra, Libro Mayor 140)

In Cuba, Pablo Milanés shared this same view with respect to his own work. In a 1974 interview with Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti for the Argentinian magazine Crisis, Milanés describes that for him one of the greatest accomplishments of the *nueva trova* artists up to that point was that "desbaratamos el mito de la estrella con su público" (69). He goes on to say that the most important difference between songs of the *nueva trova* and those of internationally known popular artists like Raphael and Sandro "es el espíritu mercantilista que está detrás de esas otras canciones. Independientemente de una actitud distinta, y de todo un fondo ideológico que no vamos a analizar, porque me parece demasiado obvio" (69). Milanés describes these other singers as idols that the music industry, which dictates the public's tastes and demands, needs to create and destroy periodically in order to maximize their sales and profits. According to Milanés, "la maquinaria de difusión anterior a 1959" continued to influence the dissemination of music in Cuba after the revolution took power and, in the early 1960's, excluded the kind of music that later led to the *nueva trova*. Thus, Milanés needed to fight against both international and national commercial forces.

Rina Benmayor generalizes this anti-idol sentiment to the entire *nueva trova* when she writes that, "From its inception [...] the *nueva trova* has waged war on banality and commercialism in song. It rejects the star syndrome, night club-style performances, glitter, and show" (14). Both Milanés and Quilapayún, in their respective countries, rejected the fabrication of a popular musical consensus by the controlling music industry and pledged to create music
that appealed not only because it entertained, but because it related to the real-life experiences of
the audience.

Silvio Rodríguez's "La maza," released in 1982 as part of the album "Unicornio,"
denounces "stardom" and the banality of commercial music and show business:

Si no creyera en la locura
de la garganta del sinsonte
si no creyera que en el monte
se esconde el trino y la pavura

si no creyera en la balanza
en la razón del equilibrio
si no creyera en el delirio
si no creyera en la esperanza

si no creyera en lo que agencio
si no creyera en mi camino
si no creyera en mi sonido
si no creyera en mi silencio

¿Qué cosa fuera
qué cosa fuera la maza sin cantera?
Un amasijo hecho de cuerdas y tendones
un revoltijo de carne con madera
un instrumento sin mejores resplandores
que lucecitas montadas para escena

¿qué cosa fuera, corazón, qué cosa fuera?
¿qué cosa fuera la maza sin cantera?

Si no creyera en lo más duro
si no creyera en el deseo
si no creyera en lo que creo
si no creyera en algo puro

si no creyera en cada herida
si no creyera en la que ronde
si no creyera en lo que esconde
hacerse hermano de la vida

si no creyera en quien me escucha
si no creyera en lo que duele
si no creyera en lo que quede

si no creyera en lo que lucha (Rodríguez, "La maza")

In this song, Rodríguez tells that if he did not believe in all he holds true, represented here by the references in the six stanzas beginning with “si,” then nothing would make sense to him, just like the "maza," or hammer, has no meaning without the "cantera," or the quarry. If nothing made
sense, the "maza" would become everything he refutes, including "un instrumento sin mejores replandores / que lucecitas montadas para escena." With this phrase, Rodríguez criticizes the forged image of a music star illuminated on stage by meaningless lights.

In "Pobre del cantor," Pablo Milanés suggests, by way of contrast, what singers should strive to accomplish. He laments the conditions under which the "the poor singer" who does not use his music as a tool for critical thought and action produces his music. In the lyrics, the strings of a guitar represent the work of the artist:

Pobre del cantor de nuestros días
que no arriesge su cuerda
por no arriesgar su vida.

Pobre del cantor que nunca sepa
que fuimos la semilla y hoy somos esta vida.
Pobre del cantor que un día la historia
lo borre sin la gloria de haber tocado espinas.

Pobre del cantor que fue marcado
para sufrir un poco y hoy está derrotado.
Pobre del cantor que a sus informes
les borren hasta el nombre con copias asesinas.

Pobre del cantor que no se alce
y siga hacia adelante con más canto y más vida.
Throughout the song, Milanés shares his belief that songs need to represent the singer's values, even when he or she is faced with opposition.

Choosing a name

When the two Julios and Eduardo named themselves "Quilapayún" in 1965, the three needed to define the purpose of the group and the characteristics of their music in order to find a name that reflected their intentions. This act of choosing a name marked the beginning of their process to create an identity. Carrasco writes, "De repente menguaba el jolgorio, nos poníamos un poco más serios y en medio de la angustia hamletiana derivada más del pisco que de un verdadero interés, comenzábamos a discutir sobre la 'línea' que debía tener el grupo […] en conversaciones inagotables sobre lo que había que hacer y no hacer, sin que quedara nunca claro para nosotros qué íbamos a cantar en definitiva y de qué manera" (33). All these conversations finally led to the question of "¿Cómo nos íbamos a llamar? Un conjunto que se preciara debía tener un nombre adecuado, sin nombre no llegaríamos a ninguna parte" (33). The three of them believed that the way to separate themselves from the neofolkloric groups was to find a name that came from an indigenous language. As Carrasco explains, "para desmarcarnos de [la música neofolklorica] buscábamos un nombre indígena" (33), and they turned to the Mapuche language, still spoken in Chile today. This act was the first of a series of conscious decisions to
choose symbols that would represent, and later embody, the ideals of nueva canción. The name "Quilapayún" is a combination of "quila," which in Mapuche means "three," and "payún," a meaningless suffix they added at one of their early practice sessions, when they still had no real material to practice and thus when their gatherings inevitably ended in uncontrolled laughter and innumerable jokes.

The search for a name slowly stimulated the three to define their vision. Carrasco writes that, "En los hechos, muy poco tiempo después, la 'cosa' comenzó a existir, un nombre tan convincente no podía dejar de pertenecer a algo real [...] Después del nombre vino la idea, aunque tal vez en el hallazgo de la palabra se hallaba incluido en una cierta manera el contenido que no tardó en hacerse presente" (34).

The three immediate characteristics of their artistic creation determined by choosing the name "Quilapayún" were the distancing from the neofolkloric wave already mentioned, a connection to Cuba, and a sympathetic approach to the indigenous: "Quilapayún era una palabra indígena de sonido recio y abierto como el canto que inconscientemente andábamos buscando, pero al mismo tiempo su significado señalaba hacia Cuba que para nosotros como para toda nuestra generación estudiantil de los años sesenta, se alzaba como la naciente esperanza de una revolución verdadera en el continente latinoamericano" (34). The incorporation of indigenous references, such as their name, resulted from a desire to eschew the commercialized images and themes of popular music and to promote instead what was "truly" Chilean. To them, it seemed natural to make Chilean indigenous references, such as rhythms and words, the foundation of their music, since they considered the indigenous to be "truly" Chilean. None of the members of Quilapayún was indigenous, however, and so the group inevitably needed to appropriate these references in the process of using them. This appropriation presents the problems intrinsic in the
act of speaking for someone else, such as the danger of falsifying the meaning of the references as a result of employing them outside their original context. However, Quilapayún was fighting precisely against this self-awarded power to speak for someone else. To counteract this effect, the group adapted the indigenous references to its own creative process, in order to give priority to its own analysis and experience. This adaptation, because it evolved out of critical thinking, granted Quilapayún, in their eyes at least, the possibility of taking part in Chile's own "revolución verdadera." In this manner, Quilapayún began to create its identity.

The *nueva canción* in Chile came to be known as such more by chance than by choice when in 1968 the artists producing this type of music were invited to a concert called the "Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena." The label "*nueva canción*" brought together artists making music that denounced social injustices and sang of the people's lives and the artists' own experiences. It also provided a context in which they could develop their goals as a musical alliance. Before this concert, the artists of *nueva canción* who knew each other met in small gatherings, but the rest worked on their own. It was only after the festival that these artists began to cooperate as a group in the creation of music and to express the social and political views lying at the core of their work within the public sphere.

*Nueva trova* got its official name in 1972 with the founding of the Movimiento Nueva Trova (MNT). The MNT was an autonomous group that nevertheless received full government support (Benmayor, Orellana "Nueva trova cubana"). Unlike in the case of Quilapayún and the Chilean *nueva canción*, this name was carefully chosen based on an outlook already shared by the artists. The artists of the MNT had been producing music and collaborating with each other since 1967. Thus, for these *trovadores* the naming of their project marked the culmination of five years of introspection and articulation. The artists strove to signal both a connection to the
Cuban trova* tradition and a departure from it. In addition, they wanted to distinguish their music from the Latin American New Song, including Chile's, since their music did not protest against the political group in power but rather supported it (Benmayor 19-20). Furthermore, the Movimiento served a more pragmatic purpose since the structure of the MNT maximized the development of the music and increased its diffusion.

As stated above, the MNT was created when the composers and singers of nueva trova were already engaged in a conversation of what they wanted their music to communicate and had already established a conscious ideological objective. Pablo Milanés describes these interactions in his 1985 interview with Carlos Orellana. He says that in 1967 he and various other artists, including Rodríguez, were called together by Casa de las Américas to channel their work in an organized direction:

Fué así como se fraguó ese grupo, como se forjó el concepto de lo que debía ser un taller de estudio y trabajo, y durante los tres o cuatro años siguientes estuvimos enfrascados únicamente en eso, en estudiar, tocar, elaborar nuestra música, tanto para el cine como para nuestro propio consumo crítico, nuestra discusión y trabajo internos. De este modo, hacia el 72, las cosas se veían ya perfectamente claras.

(129)

Rita Benmayor cites Noel Nicola, another member of the nueva trova, explaining the reasons behind this self-denomination. Nicola tells that:

El autodenominarse trovador implicaba inconscientemente, un tácito compromiso con la defensa y desarrollo de nuestras tradiciones más enraizadas. [...] La denominación de la agrupación de la Nueva Trova respondió ya a una conscientización de lo antes percibido de manera espontánea. [...] Claro que la
existencia de una continuidad no niega la de elementos de ruptura y de novedad – aunque nada sea eternamente nuevo [...] Y ¿por qué no joven? (20-21).

Nueva trova sought to take the old trova* tradition as a starting point and adapt it to reflect the new circumstances in Cuba. The influence of this tradition on nueva trova did not imply that this new music would not acquire its own characteristics; for years the trovadores had been articulating the purpose of their music, which was to reconnect with traditional Cuban music and adapt it to reflect contemporary Cuba.

Old trova was the Cuban popular song of the late 19th and early 20th century, up to the second World War. The musicians and singers of this genre, which combined various rhythms present in Cuba, were poor, self-taught artists who made a living performing their songs at restaurants, outdoor cafes, and later at theaters. They often formed duos, where one person, the primero, would sing the lyrics, and the other, the segundo, would produce harmonic melodies that accompanied the first. From the beginnings of this early trova, the guitar provided the accompaniment. In later years, claves* were also incorporated. These first trovadores were able to record their songs on phonograph records, and some traveled to New York to record with the emerging music industry there. The influence of these artists reaches beyond modern Cuban music: their legacy includes the bolero* and numerous other rhythms appropriated and developed by a wide range of Latin American artists of the 20th century.

The naming of the new trovadores' musical project asserted and refined its aim, but the most practical effect of the MNT was that it further institutionalized the movement and allowed a more structured method of networking, recruiting talent, and providing for the artists that had already been professionalized by the revolutionary government. According to Rodríguez, the MNT emerged at this point because:
[...] ya existía, espontáneamente, una coincidencia anímica entre muchos jóvenes trovadores, un quehacer común, una tendencia que después quisimos llamar movimiento. O sea que, cuando creamos el MNT, ya había lo principal: una generación cantante y sonora. Creo que aquella organización tuvo sobre todo la virtud de propiciar encuentros entre trovadores de toda la isla no sólo jóvenes, porque nuestros festivales no creían en edades, estilos o géneros: participaron hasta sexagenarios [...] (Rodríguez, Silvio, Interview)

By 1972, the trovadores were no longer working under Casa de las Américas. From 1968 until that year, they had been part of the Grupo de Experimentación Sonora (GES), which was created in 1968 by Leo Brouwer as part of the Instituto Cubano del Arte y la Industria Cinematográficos (ICAIC)11, and which included among its purposes the composition of music for film. The MNT granted the artists greater autonomy than they had had under Casa or GES since it was not constituted as part of another institution.

Rodríguez tells Isabel Parra in 1981:

Existe una especie de secretariado, que somos 12 compañeros, algunos fundadores del movimiento, otros que se incorporan después. Tenemos un Consejo Nacional, que son unos 20 o 30 compañeros, de los que formamos parte el ejecutivo y otros compañeros que no son del ejecutivo. Viene a ser como un Comité Central. En el activo Nacional se reúne el consejo y además de participar en las reuniones, se canta, se hacen actividades en la población, en la zona. Esa es más o menos la estructura, grosso modo. (67)

In addition to this board of directors that led the Movimiento, "there are," as Benmayor explains, "grass-roots clubs and committees at the municipal and provincial levels that assume the primary
responsibility of recruiting new members. [...] Known amateurs are recommended for professional status by both the movement and local divisions of the Ministry of Culture on the basis of artistic talent, dedication, and organizational needs of a community" (22). Through this highly organized, government-supported system, the MNT provided a structure for the trovadores and their music to flourish.

**Authenticity**

When the artists began to clarify exactly what the aim of their project would be, it became evident that their most prominent objective was to be "authentic." Every critic and artist of the New Song emphasizes "authenticity" as its primary characteristic; yet none ever defines the term explicitly. From reading critical works on New Song together with publications that document the artists' own words, one can nonetheless infer what the critics and artists meant by the term "authentic": being "authentic" meant speaking about all aspects of life – from family to romantic love to work – in a way that expressed the current reality of the people but without ignoring past influences or future aspirations. The artists wished to communicate their interpretations of what they observed and to expose in their music the situations that they encountered individually as well as those they saw others facing. It is this quality of *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* that was intended to validate the experiences of the groups of people previously ignored by the power structure.

In his book, Eduardo Carrasco indirectly provides his definition of "authenticity," which resonates with descriptions provided by other artists and critics of the aim of *nueva canción* and *nueva trova*. He writes:
[...] cuando los mitos de un pueblo no tienen verdadera solidez y no están apoyados por una reflexión profunda que les dé verdad, todo se puede desmoronar fácilmente. De ahí la necesidad de elaborar la verdad de sí mismo, la imperiosa necesidad de buscarse y conocerse para poder construirse dentro de una fidelidad consigo mismo, la urgencia de tomarse en serio, incluso allí donde las elaboraciones de una cultura son más modestas, para que la autenticidad en todas sus posibilidades se transforme en verdad histórica.

Hay que decir que este imperativo de autenticidad estaba en ese momento en el corazón de muchos, y en especial de todos aquellos que estaban tratando de crear un verdadero movimiento de música nacional. (39)

Carrasco says that it is necessary to study oneself in order to strengthen the foundation of one's beliefs and the relevance of one's actions. Only after this self-study has begun, will one's experiences be acknowledged by the greater community as a relevant part of its collective experience. "Authenticity" then is believed to reside in understanding and exhibiting someone's entire experience.

Carrasco makes imperative the need for everyone to engage in constant reflection in order to achieve "authenticity," that is, critically thinking about one's life experiences, sharing the product of this process with others, and, ideally, gaining their respect and attention for these experiences. By extension, Carrasco and Quilapayún's own work needed to strive for "authenticity." Cuban trovador Noel Nicola agrees that exercising constant reflection is essential. However, Nicola defines "revolutionary" art, instead of "authentic" art, as the goal of introspection. He says, "Es a través de una profunda revalorización de nuestras tradiciones, de nuestro acercamiento desprejuiciado y crítico a los valores más genuinos de nuestro acervo..."
cultural, como podremos desarrollar un arte verdaderamente revolucionario" (Benmayor 21). Nicola does not define terms that in fact need further qualifying, such as *genuinos* and *cultural*, and thus much of his rhetoric appears meaningless. However, he does clearly emphasize the need for a "profound" and "critical" approach to art in order to serve the revolution.

For the Cuban *trovadores*, the goal of achieving "authentic" art was embedded in their revolutionary ideas and in their concept of what constituted "political" art. Pablo Milanés has said, "yo creo que no existe arte sobre la tierra, y mucho más si uno considera que es auténtico, que no tenga una connotación política o ideológica. Todo tiene una explicación política" (Orellana 132). The term "political," however, has a very specific meaning for Milanés and the rest of the *trovadores*. When asked if he considered himself a political musician or singer, Milanés answered:

Yo me considero un cantante y un compositor fiel a lo que está viviendo nuestro pueblo. Claro que en la medida en que decimos fieles – y somos fieles – realmente hay una explicación ideológica, y también hay una explicación humana y hay una explicación amorosa, y hay una explicación con muchísimos matices que responden a la gran variedad de cosas que significa vivir en nuestro país: formamos parte de una pareja amorosa, formamos parte de un partido de vanguardia, estamos en todas las manifestaciones en que es capaz de proyectarse el hombre y la mujer cubanos. No me considero estrictamente un hombre político; me considero un ser que vive en este país, que es consecuente con todo lo que vive, disfruta, sufre, goza, y que como tal debe proyectarse en todos los sentidos, con todas sus facetas. Considerarse nada más que político sería
enfermarse, enajenarse. Me considero simplemente un hombre con todos los defectos y todas las virtudes que puede tener un revolucionario en este país (132)

Thus, Milanés believes that beyond being "political" in the sense of only supporting the government with his music, he needs to explore the multitude of identities that constitute human life in contemporary Cuba.

In the song "Playa Girón," Silvio Rodríguez exemplifies the reflective quality of nueva trova by delving into inquiries he feels an urgency to discuss based on his own experience and observations. Rodríguez wrote this song while on board the fishing ship "Playa Girón" in late 1969 and early 1970, during the early part of his musical career. In it, he reflects on how to convey his experience on the boat:

Compañeros poetas,

tomando en cuenta los últimos sucesos
en la poesía, quisiera preguntar
-me urge-,

¿Qué tipo de adjetivos se deben usar

para hacer el poema de un barco

sin que haga sentimental,

fuera de la vanguardia

o evidente pamfleto,

si debo usar palabras como

Flota Cubana de Pesca y

"Playa Girón"?
Compañeros de música,
tomando en cuenta esas polítonales
y audaces canciones, quisiera preguntar
-me urge-,
¿Qué tipo de armonía se debe usar
para hacer la canción
de este barco
con hombres de poca niñez, hombres y solamente
hombres sobre cubierta,
hombres negros y rojos y azules,
los hombres que pueblan el "Playa Girón"?

Compañeros de historia,
tomando en cuenta
lo implacable
que debe ser la verdad, quisiera preguntar
-me urge tanto-,
¿qué debiera decir, qué fronteras debo respetar?
Si alguien roba comida
y después da la vida, ¿qué hacer?
¿Hasta dónde debemos practicar las verdades?
¿Hasta dónde sabemos?
Que escriban, pues, la historia, su historia,
Rodríguez’s guitar provides the only accompaniment to his lyrics, in the style of old *trova*. In the last two verses, Rodríguez refers to the need of each man to speak for himself, and throughout makes clear that these questions are the product of his own reflection. Rodríguez calls on other people to engage in this discussion and, by posing direct inquiries and clearly singing the words, he incites the listener to join him in thinking about what are for him, a composer and a performer, pressing questions about poetic diction, musical harmony, and content.

"El breve espacio en que no estás," by Pablo Milanés, provides an example of a song that deals with other aspects of life, in this case the love for a woman:

Todavía quedan restos de humedad,
sus olores llenan ya mi soledad,
en la cama su silueta
se dibuja cual promesa
de llenar el breve espacio en que no está.

Todavía yo no sé si volverá,
nadie sabe al día siguiente lo que hará,
rompe todos mis esquemas,
no confiesa ni una pena,
no me pide nada a cambio de lo que da.

Suele ser violenta y tierna,
no habla de uniones eternas,
mas se entrega cual si hubiera
solo un dia para amar.

No comparte una reunion,
mas le gusta la cancion
que comprometa su pensar.

Todavia no pregunte: te quedaras,
temo mucho la respuesta de un jamas,
la prefiero compartida
antes que vaciar mi vida,
no es perfecta, mas se acerca a lo que yo
simplemente soñé. (Milanés, "El breve espacio en que no estas")

In this song, Milanés uses instruments other than the guitar, such as the piano, thus showing how nueva trova incorporates elements not present in old trova*. Milanés does not hope to idolize the woman who inspired this song; he admits that although she is not "perfecta," she "se acerca a lo que yo simplemente soñé." He also makes references to the reality of the revolutionary regime by stating that the woman he loves likes "la cancion que compromenta su pensar," like those of the nueva trova.

In 1981, Benmayor wrote that, "Outside Cuba, nueva trova is often thought of as 'political song.' [However,] the trovadores hasten to explain that they do not write political propaganda and that their song is political in the broadest sense of that term, in that a love song,
an evocation of town life, a children’s song, one of solidarity with Angola or Vietnam, are all political, in the same way that everyday life is political” (12). Especially during its first two decades, the Cuban revolution envisioned a complete restructuring of society and so being political implied a concern for all facets of life. As a result:

While the young composers drew inspiration from [their] predecessors, they also wanted to extend the parameters of revolutionary song to include intimate, personal feelings, conflicts, and the complexities of social experience, as well as historical events. The *trovadores* felt compelled to come to grips with fundamental changes in concepts of life, love, and work. (Benmayor 14)

In the end, art that wished to be authentic needed to incorporate this new definition of "political."

The songs from the Chilean *nueva canción* portrayed the same variety of themes as the Cuban songs. The artists of the *nueva canción* composed lyrics dealing with everything from working conditions in Chile to romantic love. Violeta Parra’s "Miren como sonríen" and "Gracias a la vida" exemplify this variety. The first was written between 1961 and 1963 and accuses the government of committing injustices while making false promises to the poor and working class. The repeated use of the imperative verb "miren" signals the public to pay attention to the lyrics and to observe how what they announce actually occurs in Chilean society:

*Miren cómo sonríen*

*los presidentes,*

*cuando le hacen promesas*

*al inocente,*

*miren cómo le ofrecen*
al sindicato
este mundo y el otro
los candidatos;

miren cómo redoblan
los juramentos,
pero después del voto,
doble tormento.

Miren el hervidero
de vigilantes
para rociarle flores
al estudiante,

miren cómo relumbran
carabineros\textsuperscript{12}
para ofrecerle premios
da los obreros;

miren cómo se visten
cabo y sargento
para teñir de rojo
los pavimentos,
miren cómo profanan
la sacristía
con pieles y sombreros
de hipocresía.

Miren cómo blanquearon
mes de María
y al pobre negrearon
la luz del día;

miren cómo le muestran
una escopeta
para quitarle al pobre
su marraqueta\textsuperscript{13}.

miren cómo se empolvan
los funcionarios
para contar las hojas
del calendario.

Miren cómo gestionan
los secretarios
las páginas amables
de cada diario,

miren cómo sonríen
angélicas,
miren cómo se olvidan
que son mortales. (Parra, "Miren cómo sonríen")

"Gracias a la vida," written in 1965 and released in 1966, speaks of a lover's constant presence in Violeta Parra's life. The song ends by addressing the listener and acknowledging that Parra and her public experience the same situations:

Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto,
me dio dos luceros que, cuando los abro,
perfecto distingo lo negro del blanco
y en el alto cielo su fondo estrellado,
y en las multitudes, al hombre que yo amo.

Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto,
me ha dado el cielo, que en todo su ancho
graba noche y día grillos y canarios.
martillos, turbinas, ladridos, chubascos,
y la voz tan tierna de mi bien amado.

Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto,
me ha dado el sonido y el abecedario.
con él las palabras que pienso y declaro,
madre, amigo, hermano, y luz alumbrando,
la ruta del alma del que estoy amando.

Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto,
me ha dado la marcha de mis pies cansados,
con ellos anduve ciudades y charcos,
playas y desiertos, montañas y llanos,
y la casa tuya, tu calle y tu patio.

Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto,
me dio el corazón que agita su marco,
cuando miro el fruto del cerebro humano,
cuando miro el bueno tan lejos del malo,
cuando miro el fondo de tus ojos claros.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto,
me ha dado la risa y me ha dado el llanto,
así yo distingo dicha de quebranto,
los dos materiales que forman mi canto
y el canto de ustedes, que es el mismo canto,
y el canto de todos que es mi propio canto.
Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. (Parra, "Gracias a la vida")

In addition to redefining the meaning of "political" in the process of making what they called an "authentic" art, the artists recognized that their music would have to change as time went by so that it always reflected the current reality of the people. In a letter written from his exile in Paris for the Chilean magazine Araucaria in 1982, Quilapayún member Hugo Lagos, who began recording with the group in 1975, confesses that "el desarrollo, la evolución, la nueva perspectiva del qué hacer, no sólo se imponen sino que ocupan naturalmente lo esencial de nuestras actividades. Un grupo como el nuestro, que comienza a tener cierta edad, no podría sobrevivir (artísticamente) sin la exigencia de la constante renovación" (7). The original purpose of the music was to express the current realities of the artists and the people around them. These realities changed over time, and so the only way to remain faithful to this purpose was always to evaluate the meaning of the work and adapt it to evolving historical circumstances.

Another characteristic of nueva canción and nueva trova that arises from their commitment to authenticity is a concern for what they often call "universal" art. This concern becomes apparent in the early 1970's, as explained by Hugo Lagos in his letter to Araucaria. "Universal" refers to a quality in this music that, although it originates from an artist living in a specific country, can make it appealing to audiences outside this country. This quality is achieved by exploring and incorporating musical and literary elements that appeal to a broad audience. The term "universal," however, usually seems to denote the idea of “continental,” a usage from the 1970’s that conceives of Latin America as a community with a shared historical experience. The content of some of the songs does point to non-Latin American experiences, such as “Por Vietnam” by Quilapayún (1968), yet for the most part the themes and rhythms of the songs remain Latin American. This imbedded reference to “continental” is implied in
Lagos’s description of the method that Quilapayún employed to attain a “universal” music. Lagos writes that his group searched for “universal aesthetic values” that “permitan abrir nuevos caminos en el campo de la canción popular y contribuyendo al mismo tiempo a la construcción de los cimientos de una identidad cultural chilena y latinoamericana” (7). These universal values which Lagos cites consist of musical elements from other Latin American countries; he does not mention musical influences from non-Latin American countries. He further explains that:

[... ] existen peculiaridades que hacen de la música la herencia de un pueblo o de un continente. Nuestro grupo parte de una de estas particularidades locales y a través del desarrollo encuentra nuevos elementos que va incorporando el proceso creativo, enriqueciéndose en colores instrumentales, variaciones rítmicas, versatilidad y humor. (9)

Lagos perceives two aspects of the group’s work that have helped advance the “universal” or “continental” ambition of their music: the use of themes and musical elements from other Latin American nations in the group’s music, and its wish to eliminate the differences between what is considered "high art" and "popular art"14 in order to create their "art" outside the confines of these constructed and restrictive categories. He recognizes that:

[... ] el Quilapayún se ha caracterizado por una sobriedad escénica, por la rehabilitación de la música andina, siendo uno de sus precursores, por una acentuación de la expresión, por el espíritu latinoamericanista que se encuentra en los contenidos de las canciones y por la incorporación a nuestras posibilidades interpretativas de otros instrumentos ya utilizados por cantores y conjuntos populares, tales como el Cuatro venezolano*, el Tiple colombiano*, el Tres
cubano*, congas*, tumbadoras*, bongó*, y toda la percusión de origen africano-caribeño, dándole un nuevo aliento a la música popular de raíz folklórica. (8)

Lagos thus finds it important that Quilapayún uses Andean music, talks about Latin American issues that are not just Chilean, and incorporates instruments from other countries. In essence, the eclectic mixture of instruments, rhythms, and themes from various locales is a demonstration of Quilapayún’s desire to create a "universal" art.

The "espíritu latinoamericano" which Lagos mentions may refer to the reiterated call for international solidarity that is so characteristic of New Song. The artists wished to acknowledge "authentic" music from other Latin American countries, thus expanding the scope of "authenticity," and to comment on the current social conditions of those countries, with the purpose of uniting all of Latin America against imperialism and oppression. New Song artists sang three types of solidarity songs. First, they performed songs written before the New Song movement that were intimately associated with the people of a certain country. Second, they commonly performed each other's songs, either individually during their own concerts or together with the composer. They also recorded these songs and included them in their own productions. (Mercedes Sosa from Argentina and Soledad Bravo from Venezuela, for example, are prominent figures in New Song who do not compose their own songs, but instead sing those written by other artists from a wide range of Latin American countries, including songs in Portuguese from Brazil.) Third, the artists composed their own songs about other countries, even outside of Latin America, offering their views and their support.

Quilapayún recorded "Carabina 30-30" in 1969 as part of its album "Basta." This well-known anonymous corrido* was composed during the period of armed struggle in the Mexican
Revolution between 1910 and 1917. It tells of the men who with their rifles rebelled against dictator Porfirio Díaz.

Carabina 30-30 que los rebeldes portaban
y decían los maderistas que con ellas no mataban.

Con mi 30-30 me voy a marchar
a engrosar las filas de la rebelión,
si mi sangre piden, mi sangre les doy
por los habitantes de nuestra nación.

Ya nos vamos pa' Chihuahua,
ya se va tu negro santo,
si me quiebra alguna bala
ve a llorarme al camposanto.

Gritaba Francisco Villa,
"¿Dónde te hallas, Argumedo?
Ven, párate aquí adelante,
tú que nunca tienes miedo".

Cuban Pablo Milanés composed “Yo pisaré las calles nuevamente” where he sings of the 1973 coup in Chile and expresses his hope that one day Chile will no longer be ruled by the military:

Yo pisaré las calles nuevamente
De lo que fue Santiago ensangrentada,
Y en una hermosa plaza liberada
Me detendré a llorar por los ausentes.

Yo vendré del desierto calcinante,
Y saldré de los bosques y los lagos,
Y evocaré en un cerro de Santiago
A mis hermanos que murieron antes.

Yo unido al que hizo mucho y poco,
Al que quiere la patria liberada,
Dispararé las primeras balas
Más temprano que tarde sin reposo.

Retornarán los libros, las canciones
Que quemaron las manos asesinas.
Renacerá mi pueblo de sus ruinas
Y pagarán su culpa los traidores.

Un niño jugará en una alameda,
Y cantará con sus amigos nuevos,
Y ese canto será el canto del suelo
A una vida segada en La Moneda. (Milanés, “Yo pisaré las calles nuevamente”)
Here, Milanés makes references to the death of Salvador Allende in the presidential palace of La Moneda on September 11, 1973, the day of the coup, and to the censorship of books and songs deemed dissident by the military. He proclaims his support for ending the dictatorship and avenging the deaths of those killed and disappeared under it.

Also contributing to the "universal aesthetic," Hugo Lagos writes, was Quilapayún’s approach to música culta. Música culta refers to music traditionally considered "high art," as opposed to "popular art," and includes such forms as symphonies and concertos. Quilapayún often wrote lyrics with socially conscious themes that followed the conventions of Chilean folk music, such as the cueca*. An example of these songs is "Cueca a la Balmaceda," recorded in 1969 for the album "Basta." However, the group also composed songs that departed from Andean rhythms and instruments to incorporate "la gran forma" of classical music. These songs not only chronicle "los acontecimientos sociales que vivió Chile y América Latina entre los años 1965-1975, sino también una evolución en lo estrictamente musical" (Lagos 8). Quilapayún indeed did not limit its thematic repertoire to contemporary Chile. "Cantata Santa María de Iquique" (1970), considered to be Quilapayún’s most successful attempt to demonstrate that "popular" song need not be relegated to a status "below" that of music considered "high" art, narrates the massacre of 3,600 miners in Iquique, Chile, on December 21, 1907, under the government of Pedro Montt. This cantata* was written by Luis Advis (a Chilean musician who collaborated with Quilapayún on this project), and chronicles the time when the miners rebelled by demanding improved working conditions from the owners of the mines and better treatment from the legal authorities. After the owners ignored their requests, the miners traveled to the city of Iquique to reach the authorities, and were massacred in a school named "Santa María" while waiting for negotiations to finalize. The “Canción II” in the Cantata, also known as "Vamos
mujer," portrays a miner encouraging his wife to make the trip from the mining region to Iquique to demand justice from the authorities:

Vamos mujer,
partamos a la ciudad.

Todo será distinto,
no hay que dudar.

No hay que dudar, confía,
ya vas a ver,

porque en Iquique
todos van a entender.

Toma mujer mi manta,
te abrigará.

Ponte al niño en brazos,
no llorará.

No llorará, confía,
va a sonreír.

Le cantarás un canto,
se va a dormir.

¿Qué es lo que pasa?, dime,
no calles más.

Largo camino
tienes que recorrer
atravesando cerros,
vamos mujer.
Vamos mujer, confía,
que hay que llegar
en la ciudad, podremos ver todo el mar.
Dicen que Iquique es grande
como un salar,
que hay muchas casas lindas,
te gustarán.
Te gustarán, confía,
como que hay Dios,
allá en el puerto
todo va a ser mejor.
¿Qué es lo que pasa?, dime.
no calles más. (Quilapayún, “Vamos mujer”)

At the time of the the Cantata’s recording, Quilapayún consisted of six members, and a seventh participant served as the narrator. It is divided into eighteen sections, which alternate solos, instrumental interludes, recitations, and choruses. It also integrates the cello and bass of an orchestra, while maintaining the use of guitars, Andean flutes like the quena*, charangos*, and bombos* (Aguirre 16). The “Canción final” of the Cantata incites the listener to fight for his rights now that he or she has heard this account. Again, the public is motivated to reflect on its country’s history and to work for social change:
Ustedes que ya escucharon
la historia que se contó
no sigan allí sentados
pensando que ya pasó.
No basta sólo el recuerdo,
el canto no bastará.
No basta sólo el lamento,
miremos la realidad.

[...]
Unámonos como hermanos
que nadie nos vencerá.
Si quieren esclavizarnos,
jamás lo podrán lograr.
La tierra será de todos
también será nuestro el mar.
Justicia habrá para todos
y habrá también libertad.
Luchemos por los derechos
que todos deben tener.
Luchemos por lo que es nuestro,
de nadie más ha de ser. (Quilapayún, “Canción final”)
With an epic work such as this one, Quilapayún wishes to explore and develop its art so that it reaches a point where the music, which once sought to replicate folk forms so that they would be recognized and not forgotten by the people, becomes a blend of the folk and the classical.

Other Chilean artists, in addition to Quilapayún, have looked toward groups outside their own country for inspiration. Rodrigo Torres writes in "La urbanización de la canción folclórica" (1985) that Victor Jara, another major figure in the early years of nueva canción who was later killed in the National Soccer Stadium in Santiago, Chile a few days after the 1973 coup, also incorporated instruments, musical forms, and themes from other countries, while relying on the rediscovered Chilean folk music as his foundation.

In Cuba, the trovadores have also included musical traditions from countries other than their own and hoped to elevate Cuban popular music to a respected art form in order to defy the separation of art into "popular" and "high." Benmayor writes that, "Like its parent tradition, nueva trova embraces a wide variety of traditional structures, themes, and styles, but young composers are also eager to integrate international, contemporary trends in sound into their music. They combine acoustic and electronic instrumentation and experiment with different groupings, from the traditional duos and trios to rock bands." (12-13). Silvio Rodríguez explained to her that early in his career he recognized that "la canción tenía elementos artísticos o que podía tenerlos, para ser vista y manejada como un gran arte, como lo es la pintura, la poesía, la sinfonía. La canción también podía ser un gran arte" (13). Elsewhere, Pablo Milanés speaks to this objective when he tells Orellana that he and his fellow trovadores, even in the early years when they first began working together, wished to use "[u]n lenguaje más poético, más elaborado, a partir de lo que había significado la raíz trovadoresca [...]" (Orellana 128).
Jane Tumas-Serna recognizes this quality within nueva canción of wishing to do away with the distinctions between “high culture” and “popular culture” and explains it in terms of performance theory, which treats all aspects of a mass-mediated expression, from a record to a concert, as performance space where the artist interacts with the audience and creates a relationship. Tumas-Serna concedes that a central issue that arises in such mass-mediated systems like nueva canción is that of the aesthetics. The separation of culture into high culture, popular culture, and mass culture is [...] challenged by this form of music. The performers or creators of nueva canción call into question these divisions and the validity of an elite to determine what is acceptable” (149). She further develops the applicability of this theory to nueva canción and writes that "in rejecting the privilege of the educated elite to determine aesthetic value, performance studies examine how to empower the audience to ‘create texts by their performance,’ in which ‘communal aesthetic standards may not always coincide with inherited aesthetic values’” (141-142). Thus, the audience, and in turn the artist whose work empowers the audience, have the ability to decide what they accept or reject, without the input from groups, like media conglomerates, that historically have manipulated popular culture tastes.
Chapter III

Expression

Once the artist has committed him or herself to his/her musical project and defined its aim, he/she chooses the means to express it. Even before the artists of *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* had a good idea where their work would take them, they knew their means of expression would be song. Thus, art became for them a means for creating the identity they sought. Rodolfo Parada Lillo generalizes the power of art when he writes that "el arte 'busca' establecer una relación viva con la sociedad, en el presente y a través de los tiempos. Por eso es que se transforma en generador de identidad porque revela, muestra, crea, inventa los recovecos visibles e invisibles del alma de un pueblo" (1). Art can connect the past, present and future of society and, in so doing, reveal and recreate the changing identities of a community. Parada goes on to say that political art is that which deconstructs "las formas ya aceptadas" (11). Therefore, art that is political needs to question existing structures and establish new ones that reflect current realities. Last, Parada reminds the reader that cultural identity is everchanging (12-13), and so a group's identity will never be fully defined; at any present time, a group will attempt to define its identities based on its customs, outlook, and experiences. The artists of *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* had already committed themselves to this definition of political art and now needed to choose the specific characteristics of their work.
After gathering material throughout Chile between 1953 and 1968, Violeta Parra immediately began to perform the songs she had learned during her travels. She strove to promote this music through the mass media (i.e. radio and television), and by encouraging young musicians to learn it and incorporate it into their repertoire (Morris 118). Parra then set the example for other artists by starting to compose her own lyrics to fit the patterns of existing folk rhythms. As Juan Orrego Salas remarks about the nueva canción of the 1960's, "La décima* y la copla* en cuarteta* con estribillo parecen controlar las estructuras poéticas de entonces y las formas musicales más corrientes provienen de la ‘tonada’* y de la ‘sirilla’*, derivación chilota15 de la ‘seguidilla’* española en ritmo ternario" (6). These folkloric musical forms serve as the structural foundation for the early years of nueva canción.

As time went on and nueva canción artists strove to set new standards for popular music through their own work, they began to incorporate instruments and structures previously used in música culta. For example, Quilapayún and Angel Parra, son of Violeta Parra and a well-known New Song artist himself, included orchestral instruments such as the cello in their compositions (Orrego Salas 9).

In Cuba, the trovadores began by singing their own compositions in the style of the old trova*, where mostly the Spanish guitar functioned as the only accompaniment. Old trova* includes the bolero*, the guaracha*, the guajira*, the criolla*, and the son* (Benmayor 12). Two years after the establishment of the Movimiento Nueva Trova, Pablo Milanes explains in his interview with Mario Benedetti for Crisis magazine that nueva trova “tuvo sus comienzos en los años sesenta y pico, con legados musicales armónicos, aunque no textuales, de nuestros antepasados. Esas son sus raíces musicales” (68). From the early years when Milanes met with
other young artists in search of a new Cuban popular song, they knew they wanted to establish a
collection with old *trova* and thus reinforce the importance of popular song and tradition.
However, as in Chile, artists soon began to incorporate different musical styles, such as voice
harmony, jazz, and rock (Benmayor 23).

The attempt to transform traditional popular song into a highly developed and self-
conscious art form is also revealed by the careful attention Chilean and Cuban composers paid to
endeavor to give their songs greater poetic stature, rejecting the formulas and clichés found in
commercial songs" (13). Followers of the movement also tend to describe its songs as "poetic"
and therefore "beautiful." This general reaction implies that listeners collectively perceive the
meticulousness with which composers construct their lyrics in order to convey often subtle
poetic meanings.

One of the most famous songs in all of *nueva trova* is "Ojalá," by Silvio Rodríguez. He
composed this song while in the fishing boat Playa Girón, and it is dedicated to a past lover,
Emilia, who greatly influenced his life. Admirers of the song are impressed by its pulsating and
intense rhythm, and by its symbolic and evocative lyrics:

Ojalá que las hojas no te toquen el cuerpo cuando caigan

para que no las puedas convertir en cristal.

Ojalá que la lluvia deje de ser milagro que baja por tu cuerpo.

Ojalá que la luna pueda salir sin tí.

Ojalá que la tierra no te bese los pasos.

Ojalá se te acabe la mirada constante,
la palabra precisa, la sonrisa perfecta.
Ojalá pase algo que te borre de pronto,
una luz cegadora, un disparo de nieve.
Ojalá por lo menos que me lleve la muerte,
para no verte tanto, para no verte siempre,
en todos los segundos, en todas las visiones.
Ojalá que no pueda tocarme ni en canciones.

Ojalá que la aurora no dé gritos que caigan en mi espalda.
Ojalá que tu nombre se le olvide a esta voz.
Ojalá las paredes no retengan tu ruido de camino cansado.
Ojalá que el deseo se vaya trás de ti,
a tu viejo gobierno de difuntos y flores. (Rodríguez, “Ojalá”)

Rodríguez explains to Isabel Parra in their interview that Emilia’s memory was so vivid during his time aboard the ship that all he could do was hope her memory would not torment him anymore, thus the constant mention of "ojalá."

The comparison of New Song lyrics to poetry, however, needs to be preceded by the acknowledgement that a line of poetry and a line of song differ by definition, in that the latter needs to work within a musical melody. The interdependence between words and music introduces new boundaries that poets do not need to consider. As Patricio Manns explains in "Problemas del texto en la nueva canción" (1985), "Casi de una manera natural los textos de las canciones son considerados poemas, lo que suele ser a menudo un error: el texto escrito en convivencia y complicidad con la música tiene leyes particulares y debe observar muchas
exigencias - yo diría colaterales - que implican una diferenciación, si no de contenido, por lo menos de forma" (22).

Poetry and lyrics are similar in that they both carry a message or messages, or at least they should (Manns 22). This responsibility to impart a meaning compels the poet and composer to have full command of the meaning of words, or semantics, because without this knowledge "no hay transmisión de ideas, no hay mensajes, no hay aprendizaje ni enseñanza, [...] no hay, en suma, ni poesía, ni historia, ni acción posibles" (24). In this context, the incorporation of music differentiates the lyrics of a song from poetry by introducing a means beyond words themselves that can transmit the artist’s intentions.

The technical requirements imposed by music on composers do not take away from the beauty that can be appreciated in the lyrics by the listeners, who, for the most part, enjoy the music without debating what does or does not constitute true poetry. However, a song’s musical dimension contributes as much as the lyrics to the public’s appreciation. Clearly, if the songs were performed and disseminated as poetry, that is, without music, they would not attract such a large audience. Poetry is not disseminated by the mass media as songs are. Furthermore, listeners who recall a certain song seldom isolate the lyrics from the melody, and reciting the words by themselves certainly does not evoke the same experience as singing the song: "La canción es, entonces, a causa de sus palabras (texto) una forma definitiva e insustituible de la comunicación que procede del lenguaje y excede al poema puesto que enyuga la música y el texto en una misma yunta” (Manns, 24). Not only can the combination of eloquent lyrics and emotive music constitute an unforgettable song, but the presence of music can also reinforce the power of the words.
Osvaldo Rodríguez, a Chilean singer, writer and journalist, recognized the undeniable relationship between text and music by contending that a balance of the two gives a song its appeal. He told Juan Armando Epple in a 1984 interview that, "Cuando [un] cantautor [...] se preocupa de la relación entre el texto y la música, cuando 'da en el clavo,' la obra pasa a integrarse con naturalidad a la memoria popular" (45). For this reason he finds that his fellow New Songs artists Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés "se distinguen justamente con una obra que lleva en sí un profundo respeto por la poesía"" (46).

Artists of both *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* also drew inspiration from celebrated poets and often scored their work to music. Benmayor writes that, "In an effort to increase the poetic stature of song, *trovadores* drew on modern Hispanic tradition, particularly on the works of Martí, the Revolution's spiritual author [...]. Scoring poems so that they can be sung has [...] been an integral poetic activity within the *trova*" (14-15). In Chile, countless artists have based songs on the poetry of Pablo Neruda, one of the most influential cultural figures for *nueva canción*. This activity differs from composing original text since these poems were written outside the context of music and therefore already carried their own effective messages and form. However, the quality added by music incorporated these poems into popular discourse and so made them more accessible to the public.

An example of a poem set to music is Quilapayún’s "El árbol," which was based on the introductory poem to “Los libertadores,” the fourth section in *Canto general* (1950) by Pablo Neruda17:

Suben sus héroes de la tierra
como las hojas por la savia,
y el viento estrella los follajes

69
de muchedumbre rumorosa,
hasta que cae la semilla
del pan otra vez a la tierra.

Sacó salitre del martirio,
y extrajo lágrimas del suelo:
las elevó por sus ramajes,
las repartió es su arquitectura.
Fueron las flores invisibles,
a veces, flores enterradas.

Chorus
Este es el árbol de los libres.
El árbol tierra, el árbol nube,
el árbol pan, el árbol flecha,
el árbol puño, el árbol fuego.
Lo ahoga el agua tormentosa
de nuestra época nocturna.
Este es el árbol de los libres.

Asómate a su cabellera:
toca sus rayos renovados:
toma tu pan y tu manzana,
tu corazón y tu caballo
y monta guardia en la frontera,

en el límite de sus hojas.

*Chorus*

Este es el árbol, el árbol
del pueblo, de todos los pueblos
de la libertad, de la lucha. (Quilapayún, “El árbol”)

*Symbols*

The artists complement the ideological message of their music with visual representations of their concept of authenticity. These physical symbols can, in turn, take on the meaning of the entire movement.

The first apparent symbol is constituted by the performers’ personal appearance. In the beginning, the members of Quilapayún considered growing beards to signal their solidarity with Cuba (Carrasco 34). (Beards point to Cuba because Fidel Castro and other members of his guerilla movement became famous for theirs, and came to be known as “los barbudos.”) Other artists focused on their clothing to express their intentions.

Osvaldo Rodríguez tells that, "[e]n una entrevista que le hicieron a los Parra ellos cuentan que Violeta iba a la Estación Central a estudiar la vestimenta de los campesinos que llegaban a Santiago y luego iba a enseñarles a los conjuntos cómo deberían vestirse para sus actuaciones" (Epple, "Reflexiones ..." 44). Violeta Parra wanted the artists to represent as faithfully as possible the *campesinos* whose music they performed. It did not matter to her that the artists themselves were not *campesinos*. The goal was to assert the *campesinos*’ existence and expose
something that had not been given attention before. It was not to make fun or to try to replicate them. Rodríguez goes on to say that "es esa actitud, esa mirada alerta y desprejuiciada hacia la realidad popular la que va a tener importancia más tarde, cuando los cantantes posteriores empiecen a crear su obra" (44).

In Cuba, "the singers appear on stage in street clothes, refuse to be made up, and strive to communicate with their audiences in a natural, honest fashion" (Benmayor 14). This is one way in which the Cuban *trovadores* chose to manifest their rejection of stardom: they presented themselves as average people from the community.

The instruments used in *nueva canción* also acquired certain meanings that made them emblematic of the movement. Violeta Parra and her daughter and son, Isabel and Angel, introduced Andean instruments, such as the *charango* and *quena*, to the Chilean capital of Santiago; prior to the emergence of *nueva canción*, "la música andina era casi desconocida en Santiago y en toda la zona central y sur del país" (Padilla 54). Thus, people from the capital, who were not accustomed to the presence of Andean instruments, came to associate them instinctively with *nueva canción*. The integration of indigenous instruments fused them with meanings alluding to the value of Chilean folk culture promoted by *nueva canción* and the need to form alliances of solidarity with the rest of Latin America. In 1986, Gavagnin wrote that:

> Es muy fuerte en la Nueva Canción Chilena la toma de conciencia de la enorme riqueza del patrimonio instrumental, ornanológico, del continente, y de su importancia cultural. Hay una tradición que 'lee' en los instrumentos autóctonos aspectos del alma americana. La operación propia de la Nueva Canción Chilena de emplear instrumentos folklóricos de toda Latinoamérica, fundiéndolos en un conjunto sonoro, y de basar en él la construcción de un lenguaje original, capta
Perhaps the strongest evidence of the meaning associated with indigenous instruments is the ban placed upon them by the military government after the coup of September 11, 1973. No Andean intruments could be used either in private or in public because they were deemed subversive, due to their association with nueva canción artists, who generally had supported the government of Salvador Allende. However, in the late 1970's, the music group Barroco Andino was founded, and, due to its particular use of Andean intruments, was able to make them acceptable in the eyes of the government. Barroco Andino employed Andean instruments to produce innovative renditions of classical compositions, like J. S. Bach’s “Suite for Flutes and Strings N° 2”. Thus, even though this group did draw attention to these instruments, it did so within the confines of "high art." Slowly, other people took advantage of the loosened restrictions, and new groups, like Santiago del Nuevo Extremo (late 1970’s), formed (Subercaseaux 201-202). This new wave of artists eventually came to be known as the canto nuevo movement. Although canto nuevo followed the general ideological lines of nueva canción, the main difference between the two movements was that canto nuevo artists were forced to exert self-censorship and resort to highly symbolic language in order to bypass official censorship and communicate their opposition to the current political regime.

Making a Space for Creation

I. Cuba

In Cuba, the Revolution shaped the artists’ careers both by influencing their ideology and by providing the material means to express it. Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez both admit
that they started singing years before becoming part of the Movimiento Nueva Trova, which was founded in 1972. Milanés began his musical career around 1957 in amateur radio and television programs. For him, this work was a hobby, which he later had to abandon due to economic need at home. By 1957, he had had some musical training and could play second and some third year piano. In addition, friends had been teaching him how to play the guitar by ear. Milanés's musical career, therefore, did not solidify until after the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959. As he explains, "Sólo hasta que llegó el triunfo de la Revolución surgió esto de convertirnos en profesionales" (Orellana 127). Milanés tells that in 1959 "me llamaron, porque se hacía la primera evaluación después del triunfo revolucionario; nos examinamos, y así nos hicimos profesionales. Era el mismo año 1959, y yo tenía dieciséis años recién cumplidos" (ibid).

After this date, Milanés worked for about three years with a group that focused on US Southern Afro-American spirituals. He admits that, a year before leaving the group, he had already decided to "cantar sólo acompañándome con la guitarra, y hacerlo, además, con mis propias canciones" (128). From early 1963 until 1967, Milanés started to explore his own songs and style, but also to gather with other young composers who, like him, "también buscaban ... un camino para la nueva canción popular cubana" (128).

Silvio Rodríguez recounts in a 1997 interview that classical music was his first musical influence as a child. He used to go to the Rubén Martínez Villena library in old Havana and study the various periods of classical music. He also learned some piano, which he attempted to play once more as an adolescent. At age seventeen, however, he enrolled in the military service, which was for the first time mandatory, and resorted to the guitar (Rodríguez, Silvio "Interview"). Rodrígues tells that his first original songs, which he composed in the military and performed at amateur festivals, resembled boleros* and baladas*. The day after he completed
his military service in June 1967, he began starring in a famous television program produced by
the Instituto Cubano de Radiodifusión (ICR). Thus, when Rodríguez comments that he became
professionalized as an artist in this program (Ramón 61), he implies that the Revolution, through
one of its institutions, catapulted his career.

By the time Milanés and his colleagues discovered what they were looking for in their
music and Rodríguez’s program had been on the air for a couple of months, Casa de las Américas
called on them and another singer, Noel Nicola, to represent Cuba in the first Encuentro Mundial
de la Canción Protesta in Havana in July 1967: “Casa then hosted monthly concerts, giving more
singers a chance to be heard and to meet each other” (Benmayor 18). From this moment on,
Milanés and Rodríguez developed their music under the guidance of Casa de las Américas.

The Casa, functioning under the government and influenced by the impact of the
Encuentro on the Cuban artists, created later in 1967 the Centro de Canción Protesta. Through it,
the Casa officially incorporated Milanés and Rodríguez into this emerging music movement and
recruited other artists to join as well. According to Milanés, the Centro brought together all the
singers and songwriters “que andaban desperdigados y con muchas ansias de mostrar lo que
podía ser la canción cubana [...] nos agrupó, nos protegió y, de alguna manera, canalizó nuestras
inquietudes para afirmarnos en el paso siguiente, que fue el de un grupo mucho más organizado,
que ofrecía actuaciones ante públicos mucho más grandes, que era conocido en la isla entera, y
que había saltado, incluso, al cine” (Orellana 128-129).

It is evident from the descriptions provided by Milanés and Rodríguez that the Casa
completely guided them in the careers that the government had itself created by making them
professionals. Milanés tells Neysa Ramón of the Mexican magazine Plural that in 1967, while
completing his military service, “me localizó el Centro de la Canción Protesta y empecé a
colaborar con ellos” (61). Rodríguez later says that Haydee Santamaria, who served as mentor for the group, "nos mandó a buscar" after the Encuentro to start working with her in the Casa. She also encouraged them to record their first album, and in 1969 "nos llamó para que hiciéramos un grupo de canciones dedicadas al 26 de julio” (62). Milanés and Rodríguez imply that the Centro, Santamaría, and by extension the government, took the initiative in establishing a relationship with them and developing their careers. Their use of active verbs to signal actions taken by the Centro and Santamaría and object pronouns to refer to themselves ("me localizó," "nos mandó," and "nos llamó") point to the control exerted by the government over the music profession in Cuba.

In 1969, the group of trovadores assembled by the Casa went to work as part of the Grupo de Experimentación Sonora (GES). Milanés explains that until 1972, he worked only within this group, developing "el concepto de lo que debía ser un taller de estudio y trabajo, y [...] estuvimos enfrascados únicamente en eso, en estudiar, tocar, elaborar nuestra música, tanto para el cine como para nuestro propio consumo crítico, nuestra discusión y trabajo internos" (Orellana 129). It was in 1972 that the Movimiento Nueva Trova was created. That year, many organizations "tanto culturales como políticas," recognized the artists and their work and thus provided them "un apoyo estatal absoluto" (129). These were the Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas, the Directorio de Cultura, and "otras organizaciones de masas" (ibid). The transformation of the nueva trova into an official movement fully expanded its government support, exemplified by these institutions.

Milanés vaguely explains that there were certain groups that were against nueva trova (he does not specify which groups), but since the nueva trova artists did not consider these groups a true part of the Revolution, "eran sólo organismos dirigidos por hombres ... no podían por tanto
significar un verdadero escollo" (132). Again, the artists suggest they did not feel threatened working for and within the revolutionary structure.

The MNT set up a system by which to attract new talent. This system also served to decide who was good enough to become a professional and to receive the full benefits of being a cultural creator within the Revolution. As Benmayor explains:

A committee of peers evaluates candidates on the basis of the musical and poetic quality of original compositions, skill in performance and execution, and, above all, the potential for development. To join the movement a *trovador/a* does not have to be accomplished. The movement attempts to provide a context for growth. [...] as professional cultural workers, singers and composers are assured a monthly salary and their careers are not subject to commercial fads or market fluctuations. (22)

Benmayor also writes that "the *trovadores* themselves were chiefly responsible for building their popularity" (18). She quotes Belinda Romeu, another *trovadora*, as saying that Casa gave them a small theater for a month so that they could do whatever they wanted, but the artists themselves had to advertise and put on their own shows. However, even if the artists were given a certain freedom to develop and perform their music, the space was given to them by an institution that already supported their work. Thus, these artists had to work within the institution's boundaries. They were embraced by the Revolution because they supported it, and in turn became an instrument to disseminate its ideologies.
II. Chile

In Chile, the space for creation was not official; it was created by the artists themselves, and the biggest contribution to creating such a space came from Violeta Parra and her grown children, Angel and Isabel. Violeta functioned in a way analogous to the official cultural disseminators in Cuba, who evaluated aspiring artists and admitted them to the MNT; Violeta held strict standards regarding how folkloric music was to be sung, and applied these in critiquing the artists who sang with her: "The music performed at La Carpa had to meet her high standards of quality and authenticity, and she coached promising musicians towards those ends" (Morris 119).

One of the most significant gathering places was la Peña de los Parra, founded in 1965 by Isabel and Angel Parra just prior to Violeta's return to Chile from Paris that same year. There, various artists of what would become nueva canción, including Rolando Alarcón, Patricio Manns, and later Victor Jara, met to sing and discuss each other's work. Many people would wait in line to listen to these artists sing (Parra, Isabel, Libro Mayor 139). As Juan Armando Epple says, "Yo he declarado varias veces que el proyecto de la Peña de los Parra fue el punto de partida de la nueva canción chilena [...]. Crean un punto clave de reunión y difusión" ("Reflexiones" 44). The other important place for the growth of nueva canción created by a member of this family was La Carpa de la Reina. La Carpa was the product of Violeta's desire to share all her creative work, from songs to painting and even food, with the audience. It was situated in the working-class neighborhood of La Reina, in the outskirts of Santiago, and Violeta ran it almost single-handedly. Many of the artists who founded nueva canción also performed there, and Violeta contributed by fiercely commenting on their work. Epple tells that, "Cuando conocí a Violeta, en el 65, ya cantaba sus canciones, y ella me ayudó a corregir la forma de
cantar. Me retaba mucho. [...] A veces me retaba por alguna cosa y estaba a punto de echarme de la Carpa, pero otras veces, después de retarme por haber cantado las cuecas* mal, se ponía a acompañarme” (43).

In these two spaces for creation, La Peña de los Parra and La Carpa de la Reina, the future artists of *nueva canción* gathered and were able to explore their mutual concerns and ideas about music, as the Cuban artists did under the auspices of the Casa de las Américas and the Grupo de Experimentación Sonora: "As musicians worked together at La Carpa de la Reina and La Peña de los Parra to refine their skills, they began to compose music that employed traditional styles to express contemporary ideas, particularly their growing political awareness” (Morris 120). Either under the wing of the government, as in Cuba, or in opposition to it, as in Chile, the artists in both countries needed and found a physical gathering place to develop and perform their art.

Another space for creation in Santiago was the Escuelas Verpertinas de Música, directed by Elisa Gayán Contador. Here, artists combined popular and formal musical elements and focused their attention on the educational needs of municipal schools, where they often gave concerts. At these schools, "por primeva vez, tendían a equilibrarse los elementos populares con los provenientes de la música seria" (Schmidt 18). Artists at these schools enrolled in music courses, which provided for many their first exposure to formal music education.

*The Medium for Dissemination*

The medium chosen by the artists to disseminate their music determined the way in which the music reached the audience. Therefore, the various forms of media need to be considered when thinking about the artists' musical expression. The artists of New Song were already active
in various media before becoming involved in the movement. Quilapayún's members began their musical career within the context of *nueva canción*, and so their relationship with communication media began with the movement. As noted earlier, Violeta Parra originally sang in pubs in Santiago with her sister, as a way to make a living. Thus, her first exposure to the public delivery of music was in small places with a live audience. As an adolescent before the revolution, Pablo Milanés performed in amateur radio and television programs. Silvio Rodríguez took part in amateur festivals while composing his first songs in the military and also sang for his friends and family. Thus, he, like Violeta Parra, first became acquainted with a public in live settings, yet both intimate and institutional.

When they became involved with *nueva canción* and *nueva trova*, these artists scorned the commercial nature of popular music and the mass media, specifically the recording, television, and radio broadcasting industries that distributed it. They rejected the routine practice of producing large numbers of songs in order to produce one hit that could launch an artist into stardom. However, Parra, Quilapayún, Rodríguez, and Milanés did make use of the mass media in their careers as part of New Song's strategy to reach the public with their music. Despite their criticism of mass media, these artists recorded a multitude of albums. In addition, Violeta made her way onto the radio airways early in her career, in 1954, in a program devoted to folkloric music. "Así canta Violeta Parra," as the program was called, was directed by Ricardo García for Radio Chilena and featured Parra every Friday evening. It lasted for over a year until the radio station had to close due to internal problems (Parra, Isabel, *Libro Mayor* 43). The program was able to reach a large audience, evidenced by the high volume of congratulatory letters that reached the radio station only after a few shows had aired. Silvio Rodríguez appeared on television from the beginnings of his professional career in 1967, and his and Milanés's work achieved high
ratings on Cuban radio. How then did their hostility towards mass media reconcile with their actions? As Jane Tumas-Serna wrote in 1992, "Despite the mass media performance context of nueva canción, this music embodies more than commercial value for these musicians and critical Latin American scholars. [...] More than a musical style, it signifies an ideological stance and provides a critical case for analysis of mass-mediated cultural expression in opposition to the homogenizing and centralizing tendencies of transnational commercial mass media" (139). New Song artists did not intend to commercialize their music. Instead, they sought a different use for mass media that would serve their musical purpose, and so "Latin American scholars and musicians alike [...] looked to alternative mass communication policy and ways to use the system to provide access to Latin American ideas and forms of cultural expression" (ibid).

In Cuba, the trovadores were by 1972 deeply involved as a distinct group of revolutionary artists in the work of Casa de las Américas. Up until that year, their main interaction with audiences was singing before students, workers and soldiers, which, as Milanes tells, "nos permitía cierta masividad dentro del país, aunque todavía de una manera, digamos, semiclandestina, porque no utilizábamos aún los medios masivos de comunicación" (Orellana 129). By targeting certain audiences, it can be inferred that the artists wished to demonstrate their solidarity with them, thus promoting awareness and support by example.

Benmayor cites, although with a bias, the involvement of nueva trova in the national media and writes that:

The nueva trova is now [1981] enjoying regular radio and television programming, beyond the traditional spots, for national holidays and commemorations. Cuba's recording company, EGREM, has released a number of albums, predominantly of the top composers; production of nueva trova albums
has doubled in the last year and promises to increase even more, thus opening up another media channel for deserving talent. Fortunately, however, the mass media have not replaced the essential public appearance, nor has this been commodified. Cultural policy is directed toward the demystification of the artist as a privileged or superhuman being: the *nueva trova* performs in auditoriums, sometimes for a small entrance fee, but it also spends much of its time going to schools, factories, other work centers, parks, theaters, children’s programs and state receptions. (25)

Her discussion tends to exalt *nueva trova* as evidenced by her use of such positive words as "enjoying," "promises to increase," and "fortunately." However, the consciously ideological nature of the movement can be inferred when she writes that EGREM releases the albums of "top composers" and the media exposes "deserving talent." These phrases suggest that "talent" is measured and point to a system that chooses the artists it promotes based on its own interests.

Ideally, this new application of mass media exploits its innate capacity to reach large numbers of people in order to enhance their awareness of their own lives and their relation to society by means of a music that communicates the already politicized consciousness of the artist. Tumas-Serna, chair of the Communications Studies Program at Hollins University in Virginia, whose areas of specialization are media and popular culture, is perhaps naive when she writes that:

> In spite of the fact that national elites and North American and transnational economic, social, and cultural structures dominate the region [Latin America], there is a movement toward liberation with notions of developing communication systems for radical change that are democratic, participatory, and liberating and
provide access to 'the power of expression to all, not simply the freedom to consume the products advertised in the mass media'. These popular or grassroots communication systems would use the mass media for the benefit of the community. In this case it is recognized that mass media technologies cannot just be condemned. The problem is to determine how the mass media can be used in the process of liberation. (148-149)

While New Song clearly opposes imperialism and commercialism and values the everyday lives of people, in the case of Cuba the "communication systems" are not "democratic, participatory, and liberating" nor do they "provide access to the power of expression to all." It is true that the Cuban *trovadores* make music that offers an alternative to what had previously been offered by the commercial mass media and what is still marketed elsewhere as successful by the mass media. However, within the revolutionary cultural system, the *trovadores* are evaluated before being given full support, which includes a salary and the means to compose and promote their music (Benmayor 22). In addition, the government censors music it deems counterrevolutionary, and so artists exercise self-censorship in order to avoid repercussions later on (Dominguez 136). Silvio Rodríguez himself has said that his songs have been occasionally censored in Cuba (Rodríguez, Silvio "Interview"). The movement of *nueva trova* is "liberating" in the sense that it joins the rest of New Song in its support for an identity that is Latin American, yet it remains confined within the boundaries of what the government deems acceptable.

Is it better for the Cuban government to monopolize cultural expressions than for media conglomerates to do so? The Cuban cultural institutions may wish to assert their right to define the country culturally, yet in the end neither form of monopoly allows the music to develop freely in order to reflect the changing needs of artists and audiences. Thus, Tumas-Serna again
simplifies the context of nueva trova when she writes, "Supported institutionally by the government, [nueva trova] establishes a popular identity for the revolution that is promoted internationally and hemispherically. The ideology of this form of nueva canción is purposely institutionalized to counteract the established commercial media and the monopoly of North American political and economic interests with an identity that is '100% Cubano'" (145). The artists may or may not have their own "liberating" ideas. It does not matter, anyway. The movement nueva trova does not allow all ideas to be expressed.

The nueva canción movement did not always function in opposition to the government in power. As Nancy Morris writes in "Canto porque es necesario cantar," the New Song in Chile "flourished during the 1970-1973 presidency of Salvador Allende" (118). There are two similarities between this brief period, during which the nueva canción functioned in support of the government in Chile, and the relationship between the revolutionary government and nueva trova in Cuba. First, both governments shared the attitude that music can be a vehicle for political ideas and, because of its form, can easily communicate these ideas to the people. Second, the artists of both movements wrote songs that specifically promoted government programs and goals. Morris explains:

By the 1970 presidential campaign, a coherent group of musicians existed who supported the candidacy of the Unidad Popular (UP) representative, Salvador Allende. Artists of the New Chilean Song movement accompanied Allende to political events, sang at meetings and rallies, and composed songs to spread Unidad Popular concepts among voters. […] After Allende’s election, New Song musicians continued their unofficial, but active, involvement with the Unidad Popular government. They played at community gatherings and political events.
taking their message to the people through the medium of music, which was recognized as 'a major amplifier in the cultural system.' Songs were written about every important event during the Allende era, and they were widely circulated. Shortly after the election, a record album detailing the UP program in song was released. To produce *Canto al Programa*, classically trained Chilean composer Sergio Ortega and Luis Advis collaborated with the New Song group Inti-Illimani as part of an effort to use 'all available means of communication' to present the UP program in a language and style that were accessible to the people.

(121)

The leftist parties, united under the Unidad Popular, provided support that previously had been absent to the artists of *nueva canción*. These artists did not work for a government institution, yet Allende's presidential campaign and later his government allowed the artists to perform and present their work freely.

The Chilean *nueva canción* artists wrote songs supporting specific government programs just like the Cuban *trovadores*. Sources do not clarify to what extent this involvement was voluntary, requested, or monetarily rewarded. However, Silvio Rodríguez does confess in his interview with Armando Correa that he was called upon every year to write songs about the same political theme:

Puedo afirmar que he escrito canciones que han sido útiles, que han servido sobre todo a campañas patrióticas. Incluso he escrito canciones que me han pedido para fechas determinadas. Respecto a eso, agrego que me gusta hacerlo - cuando el tema me motiva, por supuesto - porque también significa un reto profesional. Siempre me gustó aquel Maiakovsky que tronaba: "¡Pídanme poemas! ¡Yo
también soy una fábrica de la Revolución!", que interpreté como: tomen de mí lo que soy capaz de dar, no otra cosa.

Claro, la exageración puede llegar a desvirtuar el sentido del arte. En Cuba existe la costumbre de las conmemoraciones y me ha sucedido que un año he escrito una canción para tal cosa y luego, año tras año, han venido a pedirme que escriba una distinta para lo mismo. Ay del que confunda una fábrica de canciones con otra de chorizos.

Rodríguez here admits that he has produced music in direct response to government requests. However, he also criticizes the potential automatization of songwriting that threatens its creative and artistic qualities.

The fact that Rodríguez was called upon to write these songs suggests that the government saw that communicating its ideas within the text of songs was effective. Rodríguez and the other **trovadores** command a large following, and so the songs they compose are heard by many. Tumas-Serna casts light on the government’s attitude towards the use of mass media when she explains that:

> Early use of **Radio Rebelde** as a clandestine source of information and revolutionary spirit prior to the success of the revolution and the use of the mass media to broadcast Castro’s lengthy speeches after the success of the revolution reflect Castro’s conviction that cultural policy and the role of the mass media are closely related. [...] the mass media are instruments of the socialist revolution for ‘the political, ideological, moral, aesthetic education of the people.’ (145)

The uniting theme in **nueva canción** and **nueva trova** is that the mass media are used to communicate with the public. Concerts provide a space where artists can receive immediate
audience reaction and can introduce new material to their existing repertoire. Concerts also stimulate communal relations since the audience will tend to sing along with the artist and thus become involved with the performance. Tours, which can also be considered part of the concert medium, expose the artists to even greater numbers of people and from various cities or countries. Recordings allow the audience to listen to the music in a private space and create a personal relation with the artist, thus providing an opportunity for the listener to internalize the songs. Radio and television function in both ways since the listener hears the radio or watches television generally from a private space, yet knows that others are also listening to or watching the performance.

Group unity also remains a principal goal of New Song. Belinda Romeu, a Cuban *trovadora*, tells that, "Lo más lindo, además de todos los valores de las canciones, era la unión que había entre la gente" (Benmayor 19). For her, the sense of togetherness established when friends and fellow singers and composers met and sang as a group constituted the biggest reward.
Chapter IV
Public Influence

The logical questions to ask after discussing the use of media and the relationships they create between the artist and the audience are: What is the impact of the music on its audience? Do the artists exert any influence on the people who listen to their music, attend their concerts, and buy their recordings? Does the audience act in any way differently than if it had not been exposed to this music?

In an interview in 1985, Pablo Milanés indirectly addresses these questions when asked about his music's "influence" and "popularity." Carlos Orellana inquires, "¿tú piensas que ustedes han ejercido influencia concreta sobre otros, que han logrado hacer, digámoslo así, 'escuela'?” and he answers that it is difficult to speak of the influences of his own work and so he leaves that commentary for scholars to make. He is then asked, “Pero resultados hay, objetivamente. Bastaría, si no, hablar de la popularidad que ustedes han alcanzado...” and Milanés answers:

Sí, pero a veces la popularidad está fundamentada en muchísimas cosas vanas y superficiales. En ese sentido, yo en la popularidad no creo. Creo en una 'popularidad real,' en la medida que uno represente el sentimiento, el verdadero sentimiento cultural y creativo de la población. Pero en la popularidad moderna, en que se infla superficialmente a un artista, a una 'estrella,' yo no creo. Esa puede explotar en cualquier momento, cuando no hay talento para sostenerla. Por eso pienso que es el cariño y el respeto y el propio trabajo de uno, en
correspondencia con lo que el pueblo quiere y siente, lo que puede hablar más de uno que la popularidad. (Orellana 130-131)

Milanés acknowledges his and the larger movement’s appeal to the public, but establishes his own meaning for the term “popular.” For him, being “popular” means devoting himself to his artistic endeavor and earning respect for his work. The work is then “popular” to the extent that it speaks to the public’s feelings and desires and can establish a positive connection between the artist’s creation and the public.

The next question that arises is whether the artists’ music causes the public’s feelings, desires, and even political and ethical consciousness to change, or if the artist only replicates in his music feelings that are felt by the public already? The artists of nueva canción and nueva trova have made clear their intent to encourage critical thought with their music and to expose experiences that had not found a place in the consensus imposed by the dominant ideology of capitalism. Thus, if the audience’s feelings and desires influence the artist’s work and the work in turn attempts to influence the audience, does the music reflect or create a new popular consensus? This inquiry is posed by Robert Glenn’s 1988 article, “Form as Political Expression in Social Action Songs.” Glenn claims that social action songs, such as those of the New Song, reflect and promote a consensus that already exists rather than create a new one. He believes that the form of a song, as opposed to its textual meaning, renders it political since a song compels people to gather and sing together, reinforcing an ideology that already exists. He claims that the lyrics of a song contain only widely accepted references, and thus cannot argue a position or create a consensus.

However, it strikes me as problematic to assume that the form of a song embodies its entire meaning and by itself exerts an influence on the public. Gustavo Becerra Schmidt wrote
in 1985 that as the audience for *nueva canción* grew in Chile with the use of mass media, he
detected two reactions: a politicization of non-political or indifferent audiences and a
reinforcement of already political audiences (19). Unfortunately, he does not provide evidence
for his observations, and so his statement can only be taken as a hypothesis that this music
shaped the audience's outlook. For the song to have such an effective message, the lyrics must
communicate the ideas the artist wishes to convey and the audience needs to internalize their
meaning. The artists, on their part, have confessed how important lyrics are to them and how
carefully they construct them. In regards to the audience, there is no documentation of any
thorough research about its reactions. In spite of the absence of relevant empirical studies, while
it remains true that songs are not speeches and do not exhibit the same argumentative
characteristics, the lyrics, I maintain, work together with the music to carry the song's message.

In a personal interview, Myriam Hibbard, my mother, who was a teenager in Chile in the
early years of the Pinochet regime and became exposed to New Song as a college student in the
1980's, expressed that the songs that she and her university classmates sang when protesting
against the military regime “incentivaban más a actuar” and “ayudaban a tomar decisiones que
no hubiéramos tomado sin haber oído la canción.” She thus admits that listening to this music
affected her actions and those of people around her. My mother also admits that she became
politically aware in the university and that this music introduced to her new ideas. Specifically,
she says that the songs helped her “reflect” on her own lived experience and “learn” about the
experiences of people around her, both classmates and the population at large. It must be noted,
however, that my mother’s experience cannot be generalized; for many of her fellow college
students, *nueva canción* only served to reinforce a perspective of resistance they already held.
My grandmother, Lidia Flores, who was in her twenties during the Frei government (1964-1970), also acknowledges the importance of the lyrics in nueva canción. She says that “estas canciones existieron antes que la gente se agrupara con estas ideas de cambio social” and “la gente se identificaba con este tipo de música” because “la letra hablaba de todo esto […] la música tenía gran contenido, ahí estaba la amargura, toda la represión, humillación y el dolor del pueblo.” Thus, according to her, the content of the songs helped shape the beliefs of some people. In addition, my grandmother tells that “la música ayudó para que la gente se acercara hacia sus ideas.” She says that people met privately in someone’s house to sing in groups because “uno escuchaba y se conscientizaba […] se daba cuenta de lo que estaba pasando, se unía y luchaba junto a otros en contra de la represión.” With her account, my grandmother claims that the lyrics were influential because of their content and that the songs, because of their words and form, united people.

The songs’ form, which includes the melodies and instruments, further emphasizes the ideologies of the artists. As my mother says, the songs provided “una forma más accesible de expresar” and “nunca se hacía protesta sin la música.” Thus, the songs united the people who were acting together to achieve a common purpose and strengthened their determination. The lyrics, however, remain the component of the songs that spells out the message, and, within New Song in particular, the audience often placed great importance on learning them. For example, it was characteristic of the New Song movement for friends to gather and sing together accompanied by a guitar. The people present usually knew the lyrics and, if not, strove to learn them. This practice, which was characteristic of the reception of nueva canción, points to the importance that the followers of New Song placed upon the lyrics. My mother tells that when she listened to these songs privately at home, the experience was more personal and introspective.
because the lyrics made her remember and reflect on her own life. In addition, unlike many performers, the artists of this movement tended to sing clearly, both in concert and on recordings, so that their lyrics could be easily understood. This feature of New Song made it considerably less likely that the listener would ignore the words.

*Newa canció* at first did express a limited consensus, but only in the sense that it expressed occurrences that a large section of the population knew of firsthand. It did not express something commonly acknowledged by the greater population. I maintain that this difference is what made *nueva canción* a threat to the power structure dominated by the Right: it aimed to heighten consciousness within the population so that those thus enlightened would challenge this structure and effect social change. Eventually, by the time of the Unidad Popular government (1970-1973), the New Song musical style (its symbols, rhythms, etc.) had come to be associated with the aspirations embodied in the government itself and shared by a significant sector of the population. However, only then, during the brief period of the UP, did the movement reinforce a consensus. Although this consensus was not held by the majority, evidenced is part by the 1970 presidential election in which no candidate received more than 50% of the vote, the views of previously marginalized people were being acknowledged by the government in power and by *nueva canción*.

Cuban *nueva trova* expressed a consensus that had already begun to emerge in the struggle against Batista. *Nueva trova* hoped to dismantle the consensus imposed by the dominant groups prior to the revolution, and so support the new emerging consensus that was now exemplified by the revolution and government itself. The artists felt the need to redefine Cuban popular music in terms of the “new revolutionary man and woman.”21 they recognized that the musical aspect of *nueva trova* facilitated the dissemination of the revolution’s
ideological program. As Benmayor notes, "the trovadores have felt from the very beginning that, given the communicative potential of song, it could help further the revolutionary process by providing a voice for new values" (13).

The lyrics, however, remain important. The *trovadores* wished to promote critical thought while singing about experiences common to all Cubans living under the revolutionary government. Benmayor's comments, although general, also point toward this objective. She writes that, "the *trovadores* believe that song should reflect people's feelings, realities, and aspirations" (13), and so their songs strive to reflect an already existing consensus. The experiences that influenced the artists to write their songs were brought about by the revolution, and affected the entire Cuban population: "Like all young Cubans, they [the artists of the *nueva trova*] joined cane-cutting brigades, went to the army, worked on fishing boats, or planted potatoes. These experiences, more than anything else, sparked their song" (Benmayor 18). Because of these common experiences, "The songs of the *trova* do not reflect isolated, individual perspectives. By virtue of their social commitment and involvement, the *trovadores'* experiences are also common ones, shared by millions. Therefore, while the voice is often personal and autobiographical, the song projects common thoughts and goals" (14). The artists sing about their reactions to the revolution, and their messages resonate with the rest of the Cuban population, which is familiar with the same situations. However, the artists offer their individual perspectives in order to encourage their audience to think and act in a similar manner: "They [the artists] want to inspire positive attitudes along with critical thought, to voice problems as well as victories, and to achieve artistic quality that brings enjoyment and satisfaction, thus raising public expectations and standards for music production" (13).
In arguing that the content of a song does not carry its message, Glenn cites Alan Lomax, who:

\[
\text{[...]} \text{ distinguishes the sung communication from the spoken communication in that a sung communication employs a formal or restricted code; its articulatory features are redundant and limited, its references are not to individual interpretations of particular events but to cultural meanings, and so the message is presented primarily through the form or manner of the communication rather than through the propositional content of the lyrics. (36)}
\]

This description of sung communication resonates with that of "popular culture" given in opposition to "high culture" as presented in the Handbook of American Popular Culture (see Note 9). However, since the artists actively question this definition, they believe they offer, with their songs, new interpretations that promote critical thought.

Lomax further argues that song:

\[
\text{[...]} \text{ most frequently takes the place of speech in highly charged situations, especially in the context of ritualized group interaction. Singing brings order in the crowded human space, where people join to dance, work, worship, make war, follow a leader, formalize a marriage, bury the dead, play games, feast, make merry, or enjoy a spectacle. Here, its redundancy features come powerfully into play to normalize and regularize the response of the gathered individuals and to produce - or better, to reproduce - group consensus. (qtd. in Glenn 37)}
\]

Although it is true that these situations occur within the context of New Song, as in concerts, protests or when friends gather at home to sing accompanied by a guitar, there is an initial moment when a person hears a song for the first time, and there are also likely to be subsequent
repeated exposures to a song when a person is alone. The popular music in Chile prior to Violeta Parra was not transmitting the ideas and values incorporated in *nueva canción*, and the prevailing consensus was that of the dominant groups. Thus, *nueva canción* did have the opportunity to heighten awareness and bring people together. The people who heard this music and later embraced it may or may not have personally experienced the content of the songs; in either case, however, it is often claimed by direct witnesses of the phenomenon of *nueva canción* that the songs promoted a new consensus in opposition to the one created by the dominant ideologies and introduced the possibility that music could serve as a tool for this purpose. It is also claimed that in Cuba *nueva trova* promoted critical thought and in this manner influenced the consensus that had been actively developed both by the government and by the historical experience of the resistance against Batista. As in Chile, the Cuban *trovadores* denounced the previous consensus created by dominant groups prior to 1959 and demonstrated that music could provide a space for the discussion of social issues.

Last, once more taking issue with Lomax et. al., I maintain that lyrics are important because they carry a message from one country to another. I agree with Rina Benmayor when she writes that, "*Nueva trova* ... travels worldwide as one of the cultural ambassadors of the Revolution. ... The *nueva trova*'s popularity is based on more than its artistic quality and talent. The *trovadores* are seen by foreign audiences as live representatives of the Revolution, and their songs are heard as documents of the history, struggles, loves, problems, and dreams of that social process" (11). If the songs serve as "documents," then the words must constitute an integral part of the message. This same phenomenon occurred in Chile when songs from other countries, including Cuba, reached Osvaldo Rodríguez and other future *nueva canción* artists and indicated to them that it was possible to create music that spoke of their own experience; in this case, I
believe the lyrics helped formulate a consciousness in the country of reception by successfully delivering a message from their countries of origin.
Conclusion
Summation and Reflections

New Song developed in Chile and Cuba as a response to a social situation in which previously marginalized sectors of the population attained consciousness and worked towards acquiring and developing their own means of expression. In Chile, with the exception of the brief period of the Unidad Popular government, *nueva canción* functioned in opposition to the dominant groups in power while, in Cuba, *nueva trova* operated in support of the group in power, but in allegiance with *nueva canción* and the rest of Latin American New Song.

The artists who came to form part of the *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* movements defined the goal of their art as the creation of an "authentic" musical expression. "Authenticity" consisted of engaging themselves in a continuous act of introspection and producing songs that reflected their own experiences, interests, and anxieties, as well as those of the people they observed. In addition, it aimed to foster solidarity among Latin American countries, especially those struggling under authoritarian regimes. The music was also intended to jumpstart its listeners into thinking critically about their own position within society. The demand for "authenticity" in *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* was, in fact, to redefine the role of "popular music."

The expressive aspect of New Song, as opposed to its ideological foundation, also exhibited distinct characteristics. The artists rejected the glitter and show of commercial music; they privileged everyday clothes, or, as with Violeta Parra, *campesino* clothing, and did not set up elaborate staging, or incorporate ambitious visual or sound effects in their performances or recordings. Their self-consciously simple style of presentation thus became emblematic of their
ideology. The instruments with which the artists accompanied their music also became symbolic of their music. These included Andean instruments like the charango* and the quena* and, of course, the Spanish guitar. In Chile, nueva canción artists began by writing socially conscious lyrics set to Chilean folk rhythms and later integrated elements from other Latin American countries and musical genres. Nueva canción emerged during the 1960's and especially flourished when the government in power, the Unidad Popular (1970-1973), supported it. Before the Unidad Popular, its artists depended on their own resources to find physical spaces and other means to develop and produce their music. In Cuba, nueva trova artists first based their music on the old Cuban trova* tradition, but later actively sought the influence of other musical styles. In contrast to nueva canción, nueva trova was never defined in opposition to the dominant group in power; on the contrary, it both originated during and thrived under the government of the Cuban revolution. Thus, Cuban trovadores, supported by the state, were assured the necessary conditions to compose their music.

New Song sought to influence its audiences by prompting them to consciousness. The people who listened to these songs felt that they provided a medium for reflecting on their own lived experience and that they encouraged learning, understanding, and solidarity with others by exposing situations that had often been hidden from public view. The lyrics of these songs tried to communicate these messages, while their condition as songs facilitated dissemination and group unity and action.

I believe that the underlying search for "authenticity" is a way of life; it is never achieved, but always sought. These songs, together with the reactions they inspire in my mother, grandmother, and other people who share their experience, teach me and my generation about the perspective and desires of a particular group of people within a specific historical context.
These experiences must be acknowledged and documented as primary sources for learning more about this time period and the process that other groups also engage in to search for “authenticity.”

I personally feel a profound connection to New Song because it represents the suffering of thousands of Chileans, before, during and after the Pinochet regime (1973-1989), and imparts ideas that I continually debate in my mind. The song "Todo cambia," for example, introduced to me the concept of “exile.” By speaking of the exile’s unique connection to his/her country and newfound awareness that everything will change except for this connection, the song has made me reflect on the passage of time and on my relationship to my fellow Chileans.

The more I learned and wrote about New Song, the more I became convinced that I was only surveying its most general elements. In my research, I have studied only a few of the perspectives from which New Song can be explored. I would love to speak with the artists themselves and ask them questions that directly address the issues that my sources superficially discuss. I would ask them, for example: What does "authenticity" mean to you? Do you believe you have achieved it? What exactly have you hoped to accomplish with your music? How have you hoped to influence your public? Have you been limited in your ability to create your music by your surroundings? I would also like to expand my knowledge regarding the relationship between New Song and mass media, the ways in which the public creates meaning from these songs, and the various levels of interaction between the artists and their public. Last, I would like to study New Song in other countries. I would start with Brazil, since my knowledge of the Portuguese language has intensified my interest in this country, and Argentina, because it significantly influenced the Chilean nueva canción.
I have enjoyed gathering information on *nueva canción* and *nueva trova* and learning to think more critically about their significance. At this moment, I find it imperative that more serious studies on New Song be conducted while the artists and the generation they most influenced are still alive, in order to produce lasting records of this song movement that has been momentous in the lives of so many people.
Notes

1 I have used the following three sources to prepare this glossary: Mayer-Serra, Orovio, and Pena.

2 "Todo cambia" written by Julio Numhauser, one of the three original members of Quilapayún; "Unicornio" written by Silvio Rodríguez; "Gracias a la vida” written by Violeta Parra.

3 Lorde was already employing the multicultural model that started to emerge in identity politics in the second half of the 1970's.

4 As explained in Breaking Free, "Commodification refers to the process by which culture is increasingly being held captive by the materialistic logic of capitalism in which everything/everybody is reduced to objects/commodities and thus to its/their market value. The consequence of this process is that people become uncritical tools of production and consumption - commodified." (Leistyna et al. 335)

5 "Popular music" is defined in this paper as a form of "popular culture," whose meaning has been taken from The Handbook of American Popular Culture (1989) and which reads as follows:

What exactly is popular culture? So varied are its forms and so diverse its implications that most definitions are either too narrow or too inclusive. Ray B. Browne's definition may be both the briefest and the broadest: 'all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media' While the qualifying phrase helps, the term 'experience' seems much too general and the meaning of 'people in common' too vague. (How many people must share the experience before it becomes common enough to be popular?).

'The British critic C.W.E. Bigsby in his effort probes at the ambiguities inherent in the two words, the adjective 'popular' and the noun 'culture':

'Part of the difficulty over the meaning of the term 'popular culture' arises from the differing meanings attributable to the word 'popular' itself. As the OED makes evident it can mean both 'intended for and suited to ordinary people,' or 'prevalent or current among, or accepted by, the people generally.' The latter includes everyone; the former excludes all but the 'ordinary.' Hence popular culture is sometimes presented as that which appeals only to the community ('mass culture') or to the average ('middlebrow'), thus confirming the social fragmentation of society, and sometimes as a phenomenon cutting across class lines. For some, therefore, it is a simple opiate, for others a subversive and liberating force, linking those of differing social and economic background.

'There is further difficulty still in that the word 'culture' is susceptible both of a general and a specialized meaning. In the former sense it implies the attitudes and values of a society as expressed through the symbolic form of language, myths, rituals, life-styles, establishments (political, religious, educational); in the latter, it is closer to the meaning implied by Matthew Arnold and defined by the OED as 'the training, development, and refinement of mind, taste, manners: the condition of being thus trained and refined, the intellectual side of civilization.' ... Thus, by analogy, popular culture is sometimes defined as the attitudes and values of those excluded from the intellectual elite and expressed through myths, rituals and life-styles specific to this excluded group, and sometimes as the popular, as opposed to the intellectual arts.'

'What is useful here is the identification of culture as 'language, myths, rituals, life-styles, establishments:' all symbolic forms for the expression of the attitudes and values of society. But this seems to suggest that culture is somehow automatic, unconscious, and not a willful expression of man's creative urges, as it has been in the post-industrial society.

'Michael J. Bell has suggested a useful definition which pays attention simultaneously to purpose, form, and function:
'At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.'

'This may be the most serviceable of the definitions reviewed so far, except for the repetition of the problematic word - 'majority.' Are we speaking of the majority of the people on the face of the earth, in one nation, among one ethnic group, within one economic class, or what? And what constitutes a majority?

Perhaps the most useful definition has been offered by the historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman:

'Man's culture is the complex of all he knows, all he possesses, and all he does. His laws and religious beliefs, his art and morals, his customs and ideas are the content of his culture. ... And cutting across cultural and subcultural boundaries is the fundamental distinction between work and play: between what is done of necessity and what is done by choice.

George Santayana, writing about the distinctions between work and play, indicated the importance of the things men do when they are not engaged in the fight for survival or the avoidance of pain. He said:

'We may measure the degree of happiness and civilization which any race has attained by the proportion of its energy which is devoted to free and generous pursuits, to the adornment of life and the culture of the imagination. For it is in the spontaneous play of his faculties that man finds himself and his happiness. Slavery is the most degrading condition of which he is capable, and he is as often a slave to the niggardliness of the earth and the inclemency of heaven, as to a master or an institution. He is a slave when all his energy is spent on avoiding suffering and death, when all his action is imposed from without, and no breath or strength is left him for free enjoyment. ... Work and play here take on a different meaning and become equivalent to servitude and freedom. ... We no longer mean by work all that is done usefully, but only what is done unwillingly and by the spur of necessity. By play, we are designating, no longer what is done fruitlessly, but whatever is done spontaneously and for its own sake, whether it have or not an ulterior utility.'

'Popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life. Popular culture is really what people do when they are not working; it is man in pursuit of pleasure, excitement, beauty, and fulfillment.'

'I would refine this definition for my purposes one step further: popular culture is what we do by choice to engage our minds and our bodies when we are not working or sleeping. This can be active - playing baseball, driving an automobile, dancing - or passive - watching television, sunbathing, or reading a book. It can be creative - painting a portrait, writing a poem, cooking a meal - or simply responsive - playing a game, watching a circus, or listening to music. While highly inclusive, and perhaps imprecise, such a definition allows for the great diversity of form and the wide degree of latitude for engagement of mind and body necessary for any discussion of popular culture in the twentieth century.' (Inge ed xxiv-xxvi)

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6 "Chilenization" refers to the centrist plan proposed and enacted by the PDC under which the Chilean government would buy part of the copper companies owned by foreign countries, mainly the U.S., and the companies would reinvest their gains to expand facilities. The copper industry would not be completely nationalized nor would the U.S. owners only be “encouraged” to invest more (Skidmore 133).

7 The ICR was founded on May 24, 1962, and in 1976 became the Instituto Cubano de Radio y Televisión (ICRT). It is the government institution in charge of directing, executing, and controlling the activities of radio and television in accordance with the government’s policies.

8 Language of the Araucano or Mapuche native people, who, prior to the Spanish conquest, composed most of the
population occupying what is now known as territorial Chile. They lived primarily in the area from Coquimbo, Chile to the south, and in what is today western Argentina.

9 Professor Nicolás Wey-Gómez of MIT suggests that “payún” may refer to “payar,” whether Carrasco realizes this connection or not.

10 Casa de las Américas was founded in 1959 by Haydee Santamaría and is currently presided over by Roberto Fernández Retamar. The Casa, a government institution, “divulga, investiga, auspicia, premia y publica la labor de escritores, artistas plásticos, músicos, teatristas y estudiosos de la literatura y las artes, cuya integración cultural alienta; al tiempo que fomenta el intercambio con instituciones y personas de todo el mundo” (Casa de las Américas site by the Ministerio de Cultura. 5 Dec. 2000 <http://www.cult.cu/casa>).

11 The ICAIC, founded on March 24, 1959, was the first institution created after the triumph of the Cuban revolution. It oversees all film productions in Cuba, and is currently working with other countries, mainly Spain and countries in Latin America.

12 The Chilean police force.

13 A common type of bread in Chile.

14 “High art” and “música culta” are defined in this paper as a form of “high culture.” Refer to the definitions that compare and contrast “high culture” and “popular culture” in the Handbook of American Popular Culture (Inge ed. xxvi-xxxi).

15 Pertaining to the island of Chiloé, Chile

16 Cantautor is a singer who also composes music.

17 “El árbol” was first released as an instrumental piece in 1968 as part of the album Quilapayún tres (Odeón, Chile). It was first released with lyrics in 1979 as part of the album Umbral (Pathé Marconi, Paris). The lyrics were adapted from the introductory poem to “Los libertadores,” the fourth section in Canto general by Pablo Neruda. Canto general was first published in 1950 by Talleres Gráficos de la Nación in Mexico City. The following text reproduces the poem by Neruda as it appears in the E. M. Santi edition published in 1990 by Cátedra in Madrid:

Aqui viene el árbol, el árbol
de la tormenta, el árbol del pueblo.
De la tierra suben sus héroes
como las hojas por la savia,
y el viento estrella los follajes
de muchedumbre rumorosa,
hasta que cae la semilla
del pan otra vez a la tierra.  

Aqui viene el árbol, el árbol
nutrido por muertos desnudos,
muertos azotados y heridos,
muertos de rostros imposibles,
empalados sobre una lanza,
desmenuzados en la hoguera,
decapitados por el hacha,
descuartizados a caballo,
crucificados en la iglesia.

Aquí viene el árbol, el árbol cuyas raíces están vivas, sacó salitre del martirio, sus raíces comieron sangre y extrajo lágrimas del suelo: las elevó por sus ramajes, las repartió en su arquitectura. Fueron flores invisibles, a veces, flores enterradas, otras veces iluminaron sus pétalos, como planetas.

Y el hombre recogió en las ramas las caracolas endurecidas, las entregó de mano en mano como magnolias o granadas y de pronto, abrieron la tierra, crecieron hasta las estrellas.

Éste es el árbol de los libres.
El árbol tierra, el árbol nube, el árbol pan, el árbol flecha, el árbol puño, el árbol fuego. Lo ahoga el agua tormentosa de nuestra época nocturna, pero su mástil balancea el ruedo de su poderío.

Otras veces, de nuevo caen las ramas rotas por la cólera y una ceniza amenazante cubre su antigua majestad: así pasó desde otros tiempos, así salió de la agonía hasta que una mano secreta, unos brazos innumerables, el pueblo, guardó los fragmentos, escondió troncos invariables, y sus labios eran las hojas del inmenso árbol repartido, diseminado en todas partes, caminando con sus raíces. Éste es el árbol, el árbol del pueblo, de todos los pueblos de la libertad, de la lucha.

Asómate a su cabellera: toca sus rayos renovados: hunde la mano en las usinas donde su fruto palpitante propaga su luz cada día.
Levanta esta tierra en tus manos, 65
participa de este esplendor,
toma tu pan y tu manzana,
tu corazón y tu caballo
y monta guardia en la frontera,
en el límite de sus hojas. 70

Defiende el fin de sus corolas,
comparte las noches hostiles,
vigila el ciclo de la aurora,
respira la altura estrellada,
sosteniendo el árbol, el árbol
que crece en medio de la tierra.

The original poem does not have a title; Quilapayún named the song "El árbol" based on the main symbol in the poem. Quilapayún's song consists of the following lines from the poem, in this order: 3-8, 20, 22-26, 35-40 and 35 (chorus), 60-61, 67-70, chorus, 57-59. Regarding syntax, the only changes to these lines, made apparent by listening to the song, are: The inversion of line 3 from "De la tierra suben sus héroes" to "Suben sus héroes de la tierra," and the insertion of "las" in line 25. I have discovered no reason to believe that these two changes serve a purpose other than a musical one. Regarding punctuation, I have not found the lyrics to "El árbol" as written by Quilapayún. However, as before, there is no reason to believe that the punctuation differs from the original text, except when required by the new line sequence.

The lines chosen for the song portray the thematic essence of the poem, which speaks of the violence and injustices committed during the colonial period in Latin America. The poem uses the tree, "el árbol," to symbolize the community that emerged from the encounter between the indigenous people and the Spanish. The song confines itself to these symbolic references and does not contain the more explicit images that Neruda employs.

18 Refer to endnote 7.
19 “26 de Julio” refers to the failed attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba led by Fidel Castro in 1953.
20 Refer to the description of the GES provided on page 40
21 Please refer to El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba (1965) by Ernesto “Che” Guevara for an explanation of the concept of the “new man.” This text was addressed to Carlos Quijano, editor of Marcha magazine in Uruguay, who published the text in the March 12, 1965 edition.
22 Alan Lomax was born in 1915 in Austin, Texas. His work in music, characterized by extensive fieldwork, led to the establishment of the field of ethnomusicology in the 1950’s. Lomax began his career in the 1930’s assisting his father, John Lomax, collect recordings for the Library of Congress. Later, he made his own recordings of American prison songs, African American folk songs, blues, jazz, and cowboy songs, producing valuable documents. By the 1950’s, Lomax began traveling to other parts of the world, such as the United Kingdom, Spain, and the Caribbean, to record and document folk music. Lomax also worked in radio and wrote on fieldwork and folk music.
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