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## **Music is Power: Nueva Cancion's Push for an Indigenous Identity**

By Jason Garcia

*Abstract: The emergence of Nueva Cancion musicians during 1960's Chile, such as Victor Jara and Inti-Illimani, played an important role in propelling the left wing revolutionary movements that supported Salvador Allende's presidential victory in 1970, making him the first democratically elected Socialist in the Western Hemisphere. Although there is much scholarly literature that deals with the social and political aspects of Nueva Cancion, historians have failed to recognize how indigeneity played a crucial role in the shaping the identity that Nueva Cancion musicians embodied through their music. With the power of music, Nueva Cancion became a militant song movement that represented their indigenous heritage through the mixture of traditional Chilean folklore, the utilization of indigenous Andean instruments, and contemporary political lyricism that addressed issues of capitalism, colonization and neoliberal policies that exploited the poor, working class, and indigenous people—all of which were important to Allende's voting base. Nueva Cancion musicians utilized their representation of indigenous heritage to create a Chilean identity through music that left long-standing impact on Chilean social, political, and most importantly cultural life into the present day.*

In 2004, Chile's major sports complex in its capital of Santiago, originally called Estadio de Chile, was renamed to Estadio Victor Jara, after the famous folk singer murdered in the stadium and

thrown in the street during the 1973 coup to oust democratically elected socialist president Salvador Allende. Before his death, Jara became one of the leading stars of the Chilean *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* which supported Allende's short-lived presidency. The indigenous sounds of Andean flutes, strumming guitars, and politically charged militant songs had been silenced in swift order by military repression under the military dictatorship funded by the United States and headed by Augusto Jose Ramon Pinochet. Groups like Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun were exiled and Pinochet's new military government made it illegal to own or play any music by *Nueva Cancion* musicians. What gave rise to this movement, and why had it been so crucial to the Chilean identity of Allende's socialist government? Was music so powerful that it had to be silenced to bring order to the Pinochet regime? Why did it become necessary for the Chilean army to order the assassination of Victor Jara who suffered the horrible and twisted fate of torture and murder by a firing squad? The *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* became a powerful force that helped shape the identity of left-wing groups that supported Allende. Between 1964 and 1970, with the rise of a growing ideology of left wing politics, Chilean folk musicians created an indigenous identity around Socialist and Communist ideology that led to the successful election of Salvador Allende in 1970. Chilean *Nueva Cancion* became the representation of indigenous culture and folklore during Allende's "peaceful road to socialism." During Pinochet's military dictatorship they became identified as enemies of the state.

### **Folklore and Chilean Indigeneity: The birth of the New Song**

The term folklore derives from a British antiquarian, William John Thomas, who described folklore as, "The manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc., of olden times."<sup>1</sup> Folklore emerged as a bourgeoisie understanding of a rapidly

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29-40.

modernizing world in the industrial age of technological innovations during the nineteenth century. But this interpretation of people's traditions and culture have created problems that contemporary scholars have debated for years. Scholars like Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier describe the problems that lie within the modern day interpretations of folklore, which have continued to mold themselves after old ways of thinking; this trend is specifically noticeable with her studies into Latin American folklore in Colombia. Ochoa describes the biases that lie within the viewpoint of modernity, and how these modern interpretations of folklore of the past can lead to misinterpretations of folklore. Ochoa states, "In the name of recognizing the other, it ends up historically using the same method the moderns created to incorporate alterity into its guise, and in the name of decolonizing, it actually recolonizes."<sup>2</sup> Although it is difficult for historians to put their own biases aside, it is necessary to create a clear understanding of another person's culture and identity. Therefore, understanding Latin American folklore is crucial to understanding *Nueva Cancion* songs and poems that were a combination of indigeneity and traditional lifestyle of the past.

Latin American folklore derives from the indigenous traditions that date back to the time of the Inca empire.<sup>3</sup> Many Latin American scholars have come to an agreement that although different regions differ in their folklore tales, they all share a similar trait; they are tales that interpret the origins of certain natural phenomena, instruments, demons and spirits, and children's tales created to educate them about proper behavior.<sup>4</sup>

The Chilean dance called the *cueca* played a significant role in influencing the *Nueva Cancion* songs. For instance, the *cueca*, which is a "type of choreography, a poetic form, and several

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<sup>2</sup> Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 10-40.

<sup>3</sup> Paula Martin and Margaret Read MacDonald, *Pachamama Tales: Folklore from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay* (Santa Barbara: Library Unlimited, 2014), xii-xx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.

styles of vocal and instrumental performance,” originated in Chile.<sup>5</sup> According to Laura Jordan Gonzalez, the *cueca* is said to have originated from the ancient *zamacueca*.<sup>6</sup> Some of the most popular *Nueva Cancion* songs were structured in *cueca* form, which demonstrates the incorporation of traditional Chilean traits into their music, creating an expression of Chilean nationalism. McSherry notes that through the use of folk music *Nueva Cancion* music became a , “politically conscious movement” that embraced a “Latin American identity” that combated the influence of North American pop culture.<sup>7</sup> As a result, *Nueva Cancion* utilized Chilean nationalism, indigenous folklore, and indigenous instruments to create an entirely new musical experience. Songs like Inti-Illimani’s “*Cueca de la C.U.T.*,” and Quilapayun’s, “*Cueca de la Libertad.*,” embodied these characteristics while also utilizing the traditional Chilean *cueca* as the foundation for their songs that discussed political issues. Victor Jara’s “*Preguntas por Puert Montt*” is central to the argument of how *Nueva Cancion* used their platform as musicians to describe issues that affected indigenous communities such as agrarian reform. Gonzalez argues that this a major component to why *Nueva Cancion* was indeed its own genre, separate from traditional folk music of the time.

### **Violeta Parra, the Mother of *Nueva Cancion***

As early as the 1950s, folk musicians such as Violeta Parra had been traveling the Chilean countryside documenting and taking notes on Chilean folklore and folk songs. A prominent musician herself, she felt the need to bring these indigenous songs to light, and wrote many songs based on her findings. It was not until 1962 that she would write a song titled “*La Carta*” about her brother

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<sup>5</sup> Laura Jordan Gonzalez, *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 95.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music 1960-1973*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 7.

being imprisoned for his involvement in a workers strike. Many scholars consider this the moment the *Nueva Cancion* was created because it was the first time a song described a political situation rather than the previous popular songs that romanticized the ideal Chilean lifestyle of the countryside in folk form.<sup>8</sup> Nancy Morris argues that Parra chose to use folk style of music to create the new genre of politically charged music that became the *Nueva Cancion* because she felt it was a way to denounce the growing influence of Anglo-Saxon rock in South American popular culture.<sup>9</sup> The *Nueva Cancion* created a Latin American identity that could combat imperialism, exploitation and colonialism through political action, in her case, music in the form of folk songs.

Latin American *Nueva Cancion* is generally known as a fusion of politically conscious lyrics with traditional musical styles.<sup>10</sup> Scholars argue that this became a new genre of music because it combined classical folk songs with contemporary political issues of the time. The Chilean *Nueva Cancion* used traditional rhythms such as the Chilean *cueca* and instruments such as the *zanfona* (panpipes), *quena* (flute), *charango* (guitar) and *bombo* (drum) to create a new style of music that differed from the popular folk music of the time.<sup>11</sup> These songs called for direct action and political mobilization in the form of supporting left-wing candidates of the *Unidad Popular* specifically its leader, Salvador Allende, something never before seen in popular Latin American music. The United States already had years of folk protest songs that had been used since the 1930s to denounce

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<sup>8</sup> Nancy Morris, "New Song in Chile: Half a Century of Musical Activism," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America*, ed. by Pablo Vila, 19-44 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>10</sup> Pablo Vila, "Introduction," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, 1-16 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 5.

<sup>11</sup> Laura Jordan Gonzales, "The Chilean New Song's *cueca larga*," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America*, ed. by Pablo Vila, 71-96 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 73.

certain social inequalities and issues of their time, but none made specific reference to supporting certain political candidates or political party.

*Nueva Cancion* musicians understood the importance of South American folklore and incorporated it in every aspect of their music, through the use of indigenous rhythms, instruments and language being the main components. This acceptance of indigenous heritage is why the *Nueva Cancion* differed from the typical folk songs of the past. In addition, *Nueva Cancion* solidarity with indigenous communities such as the Mapuche people of Southern Chile also demonstrate this trait in their songs. Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani, Violeta Parra, and Quilipayun all wrote and recorded *cueca* style songs that represented their solidarity with Chilean folklore and its creators. Through the use of indigenous instruments, and creating an indigenous identity, *Nueva Cancion* established the soundscape of the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* that became a movement and major supporter within Salvador Allende's Chilean "peaceful road to Socialism."

### ***Nueva Cancion, the Militant Song Movement***

Pablo Villa argues that *Nueva Cancion* songs were "militant" songs because they differed from the typical protest song that became popular amongst American folk musicians since the early 1930s.<sup>12</sup> Villa argues that compared to protest songs in the United States that protested certain forms of social injustice, Latin American songs took an entirely different meaning altogether. This difference begins with the choice in words to describe the songs in title and name of collectives of musicians. According to Villa, instead of the word protest, many Latin American songs use the word "denounce" to describe certain injustices that they felt were affecting their communities.<sup>13</sup> In addition, in Chile, their song movement was not called the New Protest Song but rather the New

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<sup>12</sup> Vila, "Introduction," 2-5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 5.

Song Movement. Villa argues that this is a clear difference between militancy and protest. For instance, primary source material like Inti-Illimani's militant anthem oriented song structure in "Cueca de la C.U.T" advocating for support of the Chilean worker's union is clearly different when compared to other American protest songs like Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Fortunate Son" that protested the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. Furthermore, the former is advocating a clear action while the latter only protests the injustice. Chile's *Nueva Cancion* movement differed from American protest songs in their use of more broad based grievances like independence, nationalism, anti-imperialism, workers' rights, and agrarian reform, and its call to direct action in the form of protest, political mobilization, and direct support for left-wing political groups.

Aside from politically charged lyricism, *Nueva Cancion* musicians also felt the need to include their indigenous heritage as a way to express a true Chilean and South American identity. It was this return, to their native roots in a sense, that made this movement of songs that created the soundscape of Allende's campaign and presidency. Indigeneity and folklore played a crucial role in the formation of *Nueva Cancion* and they support many scholarly arguments that it was a new genre. Bands such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun took on indigenous names for their groups demonstrating their need to return to an original Chilean identity. The use of indigenous instruments and traditional folklore is also evidence of this indigeneity essence within the *Nueva Cancion*. *Nueva Cancion* fused indigeneity and Chilean nationalism to create an entirely new identity that supported Socialist and Communist ideology.

### **The Alliance for Progress and The Era of President Frei 1964-1969**

During the 1960s and early-70s Chile experienced many radical changes that affected its social, political and economic stability. In order to understand how *Nueva Cancion* emerged as a political

force it is necessary to discuss the social and political atmosphere that made this new genre possible. During the 1960s, the Cold War in Latin American was in full effect. Events such as Fidel Castro's *July 26th Movimiento* in 1959 sparked a surge in Latin American independence movements that had a critical impact on the Chilean politics. Although socialist and communist ideology existed in Chile and other Latin American countries prior to Cuba's revolution, Castro's victory gave light to the ability and likelihood of Latin American countries gaining independence in the backyard of the powerful North American country, the United States of America. Since the end of World War II, the United States used several different methods to solidify their sphere of influence over the western hemisphere.

Chile's economy relied heavily on its exportation of raw materials such as nitrate and copper. American companies had a strong foothold in the Chilean economy since the 1940s during World War II, becoming one of Chile's top consumers of copper. Chile also experienced the downside of this because its reliance on copper exports depended on foreign investments that depended on the world market. This became evident during the 1950s when the market for copper saw a collapse in 1953, this status of unemployment and inflation gave way to growing of workers' unions such as the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores, or CUT, in 1953. With the growing threat of Communism in the region and the rise of workers union parties, the United States sought to gain control of Chilean politics through economic aid in the form of loans and the purchase of raw materials. According to Faúndez, "the historical record shows that the United States State Department was an important factor... in persuading the Chileans government to repress the trade union movement and to ban the Communist Party."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 51.

Citing the Monroe Doctrine, the United States sought to secure their sphere of influence over the Latin American continent from foreign influence, specifically Communist infiltration. Latin American countries like Chile historically supported left-wing movements to combat what they felt were foreign infiltration to their social, political and economic way of life. The growing influence of American foreign investments and political power created a Chilean nationalist approach to improving the political and economic turmoil they experienced. Politicians struggled to create a solution for Chile's problems that grew the divide between the right, center and left wing parties. These issues created the polarization of Chilean politics that reached a turning point with the growth of left wing parties in the 1964 election. The growth of Marxist ideology alarmed the United States, who began a new strategy to combat communist infiltration with the new plan implemented by John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress 1961.

John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress assumed that the most effective way of fighting communism in the region was by promoting economic developments and through American financial aid. With the election of Eduardo Frei Montalva, representative of the Christian Democrat Party in 1964, the Alliance for Progress experienced a comfortable relationship with their Chilean allies. According to McSherry, under the Alliance for Progress, the United States gave almost 1 billion dollars to Chile between 1962-1969, receiving the most aid per capita of any other Latin American country.<sup>15</sup> Frei became a beneficiary of this massive economic aid in the form of secret aid funded by the CIA during his campaign against Salvador Allende in 1964. Historical records show that the CIA funded Frei and a propaganda campaign against Allende. According to Stephen G. Rabe, "The United States directly intervened in the 1964 Chilean election. Between 1962 and 1964, the CIA spent \$4 million on polling posters, and

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<sup>15</sup> McSherry, *Chilean New Song*.

radio and television advertisements for the Christian Democrats.”<sup>16</sup> The CIA helped fund a scare campaign against Allende hoping to defeat him, their campaign proved successful.

Freis’ “Revolution in Liberty” called for a political and economic reformation of Chilean society. His platform consisted of agrarian reform, the mobilization of workers unions, and the creation of new social programs such as his infamous literacy campaign.<sup>17</sup> Although the middle and upper classes benefited from American investments, the workers of the mines, continued to see their economic situation deteriorate. It became clear to workers that the reforms Frei described during his campaign did not come in fruition for working class Chileans. Although he successfully bought 51 percent of Chilean copper mines that benefited powerful mine investors he was unable to appease one of his main political platforms, agrarian reform. His agrarian reform only successfully reached the lives of 20,000 peasants and only 15 percent of the land had been officially redistributed.<sup>18</sup> With the failure of his reforms, the people of Chile began to cling to left-wing groups and workers unions that represented Socialist and Communist ideology. Indigenous communities also reacted to these changes and began to mobilize themselves by joining communist groups and indigenous right organizations.

### **Conditions for Revolution: The emergence of indigeneity and the *Nueva Cancion***

Conditions of high inflation, unemployment and powerful foreign investments led to the strengthening of leftist political parties that gained ground during this time. It is here where we see the development and growth of the *Nueva Cancion* as the music that embodied the leftist stance against the wealthy landowners and

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<sup>16</sup> Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 24.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 48.

political elites. Young people across the country grew impatient with Frei's reforms and began to mobilize behind socialist and communist ways of thinking.

Culturally, Chile became a haven for American pop culture disseminated across radio channels and in mainstream popular Chilean culture. Record companies like the German owned Orfeon and American Polydor recorded and released many groups that took on Anglo names and sang lyrics in English. During this time, *Neo-folklore* also became popular among university students and musicians that were attracted to an alternative to the popular songs of the time. *Neo-folklore* adapted many traditional Chilean folk songs but did not have the political edge that *Nueva Cancion* developed later on. McSherry notes that for folk musicians this was a troubling time, and artists like Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun felt the need to combat this cultural foreign invasion with a return to a Chilean traditional identity that mixed indigeneity and nationalism. In an interview with Inti-Illimani founder Jorge Coulon described the perspective of Chile's cultural atmosphere as a "very, very depressed cultural situation."<sup>19</sup> Coulon described how music from Parra and Jara had moved underground, and Chilean folk music rarely played on the radio making it difficult to be heard. Coulon and many other *Nueva Cancion* musicians felt the heavy influence of North American pop culture embodied a form of cultural imperialism, colonization and whitewashing of their culture and indigenous traditions. The music that artists like Jara and Parra produced during this time signified a return to the traditional Chilean culture and the indigeneity that it expressed.

Parra, the founder of *Nueva Cancion*, knew the importance of her indigenous ancestry and wanted to bring attention to traditional Chilean culture in the form of folk music. During her times as a *Neo-folklore* artist she cemented herself as the true representative for Chilean folklore representing the indigenous component to her music. During the emergence of the *Neo-folklore*

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 53.

movement, musicians like Parra played a critical role in the development in what became the *Nueva Cancion*. After traveling across Chile documenting different tales of folklore and folk songs. Violeta became an international sensation playing in countries like France and even Poland. She became an icon for Chilean folk music. One of her most famous songs that preceded *Nueva Cancion* was her song titled, “*Gracias a la Vida*” or “Thanks to Life” released by RCA in 1966 in the album titled *Las Ultimas Composiciones de Violeta Parra*. For years Parra sang traditional Chilean songs based on Chilean and South American folklore, here we catch a glimpse of an original written song that speaks about her true feelings as an artist. This song became one of the most famous songs Parra ever wrote in Chile’s very rich history of folk music.

Thanks to life that has given me so much  
It gave me two stars, that when I open them,  
Perfectly I distinguish the black from the white  
And in the high sky its starry background  
And in the crowds, the man that I love

Thanks to life that has given me so much  
It has given me the ear that in all its width  
It records night and day, crickets and canaries,  
Hammers, turbines, barks, squalls,  
And the so tender voice of my beloved

Thanks to the life that has given me so much  
It has given me the sound and the alphabet;  
With the words that I think and declare:  
Mother, friend, brother, and light shining  
The path of the soul that I am loving

Thanks to the life that has given me so much  
It has given me the march of my tired feet;  
With them I walked cities and puddles,

Beaches and deserts, mountains and plains,  
And your house, your street and your yard<sup>20</sup>

The song begins with a very relaxed guitar rhythm and Parra's somber voice describing her gratefulness for life and what it has given her. Although Parra had been known to compose many traditional Chilean folk songs that had developed the first half of her music career, in this song we see an entirely different approach not only to lyrical content but in guitar rhythm as well. Many of her former songs based on traditional folklore were upbeat with faster tempos. Her voice echoes over the guitar beautifully exposing her passion in the words she is speaking. Throughout the song she describes the different physical parts of her body that she is grateful for, her eyes, her ears, her feet. In a heavily Catholic country like Chile, this song and songs like it spoke volumes to the manner in which Parra began to separate herself from the *Neo-folklore* of the time and into a more secular approach to lyrical content that did not necessarily give thanks to God but rather a new form of spiritual belief, possibly indigenous spirituality. It is no wonder this song became a national sensation amongst Chile and South Americans, it enveloped the most basic element of human existence, life.

Early in her musical career Parra understood the power of her music and knew her status as a musician and the ability she had to disseminate her messages to a wider audience, through her music. "*Gracias a la Vida*" is a good example of the first developing stages of *Nueva Cancion* because it exposes the transformation of folk musicians as they began to express themselves about common issues that reflected the life of average Chileans rather performing strictly old folklore. Although this may seem as contradictory to the argument of *Nueva Cancion* embracing traditional Chilean folklore, it was indeed much more than that. Parra was emerging as an artist that was much more than just traditional folk tales, she was indeed an intellectual and poet.

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<sup>20</sup> Translation from insert in album, by Raul and Eleonora Madariaga.

She embraced the origins of traditional folklore; her new focus was merely a continuation of what had been laid down to her after years of researching and documenting songs from her country. *Nueva Cancion* embraced traditional folk songs and structures but wanted to explore new ways of thinking and new ways of expressing their culture. Songs like this and “*La Carta*” would develop the beginnings of what would become the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento*.

For Parra, the political instability Chile experienced during the 1960s shaped her music and lyrical content. She began to interweave traditional *Neo-folklore* songs with lyrics that dealt with political and social issues. Her songs consisted of everyday Chilean struggles that she felt needed to change. Through her music she described not only working class struggles but indigenous struggles as well. Acknowledging her indigenous ancestry gave her an ownership of the culture she represented. Although the *Nueva Cancion* eventually became a musical genre dominated by males, she was the example that all Chileans that followed. She became the official ambassador of the *Nueva Cancion* until her suicide in 1967. Although her death became a crucial blow to *Nueva Cancion* musicians and the movement, she became a martyr for the revolution and laid the foundation to what became *Nueva Cancion*.

### ***Nueva Cancion’s Push for an Indigenous Identity***

Parra’s death cemented Victor Jara as the new leader of the *Nueva Cancion*. Jara studied extensively under her leadership and now began to demonstrate his own musical talent by recording several solo albums and leading new groups such as the great Quilapayun. Between 1965 to 1969 new groups began to emerge such as Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani. Both groups, like Parra, embodied the indigenous aspect of *Nueva Cancion* with their use of indigenous instruments like the *charango*, a guitar made out of the shell of an armadillo, the Andean flute called a *quena*, and *bombo* drum. In an interview with Inti-Illimani, musician Jorge Coulon

described the reasons, “we use the instruments of the Andean tradition, like panpipes and quenenas, which are the traditional flutes. We also use the charango, which is an instrument born in Bolivia after the Spanish settlement, because it’s a blend, a sort of mandolin, but it’s made with the shell of an armadillo. And the scale is a pentatonic scale. It’s a typical ‘criollo’, a mixture between Spanish and Indian culture.”<sup>21</sup>

For *Nueva Cancion* musicians, the choice of instruments became a major representation of their indigenous ancestry. Although the overwhelming majority of *Nueva Cancion* musicians were urbanized radical students, poets, and instrumentalists, they felt that expressing themselves through the sounds of the instruments their ancestors had used for hundreds of years before them created a stronger connection to their indigenous heritage. This became the foundation for how *Nueva Cancion* musicians like Victor Jara and Quilapayun were able to establish a clear indigenous identity through their music even though they lived in the urban sector of the country. The fact that they became politicized was a result of being exposed to the political issues of the urban sectors of the Chilean country. Urban *Nueva Cancion* musicians utilized their ability to influence local politics and wrote about the issues that not only affected the urban sectors of the country but also rural issues such as agrarian reform. They took up the fight for indigenous grievances against the Chilean state and became known for their radical belief in issues that affected indigenous peoples.

In addition to choice of instruments, both groups, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun had indigenous names. Quilapayun’s name translates into “three beards” in Mapuche, and Inti-Illimani name is derived from the Quechua word “inti” meaning the Incan sun god and “illimani” the highest mountain in Bolivia in the Aymara language, identifying their relationship to their indigeneity

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<sup>21</sup> Adrian Pertout, “Inti-Illimani: Chilean Folk Legends,” *Mixdown Monthly* no. 66 (October 6, 1999): 70. <http://www.perout.com/IntiIllimani.htm>.

and cementing language as a central component to *Nueva Cancion*'s identity.<sup>22</sup>

These components of *Nueva Cancion* musicians separated them from the *Neo-folklore* artists of the time that did not press issues of indigeneity nor the political issues of the time. Both groups chose to wear the ponchos that many of the native community wore to identify with the native community. Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun were central to the split between *Neo-Folklore* musicians and the emerging *Nueva Cancion*. With Victor Jara as the new leader of *Nueva Cancion*, they became the new face of Chilean folk music that used their music to represent not only their Chilean indigenous roots but their political stance as well. Both groups began to produce and records songs that dealt with issues that indigenous communities dealt with since the arrival of the Spanish in the 1500s. The Mapuche people of Chile had a history of fighting against the colonization of their lands. The Mapuche led several uprisings against Spanish conquistadores, like Pedro de Valdivia who was eventually defeated and killed by the Mapuche after an uprising. Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun felt the same blood that ran through the veins of those past warriors was their own. Rebellion became the nature of the Mapuche and almost 400 years later they were still fighting the effects of colonization but in the forms of foreign domination of their lands and the economic instability that came with this fact. It was the warrior spirit of the Mapuche that created the militancy of the *Nueva Cancion*. Through this militancy, *Nueva Cancion* musicians were able to project a music that was powerful and direct. Under Frei's government the Mapuche did not see the changes they had hoped for. *Nueva Cancion* became the spokesman for their grievances against the Chilean State.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 70.

### **Victor Jara: Mapuche people and Agrarian Reform**

*Nueva Cancion* musicians aligned themselves with the workers, peasants, and indigenous population of Chile. During Frei's reformist government they were the hardest hit by his government reforms. Although he did not implement the repression that leftist had seen in the 1940s and 1950s, his economic policies affected the entire working class, especially the rural and peasant communities. One of the most important issues that affected indigenous communities throughout Chile was Agrarian Reform. Mapuche people had been fighting against colonization of their land by widespread land seizing since the Spanish conquest and now had new enemy, the Chilean State. For so many years the Chilean government chose to focus on wealthy Chilean landowners and the government protected their interests over the Mapuche. Indigenous people began to seize lands by force by settling on land that was owned by wealthy landowners illegally under Chilean law. Although Frei had been able to create a small form of agrarian reform, it was not enough to appease the peasant and indigenous peoples of Chile.

Frei, under pressure from the landowners and conservatives who supported him, began to enforce police and military repression against the illegal seizing of lands. Things took a drastic turn in 1969 with the growing illegal occupation of lands by the Mapuche and other peasant communities. According to Edward Murphy, between 1967-72 about 279,000 Chilean took part in land seizures.<sup>23</sup> Although land seizures had existed long before this period, during Frei's administration there was a significant spike in this activity. Joana Crow, a researcher of Mapuche people in Chile, describes the situation for rural and peasant communities this way, "Mapuche peasants, frustrated with the slow pace of agrarian reform, were increasingly taking the law into their own hands..."

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<sup>23</sup> Edward Murphy, *For a Proper Home: Housing Rights in the Margins of Urban Chile, 1960-2010* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 73.

and seizing lands that they believed to be theirs by legal or ancestral right.”<sup>24</sup>

Frei’s response to the illegal squatting and settling on land that had not been expropriated led to brutal and harsh police repression. One instance of this can be found in Frei’s police repression of settlers at Puerto Montt in 1969 that killed 11 peasants. Upon hearing of this tragic event Victor Jara began writing one of his most moving songs, describing the event and his solidarity with those who had been murdered.

On March 9, 1969 under the direct order of Edmundo Perez Zujovic, a wealthy businessman and member of the Christian Democrats, ordered the attack of a group of landless peasants. The result left eleven peasants killed, including a boy of nine months who had been suffocated by the tear gas that had been used in the attack. The machine gun attack wounded sixty, who were fortunate to have survived the attack. Jara, hurt by the event that had killed innocent peasants, took to his guitar to compose a song for the fallen. Throughout the song Jara describes the injustice of the attack. He recorded this song and put it in his profoundly political and controversial album *Pongo en tus Manos Abiertas*, released in 1969 by DICAP, the communist record company that became the major producer of *Nueva Cancion* albums. Although Victor Jara has a rich discography of songs that deal with agrarian reform like “*A Desalambrar*,” and “*Juan sin Tierra*,” this song is a powerful example of *Nueva Cancion*’s support for issues like agrarian reform that affected the Mapuche people and peasant communities.

All right, I'm going to ask  
For you, for you,  
For you because you were left alone  
And the one who died without knowing.

All right, I'm going to ask

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<sup>24</sup> Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Orlando: University Press of Florida, 2014), 117.

For you, for you, for  
You because you were left alone  
And the one who died without knowing  
And the one who died without knowing

He died without knowing why  
His chest was riddled  
Fighting for the right  
Of a floor to live,  
You have to be more unhappy,  
The one who sent a shot  
Knowing how to avoid  
A vile slaughter

Puerto mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt

You must answer  
Mr. Pérez Zujovic:  
Why did the defenseless people  
Answer with a rifle?

Mr. Pérez his conscience  
Buried her in a coffin  
And not clean his hands  
Or all the rain in the south  
Or all the rain in the south

He died without knowing why  
His chest riddled  
Fighting for the right  
Of a floor to live, we  
Must be more unhappy  
The one that I command to shoot

Knowing how to avoid  
A vile slaughter  
Puerto mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt  
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt<sup>25</sup>

Like many of Jara's songs the guitar was the central instrument used, and this song begins with the plucking of the strings in what becomes a gallop of rhythmic guitar strumming. Jara's voice echoes over the guitar in a deep and powerful way, expressing his outrage over the massacre. Jara questions the government for those who had been murdered and physically attacked in the massacre displaying the militancy of his words. This song did not simply protest the event, it questioned and pressured the government to accept responsibility for the massacre. In line four, Jara is stating that the ones who were killed were senselessly murdered without the knowledge of why they were being treated in the manner that they were. Jara goes on to place the responsibility on Perez Zujovic for the assault on the defenseless peasants. In stanza 4, Jara called for an answer to the decision to attack the peasants who had no weapons to defend themselves. According to Edward Murphy the massacre "became a national scandal that led to divisions within the Christian Democrat Party".<sup>26</sup>

Like Parra before him, Jara understood the power of music and wanted to bring attention to this event by creating a song that held the government accountable for the massacre of rural indigenous and peasant Chileans. This defiance and boldness is central to *Nueva Cancion* songs during this period. Although Jara did not name the indigenous population involved, indigenous people identified themselves with the same struggle. Crow states, "Through music Violeta Parra and Victor Jara communicated a history of social inequality that linked Mapuche and Chileans

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<sup>25</sup> Translation from insert in album, no author is mentioned.

<sup>26</sup> Murphy, *For a Proper Home*, 90.

together.”<sup>27</sup> Indigeneity within Chilean identity played a significant role within the lyrical and rhythmic components of *Nueva Cancion* songs.

Jara, the son of a peasant family, felt a strong bond with the indigenous population in Chile. Like Parra he also considered himself a descendant of the Mapuche people. Victor Jara understood the power of his music and his live performances could be used a platform to disseminate his message in public as a protest of the event. According to Joan Jara, on March 13 Chilean activists and students led a demonstration protesting the massacre. She states, “It was there that Víctor sang his song ‘Preguntas Por Puerto Montt’ for the first time in public.”<sup>28</sup> Public performances became a platform for song-led militant protests led by the Communist youth during this time. Joan also describes how songs like this created hostility for Victor who would be threatened on multiple occasion due to his subversive songs. It would be until Salvador Allende’s victory that the hostility towards *Nueva Cancion* musicians would lessen but the hostilities towards Allende’s government would only strengthen until his ousting in 1973.

Agrarian reform is still one of the most important issues that affect indigenous populations across the world. For the Mapuche, it was central to their grievances with the government they felt had betrayed them and failed to recognize their struggle. Allende understood this issue and although he did not create overwhelming changes for the Mapuche his administration did respect their call for agrarian reform and recognized their indigenous culture. This is evident with the Cautin Pact that Allende and several Mapuche organizations signed in Cerro Nielol, Temuco on April 6, 1964.<sup>29</sup> In the pact, Allende as the leader of the Socialist Party promised the Mapuche if he won the election to

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>28</sup> Joana Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* (Great Britain: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 121.

<sup>29</sup> Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*, 120-122.

recognize their struggles for respect for their culture and religion, and begin to implement reforms that benefited Mapuche peoples. *Nueva Cancion* musicians like Jarra and Inti-Illimani supported Allende's agenda to increase government involvement in Mapuche grievances thus making him their candidate for both the 1964 and 1970 elections. Although Allende did not win the election in 1964, the pact between Mapuche people and leftist political groups grew stronger. Many indigenous people supported Socialist and Communist reforms because agrarian reform was central to their platform.

Although indigenous people were apart of Communist groups there was still a divide between Communist ideology and the Mapuche way of life. An interview between Chilean anthropologist Carlos Munizaga and Lorenzo Aillapan Cayuleo, a member of an indigenous rights organization, described the relationship between Marxism and the Mapuche way of life. When asked if the Mapuche could be considered Marxist, he declined, stating, "Marxism is a scientific conception, and the Mapuche people cannot relate to it as such. It is incompatible with Mapuche culture generally, which renders tribute to spirits, animals, and supernatural forces."<sup>30</sup> Aillapan described that although many Mapuche are communists and socialists it did not fully embody the Mapuche way of life. Mapuche people supported Marxist ideology because it highlighted grievances they felt strongly about such as agrarian reform and workers' rights, but it was quick to recognize the problems Marxism created for the Mapuche. The Mapuche way of life was sacred and could not be described through scientific means. Workers' rights also became an important aspect of how *Nueva Cancion* used their music to identify themselves with indigenous struggles.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 116-117.

### **“Que Vivan las Obreros!”: Nueva Cancion and the Fight for Workers Rights**

Workers’ rights were also an important component to the *Nueva Cancion* genre. Violet Para wrote songs describing miners and agricultural laborers struggles. Many *Nueva Cancion* musicians supported and participated in left wing groups that supported Allende in his 1964 and 1970 elections. By the end of the 1960s groups like Inti-Illimani began being more specific about their support, exposing their militancy towards issues like workers’ rights. In 1968 Inti-Illimani released this powerful song titled “*Cueca de la C.U.T*” that was released on DICAP (Discoteca del Cantar Popular) a Chilean record company ran by the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile. The CUT, a labor union formed in 1953 was a powerful asset to Salvador Allende’s *Unidad Popular*.<sup>31</sup>

Central Única de Chile  
Solid as the steel  
That candles for the conquests  
Of the Chilean worker  
The pampino, the chilote, caramba  
And the peasant  
With the miners they fight, caramba  
For their destiny  
For their destiny yes, caramba  
Precious jewel  
The unity of all classes, caramba  
Worker  
Who live the workers, caramba  
Of the whole world (of Chile)<sup>32</sup>

The song opens with a strong guitar rhythm with heavy drumming with the use of various South American instruments like the

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<sup>31</sup> Faundez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile*, 77-78.

<sup>32</sup> Translation from insert in album, no author is mentioned.

*charango* (guitar) and *bombo* (drum). The song is centered around the rhythm of the chorus of singing by Inti-Illimani along with the guitar. The chorus of the men is powerful and expresses their passion for the topic at hand. In the song the group is calling for support of the CUT and its workers. As Laura Jordan Gonzalez' analysis of the *cueca* points out, it consisted of "two main performance elements: disposition and repetition of poetical lines throughout the musical performance... when the *cueca* is sung, its abstract form is transformed through the introduction of vocal interjections, lines disposition, and repetitions".<sup>33</sup> "*Cueca de la C.U.T*" embodied the traditional characteristics of the Chilean *cueca*.

*Nueva Cancion*'s *cuecas* interwove contemporary political issues, socialist solidarity with the use of traditional form of song, while utilizing indigenous instrumentals. The repetitious aspect of the *cueca* is utilized in this song. In lines 1 and 2, Inti-Illimani describes the strength of the union and its solidarity for their fight for workers' rights. With this description of the union as "solid as steel" they are describing it as an indestructible force of dedicated workers. Although they do not specifically mention indigeneity throughout the song, indigenous campesinos were the major part of the workforce that represented the CUT. The fact that the song describes the Chilean union directly represents their push for nationalism in the form of solidarity with workers unions that represented indigenous workers.

The CUT was a strong supporter of the *Unidad Popular* and its Socialist reforms, that included workers' rights to unionize and nationalization of the Chile's copper mines. Faundez notes that the growth of the left-wing political parties, such as the Socialist Party, directly correlated with the growth of the CUT.<sup>34</sup> Other labor unions like the CUT were a critical component to Allendes victory in the 1970 election as well.

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<sup>33</sup> Gonzalez, "The Chilean New Song's *cueca larga*," 77.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

This song is evidence that groups like Inti-Illimani used their militant style songs to call for the support of Socialist/ Communist ideology and political support of the *Unidad Popular*. According to Laura Jordan Gonzalez, although *Nueva Cancion* musicians became a combination of many different styles of Latin American music, groups like Quilipayun and Inti-Illimani tried to develop a sound that was specific to Chile, the *cueca*. According to Gonzalez, “The *cueca* is much more than just a kind of music. It is a type of choreography, a poetic form, and several styles of vocal and instrumental performance.”<sup>35</sup> However, Gonzalez notes that the *cueca*’s most significant characteristic is its form musically and lyrically, she states, “In defining the form, two main performance elements participate: disposition and repetition of poetical lines throughout the musical performances.”<sup>36</sup> *Nueva Cancion* musicians used the *cueca* as a way to give recognition to the developers of the genre while also creating an indigenous aspect of the music with the use of indigenous instruments. Songs like these were central to the separation of Chilean *Nueva Cancion* musicians compared to other popular folk movements like in Argentina, United States and Uruguay.

During Frei’s year in office, the political turmoil of Chile saw no significant changes to the lives of lower class Chileans. Indigenous communities did not see the agrarian reforms that Frei had promised, and subsequently left-wing groups began to gain popularity among young university students and intellectuals. *Nueva Cancion* continued to sing songs that supported indigenous peoples issues and problems that affected the working and lower classes.

During this period Salvador Allende emerged as the leading candidate for the 1970 election, consistently gaining the support of the Socialist and Communist factions of left-wing groups in Chilean politics. Chile would experience a social, political, and economic transformation with the election of Salvador Allende in

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 77.

the 1970 election. These changes affected the *Nueva Cancion* movement in many ways. First, it solidified its indigenous identity and was officially recognized by the new socialist government, becoming a part of the political structure that had once alienated it. Secondly, new nationalist songs emerged which increased Chilean nationalism and solidarity within the country. Lastly, it gave *Nueva Cancion* positions within the government as cultural ambassadors and representatives of indigenous peoples' issues and struggles.

### **Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism" 1969-1973**

Chile's 1970 election became one of the most important and historical elections in Latin American history. Frei could not run again due to the constitution that barred him from participating in the election. The Christian Democrat party's candidate was Radomiro Tomic Romero. Allende, formerly of the Frente de Accion Popular (FRAP), formed a new political party named the *Unidad Popular*, or Popular Unity, which was a combination of the Communist, Radical and Socialist parties and other smaller left-wing groups. *Unidad Popular's* candidate, Salvador Allende, had already run four times before the 1970 election but failed each time. Allende, a former doctor and Chile's Health Minister in 1952 became the face of the Chile's growing new-left that saw an immense growth during the 1960s and increased during Frei's presidency. His campaign was based on socialist reforms, such as universal healthcare, education, workers' rights, agrarian reform and nationalization of their copper mines.

A devout Marxist, Allende's hard work and consistency made him a powerful force in Chilean politics. On September 4, 1970 Allende was victorious with 36.3 percent of the vote.<sup>37</sup> The vote had been split between Right, Center and Left-wing political parties that gave Allende the advantage over the Christian Democrat party that saw a large faction of their support go to

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<sup>37</sup> Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 4.

Allende and the Center party. Due to Frei's inability to appease his left-wing factions, the Christian Democrats became successful only for one term. This defeat was humiliating to the Christian Democrats and right-wing conservative elites. Finally, after campaigning three times, Allende made history, the first Socialist elected into a political office in the western hemisphere.

Allende's platform of "peaceful road to socialism" now became a reality; the conditions that the Argentine Guerilla warrior, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, outlined in his *Guerilla Warfare* did not have to be utilized for the new Chilean society. Socialism won a democratic election and did not have to undergo a violent transition through the use of military force to gain power. Through the democratic process, Allende silenced his critics who mischaracterized him as a dictator who did not believe in the values of democracy. Aside from Cuba, Chile now became the only Latin American country that adopted a Marxist approach to government in the western hemisphere. This alarmed the United States, and historical records show plans were in place to overthrow Allende in case of a victory, yet the United States chose to covertly attack Allende's government through economic sanctions until the coup of 1973 that was ultimately funded by the CIA. Meanwhile, *Nueva Cancion* musicians rejoiced in their leader's victory, after years of concerts and events in support of Allende, they now held the power. On November 3, Joan Jara described Santiago's cultural festival that inaugurated Allende as their new president: "the celebration underway. The Alameda is packed again. People are climbing lamp posts, trees, parapets, and flooding up the hill opposite, hoping to get a glimpse of Allende when he speaks. Inside, all is joy, embraces, tears. I find myself swept off my feet. Everyone is hugging and embracing one another."<sup>38</sup>

*Nueva Cancion* musicians became one of the main musical attractions at the festival. As the leader of *Nueva Cancion*, Victor Jara dedicated his songs to the new president, reinforcing the

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<sup>38</sup> Jara, *Victor*, 145.

relationship that *Nueva Cancion* had forged in the past decade. Allende understood the power of music and recognized the dedication *Nueva Cancion* musicians had for his political campaigns since the 1964 election. Finally, all their hard work had paid off. Although *Nueva Cancion* began as a form of musical expression, it now became clear that it was much more than just music; *Nueva Cancion* became a militant political movement.

It was in this movement of national identity and social and political revolution that the birth of the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* had been conceived. For years, *Nueva Cancion* musicians sang songs that described the exploitation of the *campesinos* who worked in the mines, support of indigenous communities, workers' unions, and against foreign imperialism. The indigenous identity created by *Nueva Cancion* musicians now became a part of the new government, Allende's socialist experiment. The atmosphere of political activism led by musicians and students created new forms of poetry, art, and music that supported the victory of a democratically elected socialist president. Chile's *Nueva Cancion* had supported him since the beginning of his campaign performing at festivals, campaign speeches, and eventually at his inauguration in 1970. Joan Jara described this as if "they had entered the Moneda Palace with him."<sup>39</sup>

With Salvador Allende in power, *Nueva Cancion* musicians had a newfound momentum in songs that expressed the nationalist sentiment of an independent socialist country. Groups like Quilapayun began to compose songs that expressed their solidarity not only with their indigenous population, but with the general population's expression of nationalist pride. It now became time for real change to be enacted, this time in the form of socialism led by Allende, a devout and self-proclaimed Marxist. Quilapayun's song, "*Cueca de la Libertad*" is one of the more popular and powerful examples of this newfound nationalist pride in being Chilean, and a supporter of a socialist government. Although there

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

are many songs that were popular among left-wing political groups, the use of the *cueca* embodies the traditional aspect of the *Nueva Cancion*. In addition, the rhythm and instruments used in the songs express their solidarity with the indigenous population.

*“Cueca de La Libertad”*

I really enjoy life  
And the landscape of my country.  
I do not want to be there  
As if I were a stranger

I want the sea and the mountains  
Speaking in my own tongue  
And no one asking permission  
To construct the new homeland

I really enjoy life  
And the landscape of my country

And with liberty  
“oh, life” no one deceives me  
While there is misery  
There is no liberty of worth

Caramba, there is no liberty  
Without dignity

Liberty has arrived  
It’s a victory of the people  
Already its flame has been lit  
In the heart of the Chileans

The homeland has decided  
That it will always remain here  
With unity and work

Nothing will stop it  
Liberty has arrived  
It's a victory of the people<sup>40</sup>

The song opens with an Andean indigenous rhythm, with the strumming of the *charango* becoming the basis. We can hear the four guitars in complete harmony with one another, with the indigenous *bombo* keeping the beat of the song. The chorus of men begin to sing along with the rhythm of the guitars and drum. The song describes the pride in the country and the importance of liberty along with dignity. In lines 1 through 4 we can imagine that Quilapayun is referring to Violeta's "*Gracias a la Vida*" by describing their love for life. They describe how they also love the landscape of their country and how they did not want to live in Chile if they are treated like strangers. Quilapayun, being one of the more prominent groups of the *Nueva Cancion* musicians, knew how difficult it was to be respected as left-wing socialists under the conservative government of Frei, and could now be proud of being a part of Allende's "peaceful road to socialism."

This song can also be related to by indigenous people because since the arrival of the Spanish they have been alienated by the elites who disregarded their struggles, because they were seen as a roadblock to progress and modernization. *Nueva Cancion* was in fact a return to this traditional indigenous culture that had been mistreated and neglected for so long. During an era dominated by the popular culture of Anglo rock, there emerged a new genre that did not use instruments regarded as modern; instead it chose to utilize the instruments indigenous to the continent. This became the ultimate separation from other genres of the time; *Nueva Cancion* not only identified with its indigenous heritage but also embodied the indigenous struggle for acceptance. Indigenous people wanted to live their lives and enjoy their culture and not

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<sup>40</sup> Translation from insert of album, no author mentioned.

have to feel as if they were the strangers of the new modernizing Chile.

Since the Cautin pact of 1964, Allende vowed to ensure that Mapuche culture was protected and respected. Once Allende became president of Chile in 1970 he became the first president to begin a series of reformations that benefited indigenous communities such as the Mapuche. Crow notes that by December of 1970, only months into his presidency, he began to draft a law that would focus on the issues indigenous people had, specifically the Mapuche. Allende understood the importance of the indigenous grievances over the land that they felt was theirs for a millennia. The Cautin pact Allende signed with the Mapuche six years earlier had to be honored in order to show his dedication to the indigenous cause. Crow notes Allende passed a law for the indigenous people in September 1972 and its goals were to, "Promote the social, economic, educational, and cultural progress of indigenous people, and strive for their integration into the national community, taking account of their idiosyncrasy and respecting their customs."<sup>41</sup> Crow notes that this was the first time in history an official definition of indigenous had ever been used to describe people who originally lived on Chilean land.<sup>42</sup> After years of producing songs that described indigenous peoples struggles, real change was now possible under the presidency of Allende and his *Popular Unidad* government.

With regards to indigeneity, it is clear that the *cueca* was indeed an integral part of the *Nueva Cancion* musicians homage to their traditional nationalist form of song structure. This created the clear image of a true Chilean group that not only represented the general population but the indigenous communities as well. In lines 5 through 10 of "*Cueca de La Libertad*" they state, "I want the sea and the mountains speaking in my own tongue, And no one asking permission to construct the new homeland." Even though it is not clear what language the author is speaking of, this stanza

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<sup>41</sup> Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*, 144-145.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

makes it evident that Quilapayun felt strongly about linguistic nationalism. It can be assumed that they included the language of the indigenous peoples of Chile, specifically the Mapuche, due to their alignment with campaigns for agrarian reform and workers' rights, all issues that greatly affected the indigenous people of Chile. Furthermore, In lines 17 through 20 they perfectly demonstrate the nationalist attitude *Nueva Cancion* musicians had during this period—they felt that Allende's election was also a victory for the Chilean people. Allende became the beacon of light in the age of imperialism and capitalism that seemed to have plagued the country in what *Nueva Cancion* musicians felt created exploitation, political, social and economic injustice and inequality. It was now time to be proud of being a Chilean and support the government that had instituted true liberty. Although this was an epic time for *Nueva Cancion* musicians and those who supported Allende, wealthy landowners and conservative political parties were already plotting the ouster of Allende with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency. Allende's socialist experiment would only last three years.

### **The end of *Nueva Cancion*: The murder of Victor Jara**

On September 11, 1973, Allende gave his final speech to his people while military forces, led by his former general Augusto Pinochet and funded the by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, began bombing the Moneda, the Chilean presidential palace. Before Allende's final words, David Spener notes that the song “*No nos Moveran*” by a *Nueva Cancion* group named Tienponuevo aired for the last time on Radio Magallanes, a *Nueva Cancion* classic that described the unity of the revolution and the solidarity behind the new Socialist government.<sup>43</sup> Along with thousands of other Chilean students and activist, Allende was murdered by Pinochet's military forces. *Nueva Cancion* leader

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<sup>43</sup> David Spener, *A Song, Socialism, and the 1973 Military Coup in Chile* (Arizona: Temple University Press, 2016), 18-24.

Victor Jara's body was found in the street days after the coup. He had been tortured and shot to death in act of brutal murder. Allende's government socialist experiment had come to a bitter end leaving thousands killed and a country now under martial law. The beginnings of one of the most brutal regimes in Latin American history began with the running of blood and fear.

The stadium that once held Victor Jara prisoner now bears his name as recognition of the wrongdoing of the Pinochet regime. He did not deserve the death he was given, and the United States is equally responsible for the terrible and senseless murder of one of the most significant folk musicians in history. For the first months of the new regime, Pinochet ordered *Nueva Cancion* music made illegal along with the Andean *queana* and *charango*. Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani were on tour in Europe during the coup, and now became exiles from their country which was now under the control of a military dictatorship.<sup>44</sup> For the indigenous communities, the improvements of agrarian reform and workers' rights that benefited them under Allende, were now withdrawn. *Nueva Canción*, the music filled with sounds of the indigenous instruments, traditional folklore, and cries for political and social change, was now silent from swift military repression. Although there is much scholarly research in the history of *Nueva Cancion*, the indigenous identity that *Nueva Cancion* was ultimately successful in creating through the use of music has largely been understated. Furthermore, *Nueva Cancion* remained consistent with their sound, never changed the structure nor the instrumentation of their music, and remain one of the most important musical genres in Latin American history. In the present day, Victor Jara shares a special place in Chile and in the world. He is a martyr of the revolution for peace and equality. His legacy along with all the other *Nueva Cancion* musicians will continue to be discussed among educational circles for years to come. In the words of the *Nueva Cancion*, "*Venceremos!*"

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<sup>44</sup> For more information on *Nueva Cancion* in exile, refer to J. Patrice McSherry's *The Political Impact of Chilean New Song in Exile*, 2016.

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Jason Garcia is a Cum Laude honors graduate from CSUSB with a BA in History, and his focus is in Latin American studies and US relations. His study on Chilean folk music granted him the opportunity to present his work at conferences in the universities of San Francisco and Pittsburgh. Jason developed his project working in Dr. Isabel Huacuja's senior seminar research class. He would like to thank his wife for her never-ending support, Dr. Huacuja for her guidance and inspiring this research, Dr. Pedro Santoni for his constructive criticism and furthering Jason's knowledge of Allende's Chile, Federico Guevara for his immense editorial help, and San Bernardino Valley College professor Ed Gomez for sparking his interest in Latin American studies. Jason is eager to begin his academic journey applying to several universities to teach Latin American studies at the university level.

*History in the Making*