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No Hay Revolución Sin Canciones: The Role of Music in Modern Andean Social Movements

by

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In the second half of the 20th century, thousands of musicians throughout Latin America produced songs as part of a loosely defined movement known as Nueva Canción, or New Song. Differences within the movement occurred along national lines (and indeed nearly every Latin American nation has its version of Nueva Canción), and the movement changed with time, but certain ideals were expressed consistently in all incarnations of Nueva Canción. These goals included rejection of North American cultural imperialism, celebration and promotion of indigenous music and traditions, and affiliation with socialist political organizations. This paper seeks to provide an overview of the Nueva Canción movement and its impact on the lives of people in several Latin American communities. Furthermore, this paper will draw connections between Nueva Canción and more recent developments in the nations of Bolivia and Ecuador, conceptualizing a more continuous and extensive tradition of folk music's involvement in Andean social and political movements than has previously been considered in academic work.

While all music in the story of humankind has some social significance, the Nueva Canción movement had particularly tangible effects. Its origins trace back to the Southern Cone in the early 1950s. Like many Latin American nations during this Cold War era, Chile was experiencing an internal conflict over which of the world's powers the nation should align itself with economically and politically. Many poets and musicians were members of left-wing parties and organizations, including the illegal Communist Party. In April 1954 a congress of such persons met at a three-day summit called the *Primer Congreso de Poetas y Cantores Populares de Chile*.[1] Born out of this congress were several folk song and dance groups that were educational and social in nature as opposed to entrepreneurial. The groups had names such as Cuncumén, Millaray, and Lonquimay, which were words of the Araucanian Indians of Chile. They involved members that were knowledgeable in Chilean and Andean folklore, sometimes through their own indigenous heritage or experience, who acted as teachers to other members of the group, disseminating songs and dances that the entire group then performed publicly in new urban settings.

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[1] Jan Fairley, "La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1984), 110 (http://www.jstor.org). Actually, this source claims that the summit was held April 15-

Meanwhile, in Argentina, a man named Héctor Roberto Chavero Haram was gaining musical fame performing traditional folkloric songs under the moniker Atahualpa Yupanqui, a name paying homage to two Incan kings. He was also a communist, and had been censored and incarcerated by the Perón administration in the late 1940s. Although the folkloric song and dance groups in Chile and Arahualpa Yupanqui in Argentina disseminated traditional and indigenous folk music and were socialists in their own lives, they did not synthesize these two elements so integral to Nueva Canción. Therefore, it is more accurate to consider them as predecessors than as figureheads of Nueva Canción.

It was not until the 1960s that a remarkable woman from the small town of San Carlos in southern Chile would combine indigenous Andean music with socialist ideology and activism; her name was Violeta Parra. As musicologists Catherine Boyle and Gina Cánepa pointed out, “For Violeta Parra the recovery of Chilean folklore had a militant objective…without doubt, Violeta Parra was the first folklorist who, starting from her own experience, created new works with a socio-political

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18th 1952, but all other available sources, including another one by Fairley, cite 1954 as the year. 1952 seems to be a typographical error. None of the sources mention the location of the event, which perhaps speaks to the secrecy of the summit, which was held during a dangerous time for communists.

content…"[2] Born Violeta del Carmen Parra Sandoval on October 14, 1917, she was the daughter of a music teacher and a seamstress, and one of ten children in her family's modest rural home. In the 1950s, she collected and learned hundreds of folkloric musical pieces from every region of Chile and brought them to urban society in Santiago. At that time, Santiago culture was dominated by North American and European culture, and with these traditional songs Parra reclaimed and celebrated Chilean identity. A friend of hers during this period later said, "We were stuck in North American and European culture, listening to their music, imitating it…[Violeta] acted as a translator, so that we could know ourselves."[3]

By the early 1960s Parra had established herself not only as a folklorist, but also as a songwriter, performing and recording original songs in Chile and Europe. Her songs combined traditional and indigenous Chilean elements, such as the *cueca* song form and the *charango* and *quena* instruments, with contemporary poetic lyrics that emphasized humanist and socialist themes. A good example of her innovative songwriting that inspired generations of musicians, including but not limited to Nueva Canción artists, was the 1960 composition entitled "Hace falta un guerrillero."

"Hace falta un guerrillero"	"A guerrilla warrior is needed"[4]
De niño le enseñaría	As a boy I would teach him
Lo que se tiene que hacer	What one has to do
Cuando nos venden la patria	When they sell us the motherland
Como si fuera alfiler	As if she were a pin
Quiero un hijo guerrillero	I want a guerrilla warrior son
Que la sepa defender	That knows how to defend her

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[2] Gina Cánepa, "Violeta Parra and Los Jaivas: Unequal Discourse or Successful Integration?" *Popular Music*, Vol. 6, No. 2, trans. Catherine Boyle, (May, 1987), 235 (http://www.jstor.org).

[3] Bernardo Subercaseaux and Jaime Londoño, *Gracias a la vida: Violeta Parra, testimonio,* Editora Granizo, Buenos Aires: Galerna, (1976), 66.

[4] My own translation.

The above verse, which is just one of many in the song, demonstrated Parra's militant determination to oppose the nationalistic rationalization of private property inequities, while also demonstrating her brilliant use of poetic device. Other verses invoked the spirit of Manuel Rodriguez, an 18th-19th century lawyer and guerrilla leader who fought for Chilean independence from Spain. Beyond the lyrics, the actual sound of "Hace falta un guerrillero" was a significant element of its message and exemplified the way that Parra founded the New Song ideology. The song was a *tonada*, a Chilean folk song form that in 1960 was more commonly heard in remote rural communities or in folkloric nightclubs for tourist audiences than in contemporary recordings or performances for Chilean urban audiences. Many of Parra's compositions were *tonadas* or *cuecas*, and her reclamation of these traditional forms was a political act in itself; she refused to become a pop-rock artist imitating North American trends, just as she refused to perform clichéd versions of old Chilean folk songs for tourist audiences.

Another example was her iconic song "La carta" ("The letter"), in which Parra sang her passionate and socially relevant response to a letter informing her that her brother had been arrested and jailed while she was in Paris. She speaks for many when she sings, "the hungry people ask for bread, the militia gives them lead, yes" and she warns in the last verse, "I also have nine brothers and sisters besides the one they locked up. The nine are communists, by the grace of God, yes."[5] Together, Parra's lyrics and music defined Nueva Canción's politics and objectives.

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[5] Translation taken from Nancy Morris, "Canto Porque es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1986), 119 (http://www.jstor.org).

The importance of Violeta Parra in the New Song movement extended further than her lyrics and music. In addition to her role as leading songwriter, she actively spread the movement via grassroots community organization, establishment of locales, and international touring. In 1964, she established *La Carpa de la Reina*, a cultural center for musicians, poets, and artists that also served as a haven for leftists in Santiago. The meeting place was the first of many such spots that would shortly thereafter begin springing up all over Chile and eventually all over Latin America. These places, which were often functional coffee houses or bars, were known as *peñas*,[6] and although they existed before the 1960s, Violeta Parra is often credited with their revival. Parra's children, Ángel and Isabel Parra, who were also Nueva Canción troubadours, established *La Peña de los Parra* in 1965, which was the most famous epicenter of the movement, showcasing and cultivating new artists and groups and functioning as a hotbed of leftist thought. In the 1960s, while nightclubs popular with tourists featured older Chilean musicians in formal costumes of antiquity performing standard *cuecas* and *tonadas*, such as the famous group Huasos Quincheros, *peñas* such as the ones run by the Parras featured young Chileans in everyday street clothes performing *cuecas* and *tonadas* and other folk forms with original contemporary lyrics. The *peñas* in Santiago can be seen as somewhat analogous to the Greenwich Village clubs and coffee houses in New York City that were so important to the folk revival taking place in the United States at the same time. In fact, artists within both movements were aware of their intercontinental counterparts, and the two movements intersected occasionally, such as when Joan Baez incorporated the Violeta Parra song, “Gracias a la vida” into her repertoire. Through her travels, Parra also began the spread of Nueva Canción and Andean folk music to Europe and then back to South America, a cyclical process that would be continued by her successors. For example, in the Quartier Latin in Paris, Parra performed at the venue L’Escale, helping to convert European musicians and music fans, many of whom were socialist, into performers and aficionados of Andean music. The most important of these converts was the Swiss Frenchman Gilbert Favre, who would take up the *quena* instrument and join Parra in touring Bolivia in 1966. Favre would have an important effect on the role of Andean traditional music in Bolivian society, a topic that we will return to later. Sadly, Violeta Parra’s final role in the movement was as something of a martyr; she committed suicide on February 5th, 1967, with a shotgun to her head in *La Carpa de la Reina.*

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[6] I have seen several definitions of the term 'peña'. Jan Fairley defines peñas as "traditional meeting places for those actively interested in making music and poetry and those involved in politics" (1984), while Gilda Wara Céspedes writes that "Peña is defined as a circle of friends who share a common interest" (1984). All sources I've encountered, however, agree that peñas have been important in the formation and proliferation of "new song."

By the time of Parra’s suicide, the number of songwriters in Latin America composing, recording, and performing socially conscious and political songs in a contemporary folkloric style had grown to the point of a self-aware movement. In the summer of 1967, fifty such musicians from eighteen countries congregated in Cuba from July 29th to August 10th at an event called the *Encuentro de la Canción Protesta* to exchange ideas and songs regarding the movement and to create and strengthen networks.[7] It was at this meeting that the term “nueva canción” was born.[8] Let us now examine the relationships that Chilean Nueva Canción had with the government of Chile, first during the election and subsequent presidential term of Dr. Salvador Allende, and then during the coup and subsequent military regime of General Augusto Pinochet.

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[7] Fairley, 107.

[8] After the *Encuentro,* the corresponding term for this new music form within revolutionary Cuba was “nueva trova,” a term that conveyed the continuity of socially conscious music on the island because a common traditional Cuban folk song form was called “vieja trova” (*nueva* means ‘new’, *vieja* means

Beyond generally promoting socialist ideologies, many New Song artists specifically supported the political party Unidad Popular (UP) and its socialist leader Salvador Allende in the 1970 presidential election. They performed at UP political rallies and composed songs with lyrics conveying the party's platform in a simple and accessible manner. In fact, the song "Venceremos" ("We Will Triumph") by Nueva Canción artists Sergio Ortega and Claudio Iturra became the official campaign song for Allende. The song included lyrics such as "From the depths of our country, the cry of the people rises." and "We will sow the fields of glory. The future will be socialist."[9] Allende narrowly won the election and was sworn into office as Chile's first socialist president in November, 1970. This was a major victory for the movement, and Nueva Canción artists continued to compose, perform, and record songs in support of president Allende and the UP. Nueva Canción artists Sergio Ortega, Luis Advis, and the musical group Inti-Illimani (a name paying homage to the Aymara and Quechua indigenous Andean peoples) released an entire album regarding the socialist government's program, a collaborative LP entitled Canto al Programa. It included a version of "Venceremos" as well as new songs such as "Canción de la

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'old', and *trova* is a word for 'song' related to troubadour). The distinction in New Song terminology between Cuba and elsewhere also serves to account for the fact that while this music was a sort of protest song in countries like Chile that were capitalist oligarchies, in Cuba the equivalent songs supported the revolutionary socialist government that had been in power in Cuba since 1959. We will not discuss Nueva Trova in depth, however, as the focus of this paper is the Andean region.

[9] Morris, 121.

propiedad social/privada" ("Song of social/private property"), "Canción del poder popular" ("Song of popular power"), "Vals de la educación para todos" ("Vals [a traditional Andean folksong form] of universal education"), and "Canción de la reforma agraria" ("Song of agrarian reform").

The most well-known and timeless song of the entire movement's catalog was composed during this thriving Allende era of Nueva Canción. Entitled "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" ("The people united will never be defeated"), this anthem of popular struggle was composed by Sergio Ortega and popularized by the musical group Quilapayún, whose name comes from the *mapuche* language of the Araucanian indigenous people of southern Chile.[10] Of course, the extent to which songs supporting president Allende and the UP party influenced the lives of people in Chile or worldwide is incalculable. Let us, however, examine the fact that in the 1970 election Allende had 36.53 percent of the vote, compared to his opponent Alessandri's 35.19 percent[11] (a majority in the popular vote is not necessary to win presidential elections in Chile, as congress then votes between the two top candidates, and traditionally elects the candidate with the most popular votes). Let us also examine the fact that the same two candidates ran against each other in the 1958 presidential election, and Alessandri, a much more conservative politician, won with

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[10] In the liner notes to the album *The People United Will Never Be Defeated!* by contemporary pianist Frederic Rzewski, on which Rzewski reinterprets the original song, Sergio Ortega comments that the composition was inspired by what he says was already "a well known Chilean chant for social change." Although Ortega didn't coin the phrase, his song certainly helped spread the powerful refrain around the world. I have personally been to two rallies/marches in New Haven for immigrant rights where the protesters filled the streets and the field behind the Connecticut state house with shouts of "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido."

[11] Martin C. Needler, "The Closeness of Elections in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review,* Vol. 12, No. 1 (1977), 120 (http://www.jstor.org).

31.6 percent of the vote compared to Allende's 28.9 percent.[12] It is certainly not beyond the scope of reason to claim that the New Song movement probably had some effect on the 1970 presidential election, and it is this consideration that serves as the most concrete example of New Song directly impacting actual conditions of life. Furthermore, the songs composed, recorded, and performed during Allende's presidency, such as the *Canto al Programa* album, quite likely helped to communicate to the population of Chile some of the policies and goals of the administration during that time.

Pinochet, Canto Nuevo, and Success in Exile

This flourishing period of the Nueva Canción movement was halted abruptly on September 11, 1973, when a CIA-supported coup d'état overthrew Allende and the UP party and established a military junta led by General Augusto Pinochet.[13] Beginning with the violent coup, Chile entered a right-wing era during which thousands of leftists and suspected opponents of the government were killed, tortured, or forced to flee. These leftists sought refuge all over the world, especially in Europe and Cuba. Nueva Canción artists were no exception, and in the years directly following the coup, which were especially repressive, Chile experienced what was known as an “apagón cultural,” or “cultural blackout.” While many artists were able to flee Chile and continue making music in exile, others remained. The legendary Nueva Canción singer and songwriter Victor Jara, whose eminent involvement in the movement traces back to his days as a member of the 1950s folkloric group Concumén, was one of thousands of Chileans captured in the week following the coup. He was held prisoner in the football stadium, Estadio Chile, where he had previously performed. There, soldiers of the military regime beat him and taunted him by breaking his hands and telling him to play guitar. They finally killed him a few days later with a machine gun, but not before he wrote his last song there in the stadium, the lyrics of which survived on a piece of paper tucked into the sock of “a compañero who was sitting beside him.”[14] The following is an excerpt:

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[12] Daniel Hellinger, "Electoral Change in the Chilean Countryside: The Presidential Elections of 1958 and 1970," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (June 1978), 255 (http://www.jstor.org). In this article, Hellinger attempts to account for the differences between the two elections, and he does not include a consideration of Nueva Canción, or any artistic movement. While Hellinger's points are certainly valid, especially the assertion that the fringe leftist candidate Antonio Zamorano detracted from Allende's votes in 1958, I propose that the absence of Nueva Canción from Hellinger's article is an oversight.

[13] The degree of U.S. involvement in the 1973 coup is debated, but at least some support is certain. See the National Security Archive, a non-profit organization within George Washington University that publishes declassified government documents.

Somos cinco mil aquí
en esta pequeña parte de la ciudad
Somos cinco mil.
¿Cuántos seremos en total
en las ciudades y en todo el país?
Somos aquí diez mil manos
que siembran y hacen andar las fábricas…

¡Qué espanto causa el rostro del fascismo!
Llevan a cabo sus planes con precisión certera
sin importarles nada.
La sangre para ellos son medallas,
la matanza es acto de heroísmo.
¿Es este el mundo que creaste, Dios mío?

There are five thousand of us here
in this small part of the city.
We are five thousand.
I wonder how many we are in all
in the cities and in the whole country?
Here alone are ten thousand hands
which plant seeds
and make the factories run…

What horror
the face of fascism creates!
They carry out their plans
with knife-like precision.
Nothing matters to them.
To them, blood equals medals,
slaughter is an act of heroism.
Oh God, is this the world
that you created?[15]

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[14] Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* Jara, http://www.sreyes.org/fromvjbook.htm [Original Source: Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* (Great Britain: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1983)]

[15] Ibid.

The coup changed everything in the Nueva Canción movement. It made a frightening example of Jara and forced the movement to exist in exile, and in secret within Chile. According to Nancy Morris*,* the music of Nueva Canción was "banned from the airwaves, removed from record stores, confiscated, and burned along with books and other 'subversive' material during the house-to-house searches that immediately followed the coup."[16] Even traditional instruments like the *quena*, *charango*, and *bombo,* some of which had been played in the Andes since pre-colonial times, were banned by the oppressive regime, a policy that demonstrated the fact that music was seen as a serious threat to the junta. As Nueva Canción singer Patricio Manns once said, however, "there is no defense against a good song."[17] Although Pinochet and the junta went to great lengths to stop the Nueva Canción movement, they didn't eradicate it completely. Tapes of Chilean Nueva Canción, as well as tapes of Cuban Nueva Trova artists like Silvio Rodriguez and Pablo Milanés and the great Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti, circulated clandestinely and these musicians became and/or remained well known in Chile despite the absence of record sales and radio play. The ban on Andean instruments was circumvented by church and university groups that received permission to use the instruments for interpretations of baroque classical pieces. By 1975 strictly folkloric pieces were allowed by such groups, leading to what was termed the "Andean Boom" of 1975-76.[18]

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[16] Morris, 123

[17] Patricio Manns. "The problems of the text in nueva canción," trans. by Catherine Boyle and Mike Gonzalez. *Popular Music*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (1987), 193. (http://www.jstor.org)

[18] Morris, 124

Furthermore, a second generation of Chilean New Song emerged during the Pinochet period. Known as Canto Nuevo instead of Nueva Canción (both terms translate literally as “new song”), the young musicians of the mid to late 1970s relied much more on metaphors, double entendres, and allusions in their lyrics than their 1960s predecessors did, as the threats of censorship and disappearance loomed. Canto Nuevo also differed from Nueva Canción in its willingness to incorporate limited use of electric instruments and elements of rock and jazz. In 1977, Alerce Records, which produced many of the Canto Nuevo artists, hosted *La Gran Noche del Folklore*, an event billed as an awards show that received hesitant permission from the government. The auditorium’s 7,000 seats were filled, and 1,000 more people were outside hoping to get in. Much more socially and politically significant than the average concert, the event was a chance for people to gather freely at a time when congregating in large numbers was otherwise very dangerous. One audience member said of *La Gran Noche del Folklore*, “I saw people whom I hadn’t seen since 1973, people whom I thought were in prison or dead.”[19] Events such as *La Gran Noche* were politically and socially significant because they served as locales where Canto Nuevo artists and supporters, many of whom were leftists opposed to Pinochet and the junta, gathered in solidarity and showcase songs that contained hidden subversive meanings. The fact that Pinochet had banned Nueva Canción and closed the *peñas* when he took office accentuates the importance of Canto Nuevo award shows. Unfortunately, events like *La Gran Noche del Folklore* were rare and of a precarious status; when Alerce Records attempted to schedule one such event in 1978, the government denied permission.

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[19] Ibid.

Meanwhile, veteran Nueva Canción artists such as Inti-Illimani, Quilapayún, and Ángel and Isabela Parra were spreading the message abroad as political exiles. During this Pinochet era, European audiences were more ready than ever to embrace Andean music. This was probably due to several factors. First of all, there was already a solid foundation of exposure from earlier European stints of artists like Violeta Parra and the Bolivian folkloric Los Rhupay, a group that had enjoyed popularity in France in the late 1950s. Secondly, the coup d'état had brought international attention to Chile and South America, especially among leftists who sympathized with "los desaparacidos."[20] Thirdly, this time the Nueva Canción artists were not on temporary tours in Europe; they were living there indefinitely, composing, recording, and performing in Mediterranean nations like Italy and France. According to Jan Fairley, musicologist and expert on the Nueva Canción movement, "by 1976-7 Quilapayún could be heard as background music in French supermarkets."[21] This level of success represents a significant strength of the Nueva Canción movement, and of Andean music in general, that we have yet to discuss: economic enfranchisement.

Indigenous Opportunity and the Transnational Market

Victor Jara once stated, as published in the 1974 journal *Canto Libre*, "Our duty is to give our people weapons to fight against this (the North American commercial monopoly in music)."[22] In addition to the goal of a socialist government in Chile, the Nueva Canción movement had the goal, or "duty," as Jara put it, of establishing a way for more Chilean and Andean musicians to make a living with their art. Or perhaps more simply put, songwriters like Jara envisioned and worked towards a more equal distribution of wealth through not only political, but also artistic and social means. Indeed, the Nueva Canción movement contributed significantly to the social elevation of traditional Andean music in Chile and internationally, whereas it had previously been viewed by many societies as an inferior art form. For example, when Swiss Frenchman Gilbert Favre left France with Violeta Parra and moved to Bolivia, he joined the folkloric group Los Jairas, an in-house band at the *Peña Naira* in La Paz. Favre played *quena*, an indigenous panpipe instrument, alongside bandleader Ernesto Cavour on *charango*. Although Los Jairas had been a great band before Favre arrived, with Cavour as a phenomenal *charango* player, it was the presence of a European in the band that caused the middle and upper classes of La Paz to embrace Los Jairas and warm up to the notion of the *quena* as a legitimate musical instrument.[23] In the early 1970s, Cavour built upon this gradual acceptance by producing written instruction manuals with tablature and tuning guides for the *quena, charango,* and *zampoña* instruments, and these manuals, along with the proliferation of Chilean Nueva Canción, led to the spread of such instruments to new communities, creating a pan-Andean musical ideology. Northern Andean communities that did not previously use these southern Andean instruments began to form New Song musical acts of their own, like the Ecuadorian group Jatari, who not only played local indigenous instruments and song forms, but also adopted the foreign *quena* and *charango.*

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[20] "los desaparacidos," or "the disappeared," was a term that referred to people killed or jailed by Pinochet's junta and the vast military network known as Operation Condor that extended to nearly all of South America

[21] Fairley, 108.

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[22] Jane Tumas-Serna, "The "Nueva Canción" Movement and its Mass-Mediated Performance Context," *Latin American Music Review*, Vol.13, No. 2, (1992), 146 (http://www.jstor.org)
[23] Wara Céspedes, Gilka. "New Currents in Música Folklórica in La Paz, Bolivia," *Latin American Music Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1984), 225 (http://www.jstor.org).

These types of cross-cultural and cross-racial exchanges were not uncommon of the movement. It should be noted that although New Song utilized traditional indigenous music forms and instruments, most New Song musicians were ethnically mestizo, a mix of Spanish and indigenous ancestry. As Juan Espinoza, member of the New Song group *Oveja Negra*, explained, "we were not trying to rescue or revive the indígenas' music -- there was no need; it was there, the indígenas were playing it. Rather, we wanted to return to their roots and then develop and progress the music in our own way for our own purpose".[24] In playing indigenous Andean music, though, mestizo New Song artists paved the way for indigenous people to improve their own lives by taking up a musical livelihood. According to scholar Juniper Hill, "when indígenas saw that mestizo musicians were making money by performing adopted indigenous music, indigenous musicians began recording and performing their own music outside of traditional social and ceremonial contexts."[25]

When indigenous musicians travel abroad to perform and make money to bring or send home, perhaps with a plane ticket bought with money from textile or craft sales, it is not without cultural complications. Many of the elder members of the indigenous communities at home in the Andes scrutinize the degree to which they are being represented accurately and respectfully, worrying about the effects of commercialization on their traditions. Likewise, many of the young traveling musicians have taken those wishes into consideration. In the 1970s, the groups Nanda Mañachi and El Conjunto Peguche from Peguche, Ecuador, two of the earlier indigenous groups to perform and record abroad, had a cultural as well as an economic agenda: “they wanted to represent and teach their culture to the rest of the world”.[26] Of course, true representation of culture is not always easy, and sometimes compromises are made. For example, some members of an indigenous Ecuadorian band might fly to New York only to find out that their bandmates at home won’t be able to join them as planned because of visa complications, and so the Ecuadorian musicians might form a sort of pan-Andean transnational pickup band in New York with some Peruvians who had a similar problem with their bandmates.[27] Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, this type of travel and “transnational marketing of Andean music” became increasingly common and had a “tremendous impact on the indígenas' socioeconomic position.”[28] This growing economic enfranchisement of Ecuador’s indígenas may have elevated their participation in contemporary politics beyond their own communities. On January 15th, 2007, Rafael Correa became president of Ecuador, appealing to indígenas with promises of leftist reform. His relationship to Andean musical movements merits further study.

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[24] Juniper Hill, "From Oppression to Opportunity to Expression: Intercultural Relations in Indigenous Musics from the Ecuadorian Andes," *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 12, Fall 2006, 12 (http://www.ethnomusic.ucla.edu).

[25] Ibid.

The election of Evo Morales as president of Bolivia in 2005, however, is a topic that has received more attention in both newspapers and online blogs. Morales is the first president of a country in the Western Hemisphere since colonization to have come from an indigenous community. Using the limited information available in international newspapers and information provided through personal correspondence, let us now briefly explore the role of music in the rise of Morales and his political party, Movimiento A Socialismo (MAS).

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[26] Ibid.
[27] This concept is also taken from Hill’s work, although I simplified the scenario for conciseness.
[28] Ibid.

Morales, MAS, and "Contigo Somos Más"

Beyond the general economic improvements to indigenous Andean communities from musical commercialization, music was an explicit political force during the 2005 Bolivian presidential elections. All political parties utilized campaign trucks with speakers blaring through the streets, but "the MAS campaign, especially, used a series of songs with lyrics promoting the campaign."[29] Morales and MAS chose traditional and indigenous music forms as their campaign songs, such as *huayno, taquirari*, and *tinku.* Some of the songs had lyrics in Spanish and others had lyrics in Quechua. The choice to include *tinku* in the repertoire is especially significant in demonstrating Morales' steadfast support of indigenous peoples. Traditionally, gatherings to create *tinku* have included a customary dance that can get violent, and subsequently many Andean mestizo governments had banned *tinku* in their townships. Also, MAS trucks with speakers drove through poorer and more rural areas than other parties, and "this music brought people out of their houses and caught their attention."[30] The use of music very well may have helped Morales secure his victory, which was won with a landslide 54.7 percent of the vote compared to his closest opponent Jorge Quiroga’s 28.6 percent.[31]

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[29] Eduardo Ávila, personal communication via email on January 22, 2007. Ávila is the manager of "Barrio Flores", an online blog regarding Bolivian politics and culture. A Bolivian American living mainly in Washington, D.C., Ávila was in Bolivia during the elections of 2005, as well as in August and November of 2006.

[30] Ibid.

One song, “Contigo Somos Más,” stood out as the most ubiquitous of all those used by Morales and MAS in the election campaign and as an anthem for the victorious party after the election and inauguration; a friend of mine who was in Bolivia in 2006 went to see Morales speak at an event to celebrate the allocation of a municipal building to a teacher’s union, and she said that the song was on repeat for hours.[32]

	“Contigo Somos Más”		“With You We Are More”
	En América morena Crece la necesidad De reivindicar al pueblo Su derecho y dignidad		In brown America Grows the necessity To claim for the people Their rights and dignity
	Con el viento, las wiphalas Nos anuncian nuevas tiempos El abrazo de mi gente Con la justicia social		With the wind, the wiphalas Announce to us new times The embrace of my people With social justice
Coro:	Somos más Con el pueblo somos más Más, más, más Contigo somos más	Chorus:	We are more With the people we are more More, more, more With you we are more
	Cuando el pueblo se levanta Se escucha la voz de Dios Caminemos hermanados Hacia un mañana mejor		When the people rise up They listen to the voice of God We will walk as brothers Toward a better tomorrow
	Queremos que nuestros hijos Crezcan en la libertad Amando la Pachamama Que les vamos a dejar		We want our children To grow up in liberty Loving the Pachamama That we’re going to leave them
	(Se repite el coro)		(Repeat chorus)

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[31] Corte Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Court).

[32] Jessica Jones, personal communication in person and via telephone, April 2008

“Contigo Somos Más” works on several levels to make it ideal for the task of rallying support for Morales and the MAS party. First, the use of the word “más” is a double entendre; not only are the lyrics and the title inviting the listener to become part of something “more,” something better, but they are also advertising the name of the political party, “MAS.” This latter function of the word is especially effective because the chorus is quite catchy; it works almost like a radio jingle. Imagine a song during a presidential election in the United States that causes the listener to walk around for the rest of the day hooked on the chorus, “dems, dems, dems,” (or “G.O.P.” or “green party,” etc.).

Second, the lyrics convey equality for indigenous people, a major selling point of Morales’ platform. Containing poetic imagery, such as *wiphalas* blowing in the wind (the *wiphala* is the flag of indigenous peoples that comprised the Inca Empire, which are primarily Andean but also include peoples of the Bolivian Amazon region) and love of the Pachamama (a maternal goddess of fertility and nature in whom belief is widespread among Andean indigenous peoples), the song draws upon familiar symbols of indigenous struggle and identity without getting entangled in more divisive topics such as redistribution of natural resource wealth or legalization of coca. Edwin Castellanos, the composer of “Contigo Somos Más,” says that “more than a song of political propaganda, it has a social theme,”[33] and this is certainly true compared to, say, the Sergio Ortega songs for the Allende administration, which, recall from earlier in this paper, directly hailed socialism, decried fascism, and promoted policies such as agrarian reform and universal education. Of course, the term “propaganda” has negative connotations, and while Castellanos has the artist’s authority on an analysis of the song, the lyrics do have a promotional, if not directive or persuasive, tone. Perhaps walking the line between poetry and propaganda is one of the song's strengths; it is hard to disagree with the message of the song when it is conveyed in such universally appealing terms, as the verses promote the values of social justice, equality, and dignity more than socialism or any specific political system.

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[33] Edwin Castellanos, personal communication via email on April 8, 2008 (my own translation).

A third component of the song that makes it a great anthem for Evo Morales is its musical form. "Contigo Somos Más" is a morenada, which, according to Castellanos, is "a rhythm originating in Oruro, the region where Evo Morales is from."[34] While the theme of the song is more national (or even "pan-Andean" with the lyric about wiphalas), the choice to make it a morenada is a nod to Morales' home community. Regionalism is not an emphasis of this paper, which focuses on a broad continuum of Andean music's remarkable involvement in social movements, but that is not to say that regionalism doesn't exist in South America. It does, and it is relevant to any discussion of Andean folk music. Indeed, while Castellanos contends that the morenada comes from Oruro, others insist that it comes from Potosí, and still others claim Achacachi as its birthplace. Similarly, in his book *Moving Away From Silence*, Thomas Turino describes regionalism among Peruvian musicians; a particular style of playing panpipes was attributed to the Conima district, and Turino reports that migrants to Lima from Conima "stated that only people from the district had the right to perform Qhantati's [the most well known ensemble from Conima] repertory and style."[35] Pride and ownership of local music forms, however, do not preclude the music's ability to play important roles in social struggles and movements. Recall that in Peguche, Ecuador, elder indigenous people worried about accurate representation abroad, but that didn't stop young musicians from forming "pan-Andean" bands in Europe and the USA to busk and send money home. Internal complexities such as these are bound to exist, and scholars must avoid idealization of the movements they document. In that interest, it is worth noting that "Contigo Somos Más" was and is copyrighted material, and in 2007 Edwin Castellanos sued the group Movimiento Acción Social (Social Action Movement, an organization based out of Pichincha, Ecuador, that no doubt enjoyed the MAS/más double entendre) for using the song without license.[36]

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[34] Ibid.

A fourth reason why "Contigo Somos Más" was such an ideal campaign song for Morales is that it was recorded by Castellanos' band, Tupay, one of the most popular bands in Bolivia, regularly selling out the biggest venues in the nation, and an endorsement from a famous musical group can only help a presidential candidate. As a founding member of Tupay and also a former member of the important Bolivian folkloric group "Los Kjarkas," Castellanos is one of the most prominent living folk musicians in Bolivia. In response to a question about whether he considers himself part of a tradition of political songwriters in South America, Castellanos told me that he doesn't consider himself a political composer, but rather believes that he "makes interesting contributions to Bolivian folkloric music."[37] Of course, this doesn't mean that he doesn't believe in the power of music to affect change; he believes that his famous morenada "helped much to undecided voters in deciding whom to vote for," and that "music is important in all social processes and if the music has strength then it can help in political campaigns."[38]

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[35] Thomas Turino, *Moving Away From Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 205.

[36] Article entitled "Audiencias por quejas en contra del Supremo," October 24, 2007, http://www.eluniverso.com/2007/10/24/0001/8/ED11CCAA899D42FBAFB9A0F993AEC24D.aspx

After his inauguration, President Evo Morales began making immediate changes, including the nationalization of Bolivian natural gas reserves and the formation of a constituent assembly to begin rewriting the constitution. At the Constituent Assembly in Sucre on August 6th, 2006, indigenous groups congregated in a "fusion of colors, traditional music, and customs."[39] Even on the rides to the assembly, music was ubiquitous; a Washington Post journalist was on one truck filled with Quechua and Aymara supporters, and reported that less than a block into the trip to Sucre they began to sing and play goatskin drums, panpipes, and charangos.[40] It should be noted that although they may have been the most unique and mobilizing, Andean folk musics were not the only forms accompanying the rise of Morales and MAS, as brass bands were also present at the assembly in Sucre, and there is even a budding indigenous rap music scene in Bolivia.[41]

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[37] Castellanos email, April 8, 2008.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Franz Chavez, "Bolivia: Indigenous Groups Join in Rewriting Constitution," *Inter Press Service*, Monday, August 7, 2006.
[40] Monte Reel, "A Road Paved With Hope; Bolivia's Indigenous Travel Hundreds of Miles for Drafting the Constitution," *Washington Post*, Sunday, August 6, 2006, section A.
[41] Juan Forero, "Young Bolivians Adopt Urban U.S. Pose, Hip-Hop and All," *New York Times,* May 26, 2005, Section A. This article is about young Bolivian rappers who use both Spanish and Quechua.

The Danger of Romanticization and José Carlos Mariátegui

In examining the role of music in modern Andean social movements, I have shown that it has indeed played substantial roles, not only in the already well-documented New Song movement of the 1960s and 70s, but also with the transnational commercialization of Andean music to improve the financial situation of indigenous communities of Ecuador in the 1980s and 90s as described by Juniper Hill, and most recently with the extensive involvement of Andean music in the rise of Evo Morales and the MAS party of Bolivia. The latter is the only truly original observation of this paper in the way of documenting an historical phenomenon. But I am also presenting a conceptualization of all of these developments as part of a larger trend of Andean music having an unusually strong connection to social and/or political movements compared with the average musical tradition. Of course, there are plenty of instances of music in social or political movements: American folk in the labor movement of the 1940s, Wagner and German classical music in Nazism, Jamaican ska and reggae in Rastafari and neo-Garveyism, and so on and so on. But the Andean case spans nearly a half-century of especially active involvement, and shows no signs of ending.

With the presentation of this trend comes the desire to provide an explanation, a reason why Andean music has correlated so strongly with leftist movements and the promotion of equitable wealth distribution, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to do so. There is a temptation to refer to Turino's description of communitarian values being articulated through indigenous musical practices, such as the "process of composing collectively,"[42] the fact that ensembles allow "ad hoc and less experienced players"[43] to join them in performance, and the emphasis on communal rather than individual identity to the point where ensemble leaders are not to explicitly exercise authority and "the collective has become recognizably and consciously sacred, and the emblem of the collective, its music, has taken on this sacredness."[44] To suggest, however, that Turino's work explains the larger Andean trend by implying some sort of Andean proclivity toward communal society would not only be to assume that the practices found in one indigenous community in Conima, Peru, are common throughout the Andes, but would also be to simplify indigenous culture to fit the romantic vision of an outsider perspective. Plenty of American rock bands compose collectively, allow less experienced players to join them in performance, and discourage explicit authority of one band member over the others, but nobody is making a serious argument that American rock and roll culture is naturally inclined toward socialism.

Unfortunately, the dynamic between mestizo leftists and Andean indigenous peoples has often been one where the former group, however benevolent its intentions, essentializes and romanticizes the latter. Turino describes an incident in 1965, when a mestizo man named Lucio was the director of the indigenous ensemble from Conima called Qhantati. Lucio organized a group trip to Lima, the capital, to petition president Belaunde to build schools, a road, and a potable water system in Conima. The musicians and dancers wore exaggerated folkloric costumes, including bare feet, although at home in Conima they wore their best shoes and jackets when performing.

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[42] Turino, *Moving Away From Silence,* 90.
[43] Ibid, 90.
[44] Ibid, 194.

The mestizo director wore a suit and tie and his wife wore a formal dress. The petitions were granted.

The quintessential South American invoking a romantic Andean indigenous vision in the name of socialism is Jose Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930). Ahead of his time as a criollo defending indigenous peoples with Marxist criteria, Mariátegui decried racial arguments and pointed to the land tenure system known as *latifundismo*, which was essentially feudal, as the source of inequity. His downfall, in retrospect, and most relevant to the topic at hand, is his rhetoric concerning Incan society. He once wrote, "Incan civilization was the most advanced primitive communist organization that history has known…we must give life to an Indo-American socialism reflecting our own reality and in our own language."[45] Although his words have inspired countless leftists around the world, the truth is that the Inca Empire was based upon a strict hierarchy, where the ruling class lived in luxury and surplus while the conquered toiled in agricultural work in a "tribute" system known as *mita* that was essentially a form of forced labor not dissimilar from slavery. In the words of Klaus Sender, "to depict all this as a communist idyll signalizes—to put it mildly—romantic blindness which cannot be accepted."[46] The inclusion of a brief consideration of Mariátegui and his romanticism is not pointed at any songwriters, scholars, or anyone at all, but rather it is simply to provide a historical context of the complex dynamics of socialist ideology in the Andes. I also want to be sure to avoid the tone of a "musical Mariátegui," with an unrealistic perception of Andean folk music as having some mystic power to affect change. On the contrary, Turino notes that “in spite of the common notion of the ‘ancient quality’ of Andean music, some people in Conima described tunes as ‘old’ if they were composed some ten years earlier.”[47] If I were to stipulate reasons why indigenous music has played such important roles in modern Andean social movements, a logical place to start might be simply that the Andean nations have the highest indigenous populations by percentage of any of the countries in the Western Hemisphere. As mentioned above, however, the goal of this paper is to argue the existence of this trend and outline its history, not to explain its causes.

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[45] Michael Lowy and Penelope Duggan, "Marxism and Romanticism in the Work of Jose Carlos Mariátgui," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1998), 86. (http://www.jstor.org)

[46] Klaus Sender, translated by WG, *José Carlos Mariátegui and Cultural Questions of the Peruvian Revolution*, NEUE EINHEIT, Extra 32, June 1997, http://www.neue-einheit.com/english/extras/extra32e.htm

From Violeta Parra’s performances in the *peñas* of Santiago to the unknown indigenous man playing *quena* in the London underground to the anthem for the current president of Bolivia, music has been a life-changing force in the Andes for many years. Armed with lyrics of social struggle and instruments of indigenous tradition, Andean musicians harmonized with leftist movements for the latter half of the twentieth century. This phenomenon continues today. Perhaps the words of a banner that once hung over Dr. Salvador Allende put it best: “No hay revolución sin canciones” (“There is no revolution without songs”).[48]

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[47] Turino, *Moving Away From Silence,* 206

[48] Jan Fairley, “Annotated Bibliography of Latin-American Popular Music with Particular Reference to Chile and to nueva canción,” *Popular Music*, Vol. 5, Continuity and Change (1985), 307.

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