

BLOOMSBURY ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
POPULAR MUSIC
OF THE WORLD
VOLUMES VIII–XIII: GENRES

VOLUME IX
GENRES: CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

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DAVID HORN, HEIDI FELDMAN,
MONA-LYNN COURTEAU,
PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ AND
HETTIE MALCOMSON

B L O O M S B U R Y
LONDON • NEW DELHI • NEW YORK • SYDNEY

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

50 Bedford Square
London
WC1B 3DP
UK

1385 Broadway
New York
NY 10018
USA

www.bloomsbury.com

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First published 2014
Reprinted 2014

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-4411-4197-2
ePDF: 978-1-4411-3225-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India
Printed and bound in Great Britain

Yupanqui, Atahualpa. 'Caminito del indio.' Odeon 00001. 1936: Argentina.

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JAN FAIRLEY

Nueva Canción Chilena

Nueva canción chilena (Chilean New Song) is a vocal and instrumental genre that emerged in Chile in the mid-1960s in the context of movements for social and political change within the country and beyond. Part of a widespread development which saw similar musical trends develop in Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba in the 1960s, *nueva canción chilena* (hereafter NCC) differentiated itself from those trends by integrating influences from other Latin American countries to a greater and wider extent. NCC articulated influences from the vast Andean territory, from Argentinian *nuevo cancionero*, Uruguayan *canto popular*, Cuban *nueva trova* and the folk music of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. In this way, NCC musicians not only manifested the ideal of Latin American integration that was widely present in the 1960s, but also reflected the need felt by Chilean musicians to compensate for the lack of African-derived elements in Chilean

culture and the minimal presence of Amerindian influences in Chilean folk music, two elements highly appreciated by NCC musicians.

Another way in which NCC differed from many other popular music genres in Latin America was that instead of developing from a long, marginalized and anonymous historical process, its existence was predicated on the work of specific authors living in Santiago and had become recognized as such within a few years of its inception, ca. 1966. As such, it had to generate its own production system. Because of this, NCC may be seen not as a genre so much as a musical movement, in which an innovative trend in song-making developed and was disseminated alongside social and political trends that were also innovative and progressive. This was a folk-rooted musical practice based on a political and social platform that had more to do with propagation or propaganda than with broadcasting songs and artists. It placed ideological intervention above market concerns.

NCC received its name in 1969 after the first of three annual festivals of the *nueva canción* organized by disc jockey Ricardo García in Santiago, but the Latin American musical blending that was one of its basic features had already been developed by Violeta Parra (1917–67), beginning in the early 1960s in her work in Paris, Santiago and Concepción. For example, Parra's famous song 'Gracias a la vida' (Thanks to Life) is based on the *sirilla*, a 6/8 genre of Hispanic origin from the south of Chile, but it was composed and performed on the Bolivian *charango* (a small guitar-type instrument prevalent among indigenous and mestizo musicians in the Andes) which became Violeta Parra's trademark instrument at the time.

A second fundamental characteristic of NCC present from its early stages was its engagement with social content, which was given a political impulse by the election of the left-wing government of Salvador Allende in 1970. NCC's political orientation developed in the early 1970s with the support of universities, political parties and the government. With the military coup of September 1973 and the advent of a right-wing dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet, NCC musicians went into exile, developing careers in Europe supported by an international movement that sympathized with the Chilean cause. With the return of democracy to Chile in the late 1980s, the exiled musicians also returned, giving back to the country all the experience and recognition they achieved abroad, but also finding a country with different social priorities and a new generation with different musical interests, more oriented toward rock and pop.

Historical Background and Early Development

When folk music of Hispanic origin was absorbed by the incipient musical industry of the 1920s, a mainstream Chilean genre, later called *música típica* (typical music), was born. The upper classes supported *música típica* because it represented the Western, Catholic and white heritage that they wanted to impose in the country. As urban immigration in Chile increased by the mid-twentieth century, *música típica* came to evoke the 'lost paradise' of the countryside. Meanwhile a new trend in folk music was being developed in Chile and elsewhere, a revival of old genres and repertoire from folklore, called in Chile *proyección folklórica* (folk projection).

The incorporation of remote genres into urban music practices in the *proyección folklórica* of the late 1950s introduced figures from rural and marginalized areas of Chilean society who were previously distant from the concerns of performers and listeners. Performers began to favor references to these types of subjects rather than focusing on autobiographical narratives or references to the listener. Such subjects were also absorbed into mass culture in the early 1960s by neofolklore, a musical trend based on vocal arrangements developed by the recording industry to *modernize* folk music for a new youth audience. In presenting such figures, often characterized by quaint, even strange customs, neofolklore revealed a social dimension with which Chilean popular music had hitherto only rarely engaged. NCC songwriters elaborated upon this dimension in songs such as 'Yo canto la diferencia' (I Sing the Difference) (1960) and 'La carta' (The Letter) (1963) by Violeta Parra; 'El arado' (The Plow) (1966), the first of Víctor Jara's epic songs; and *Sueño Americano* (Latin American Dream) (1966), Patricio Manns's conceptual album.

The movement for the integration of the Latin American continent, influential throughout the century at political, economic and cultural levels, manifested itself strongly in the 1950s and 1960s. This heightened the dissemination and adoption in Chile of music from other parts of Latin America and increased exposure in Chile to songs from all over the continent, especially those of Argentinian, Uruguayan and Cuban *cantautores* (singer-songwriters), such as Atahualpa Yupanqui, Daniel Viglietti and Silvio Rodríguez, who were themselves engaged in the renewal of the popular repertoire and traditional song-making of their countries. Venezuelan songs were also in circulation, and the impact of the movement to update Brazilian song through *bossa nova* and the up-and-coming MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) also began to be felt.

Latin American songs had arrived in Paris at a time when the French capital was becoming the European center for Latin American music. When Violeta Parra and her children Ángel and Isabel were living in Paris from 1961 to 1965, they became familiar with this repertoire and took it back to Chile upon their return. Also, the recording, broadcasting and stardom industries of the Southern Cone, which had already been interconnected for two decades, placed at the disposal of the new mass-mediated folklore a network of business people, radio stations, labels and record distributors. These bolstered the circulation of repertoire and local practices throughout the region, but with some difficulties within Chile (see below).

The first NCC ensembles appeared in 1965, at a time when the interest in neofolklore among Chilean youth was at its peak and the music was receiving good press and music industry support. In this environment, the folklore boom served to foster the early development of NCC ensembles. However, as these groups developed more explicit political agendas, and as the political climate within Chile became more polarized, with the country divided in three thirds – right, center and left – the media and much of the music industry ignored them in the late 1960s, leaving NCC musicians to seek to base their continued development on an alternative to the mainstream industry. Meanwhile, by 1968 the folklore boom in Chile had passed its peak, and the *balada romántica* (romantic pop song) and songs in English had reached their apex of popularity, with Italian, French, Spanish and Argentinian singers touring the country.

Aware of the obstacles to mass-market penetration, members of NCC groups maintained their status as university students and in this way received support from their academic and political environment. Both the expansion of NCC and the university reform process were fed by the expectations of change aroused by the program of 'Revolución en Libertad' (Revolution in Freedom) of the Christian-Democrat government of Eduardo Frei (1964–70). These expectations were expressed by the defense of Latin American cultural independence against the cultural uniformity perceived to be encouraged by the United States during the Cold War.

NCC proved itself too radical for Chile's media and music industry, which at that time had settled into a pattern of loyalty to repertoires that had become entrenched, such as *música típica*, or to new phenomena that originated within the music industry, such as neofolklore and the rockabilly trend of *nueva ola* (new wave). For these reasons, NCC not only received low coverage in the specialized press of the 1960s, but

also attracted little airplay on radio and television, despite having its own label, Dicap (*Discoteca del Cantar Popular*), which was created by the youth section of the Chilean Communist Party in the late 1960s, and being well represented by EMI Odeon and the local label Demon.

However, even the handful of stations sympathetic to NCC could not ignore the immense popularity of the *balada romántica* in Chile, another obstacle to the dissemination of NCC within the country. By 1971, around 100 of the 134 radio stations in Chile were keeping their distance from President Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government, an ally of NCC. This further restricted the dissemination of NCC, which was compelled to find its own way. It did so by developing new performance spaces, such as the *peñas folklóricas* (folk clubs); continuing to establish record labels; organizing song festivals; and obtaining funding from government and universities. These accomplishments were achieved with the support of left-wing sectors of society, as well as that of the university environment, where NCC's most loyal artists, fans and promoters could be found. In the early 1970s the fan base widened to include the working classes; later, during Chile's period of political exile (1973–88), it was to extend to a broader audience across Latin America, in the United States and in Europe.

The *peña folklórica* provided an intimate space in which the distance between the performer and the audience was minimized, as in Parisian cabarets of old. *Peñas folklóricas* were managed by the musicians themselves, as were the Chilean *casas de canto* (song houses) of the early twentieth century. They also existed at the universities, which resulted in the institutionalization of the *guitarreo*, a common student activity of getting together around the guitar to sing and play. The informal nature of the *peña folklórica* meant that musicians could interact with their audiences and try out new songs that might later be recorded. Ensembles would also visit the *peñas* in search of new repertoire, approaching the composers directly to ask them for songs that may have been debuted that very night. Some important *peñas* included the *Peña de los Parra in Santiago* (1965), the *Peña de Valparaíso* (1965) and the *Peña de la Universidad Técnica del Estado* also in Santiago (1966).

As of 1969, Dicap was also selling its releases at performances of its artists at *peñas folklóricas*, universities and labor unions, thus setting up an alternative distribution system that had no intermediaries and functioned parallel to the established record industry. Two years later, the label IRT (the nationalized form of RCA) began following the same model.

Judging by the accounts of people who remember the peak period of NCC and by media reports of the day (González, Ohlsen and Rolle 2009, 110–11), Dicap had built up a constant flow of production and a wide distribution network by the early 1970s. In this way, because NCC was primarily disseminated through live performance and in cultural and political circles (rather than through commercial means), enjoyed little radio and television airplay and eschewed the star system in favor of the songsmith, it did not fit well into the concept of popular music as it had been conceived in the twentieth century. Instead, it was more akin to folkloric and art music, which were similarly restricted at the level of distribution.

The catalyst for the consolidation of NCC as a movement was provided by disc jockey Ricardo García, who decided to quit hosting the *Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar* (1960) because he was unhappy with its commercial nature and its poor engagement with folklore. In 1969 García obtained funding from the Department of Cultural Activities at the Universidad Católica de Chile to organize the first NCC festival. There were two programs on separate stages, one in the gymnasium of the Catholic University and one in the Chile Stadium. This festival, which took place on three occasions up to 1971, was not associated with the music industry or the press, was not sponsored by any radio station, label or publication, and did not have industry representatives to vouch for it. These factors enabled the festival to break with the prevailing idea that song festivals ought to be competitive and commercial. Instead, it created an alternative platform for the professionalization of this music, which helped consolidate it as a movement that was to prove of central importance in the subsequent history of popular music in Chile and Latin America.

Musical and Lyrical Characteristics

NCC's development included input from both solo artists and instrumental groups. The solo artists composed their own songs and later came to be known as *cantautores* (singer-songwriters). They also performed each other's as well as songs by additional Chilean and Latin American singer-songwriters and from folklore. Chilean *cantautoría* (singing-songwriting) of the 1960s had its roots in rural peasant song and poetry, drawing from the Argentine and Uruguayan *cantautoría* of the time but also developing its own characteristics based on many different influences, local as well as from a number of Latin American countries, as we have seen. Along with Violeta Parra, the most important artists were

Patricio Manns (1937), who was also well known as a writer; Víctor Jara (1932–73), who was also a theater director and artistic director of NCC groups; Rolando Alarcón (1929–73), a school teacher and a folk researcher; Isabel Parra (b. 1939) and Ángel Parra (b. 1943), children of Violeta Parra and active promoters of NCC; and from the port city of Valparaíso, Osvaldo ‘Gitano’ Rodríguez (1943–96) and Gonzalo ‘Payo’ Grondona (b. 1945).

Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara came from different creative spheres but shared a common interest in imbuing popular music with Chilean and Latin American folklore, experimenting with language and intertwining music with drama and dance. Violeta Parra took the first step in the late 1950s with her five ‘Anticuecas’ for solo guitar, which incorporated a modern harmonic language, and her 12-minute-long ‘El gavilán’ for guitar and voice. Víctor Jara took the second step with ‘Doncella encantada’ (1962), an innovative dance piece for two guitars.

In their songs, Chilean *cantautores* made little use of local folk genres, instead delving into wider Latin American repertoire to find new genres that they could blend with total freedom. Familiar with the hegemonic 6/8 + 3/4 pattern from Chilean folklore, they adopted genres that had a similar meter, such as the Argentine *zamba*, the Paraguayan *guarania* and the Mexican *huapango*. Another characteristic feature of their songs was the use of Dorian, Aeolian and Mixolydian modes, also present in folklore. In addition, the links between Chile and Cuba in the 1970s allowed the *cantautores* to learn about Cuban genres, such as the *son* and the *guaracha*, and incorporate these into their songs. Both the Chilean *cantautores* and the NCC groups also broadened their repertoire with songs from the Mexican Revolution and the Spanish Civil War.

While Chilean *cantautores* supported and collaborated with one another and, because they lived off their work, were able to establish NCC as a professional option, NCC ensembles by contrast were student groups who only turned their work into a profession after they went into exile. The main ensembles of NCC were Quilapayún (formed in 1965), Inti-illimani (formed in 1967 at the Universidad Técnica del Estado during the reform process), Aparcoa (1966), Amerindios (1969) and Illapu (1970) from Antofagasta. Most of their names are in indigenous languages as an expression of empathy with the native peoples of Latin America. All of them wore *ponchos*, a distinctive clothing of the native people of the Americas. These groups participated in a circuit of university folk clubs, university theaters and political meetings. For

the first time, radio shows – still active in Chile in the late 1960s, but with a format related to the star system – were not an option for a Chilean band.

The histories of each of these groups were intertwined with that of the NCC and involved permanent dialogues with the *cantautores* in terms of aesthetics, ideology and production. NCC groups were supported by the professional *cantautores*, who served as their artistic directors and taught them to play Latin American instruments and songs, and by composers who wrote and arranged for them. Some of the groups’ members were music students, placing an emphasis on the development of the instrumental side of the music and the arrangements and constantly pursuing innovation and diversity. Group members managed their own artistic careers, placing political and artistic interests above commercial ones.

The NCC groups injected new energy into folklore-based popular music in Chile, taking neofolklore’s use of the guitar to new levels and adding many Latin American instruments to their ensemble, with a clear Andean primacy. They used cordophones such as the Bolivian *charango* (ten double-string lute), Colombian *tiple* (guitar with four triple strings), Venezuelan *cuatro* (small guitar with four single strings) and Mexican *guitarrón* (large guitar with six single strings used as double bass); aerophones such as the Andean *queña* (end-notch flute) and *zampoña* (double panpipe) and Ecuadorean *rondador* (single panpipe); and membranophones and idiophones from all over Latin America.

Though the Andean region encompasses a wide variety of local cultures and languages, the Andean mountains themselves have served as a natural path to integrate that diversity. This first happened during the Inca Empire (1438–1533), which built roads to link its expansive territories; and then during the Spanish colonial era (1533–1810), whose rulers used the same Inca roads to administer their own empire. In time, these roads would also allow interaction among dominated Andean cultures. The Inca and the Spanish thus transformed the Andes into the dorsal spine of South America, through which both Quechua and Catholic influences spread. These influences come from the common threads of the music and culture of a vast region, which covers the north of Chile and Argentina, most of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, and the south of Colombia. As a consequence, throughout this whole area we find descending pentatonic scales, predominant binary rhythms, speeding cadential tempos, common indigenous, mestizo and Western instruments, the practice of Carnival, and the worship of the Virgin Mary and patron saints.

The features of Andean music running through NCC symbolized social and cultural unity in Latin America and the championing of indigenous expression. For international audiences, Andean music acted as a major signifier of Latin America in general and little by little it came to be adopted by the NCC groups. A *charango*, a *bombo* (Argentinian bass drum) and a *quena* were all that was needed to play a vast repertoire that drew nations together and demonstrated solidarity with those excluded from modernity. What is more, Andean music served as the central core of Latin American music as a whole in terms of its performance in Europe or the United States to a public interested in the traditions of the continent.

The vocal ensemble of NCC was more robust and had a more homophonic texture than that of neofolklore since it did away with the soloist, in this way creating a collective and cohesive sound that reflected the concept of unity of the people promoted by the NCC groups. Just as neofolklore groups such as Los Cuatro Cuartos and Las Cuatro Brujas from the early 1960s became known for their vocal arrangements, NCC groups became known for their instrumental arrangements. Their members not only played the many different Latin American instruments named above, they also used them in two ways: by following traditional practice and by exploring new uses and sonorities. In this way, the ensembles – following the lead of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara – developed fusions of Latin American practices, genres and instruments to produce the distinctive sound that constituted an important aspect of NCC's legacy.

Jara's instrumental work 'La partida' (The Farewell) for instance, recorded by Inti-illimani in 1972, is scored for *quena*, *charango*, two *tiples*, two standard guitars, *bombo*, tambourine, maracas, claves and tubular bells, mainly instruments of Andean, Creole and Caribbean origins. Jara also uses this unusual blending of instruments from different cultural settings in a non-idiomatic fashion. In this work, we find harmonic pedals and chromatic harmony, and the use of harmony as instrumental color. This modernist impulse in the development of a popular music with folk roots is another central feature of NCC thoroughly developed by groups such as Quilapayún in the 1980s.

As early as 1966, Patricio Manns, in his position as writer and analyst of the Chilean musical scene in the press, took on the task of elucidating the principles that were NCC's main source of inspiration, and published a sort of manifesto in the youth magazine *Ritmo*. In his text, Manns proclaimed the importance of improving the quality of songs being written

within the country and endorsed a new movement in Chilean music that would work toward this goal. Manns called for songs to exhibit greater depth and meaning, but without compromising the new opportunities created by the commercial success of neofolklore. Singers were admonished to turn their gaze to their surroundings in order to take up topics specific to Chile.

The emphasis on the poetic quality of the songs encouraged NCC musicians to set existing Chilean and Latin American poetry to music, but also to write lyrics of poetic content themselves. They continued the focus on rural and marginalized figures who had been a central feature of neofolklore, but placed greater emphasis on details of their marginalized condition. The setting of the song moved to the extremes of the country, a land of inclement weather, and into the outskirts of the city. In those extreme settings, a working-class or a mestizo subject was presented struggling for better living conditions. NCC musicians also wrote love songs, articulating love and social commitment, and songs engaging with the political issues of their time.

Relationships

The NCC movement was also involved in theater and the visual arts, developing its own progressive aesthetic within mass culture. Graphic design acquired new social meaning with the development of posters that became collectibles within youth culture, incorporating references to Californian hippie culture and Cuban political pamphlets. In Chile, one important graphic arts workshop was that of Vicente and Antonio Larrea, who, between 1967 and 1973 produced approximately 120 record covers for Dicap, 300 poster designs and numerous photographs of NCC artists, giving expression to their new style of design. This style incorporated elements of Pop Art, Psychedelic Art, Social Realism and high-contrast photography, as well as local influences including political muralism, primitive xylographic designs and historical photography.

As part of its mingling with the artistic world, a central element to understanding the NCC phenomenon was the relationship that it established between popular musicians and conservatory-trained composers, be it in the form of mutual learning opportunities or ideological commonalities. The focal point of this intersection was the Escuela Musical Vespertina (Vespers Music School) of the University of Chile (1966–73). People of all ages with no prior musical education could attend classes given by the main composers of the time. Material that normally took long years of

study at the conservatory was taught intensively at the Escuela Musical Vespertina, in accordance with popular musicians' ability to learn quickly and with their status as mature students.

Eager to broaden their audiences and incorporate elements into their music that would link them with society in a more direct manner, three Chilean composers of the mid-twentieth-century generation – Gustavo Becerra (1925–2010), Luis Advis (1935–2004) and Sergio Ortega (1938–2003) – entered into productive relationships with NCC. In the late 1960s these composers began producing large-scale popular works, often in collaboration with NCC groups. The performance of these works allowed for new levels of interaction between the oral and the written and between the creative process and performance, establishing a new means of working that has continued to be used in Chile into the twenty-first century.

The preferred format for these works was the revived Italian secular cantata of the end of the seventeenth century – with its arias, duets, recitatives and choral textures – which had been brought back by Neoclassical composers of the 1920s. Thus, at the end of the 1960s, a process began that brought an antiquated musical form, already revived by concert music, closer to popular music, using it to relate historical events and pay tribute to well-known figures within the artistic and political worlds. The first of these works, and the most important because of its staying power and subsequent influence, was the cantata *Santa María del Iquique* (1970) by Luis Advis and the group Quilapayún. Other major works included *Canto general* (1970), a setting of Pablo Neruda texts by the group Aparcoa; *La fragua* (The Forge [1972]) by Sergio Ortega; and *Canto para una semilla* (Song for a Seed [1972]) by Luis Advis, based on texts by Violeta Parra, performed by Inti-illimani and Isabel Parra.

Within this climate of affiliation with art, popular musicians moved decisively toward the creation of instrumental music with high levels of sophistication. Three factors came together in the rise of instrumental music within the context of NCC: the existence of instrumental music in Andean culture, which fed strongly into the NCC movement, as we have seen, and appeared in the work of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara; the use of instrumental music as incidental music for theater and dance; and the exploration of the possibilities of the guitar, NCC's central instrument.

Because of its receptiveness to songs from all over Latin America and its affinity with the world of art, NCC acquired cultural and learned overtones. This, along with its links with oppositional political

ideologies of the 1960s, attracted the attention of intellectual circles, both within Chile and abroad. In this way, even though NCC did not achieve mass acceptance in the way *música típica* did, for example, with the passage of time it became the source of more written discourse and reflection than any other popular music of Chile.

Scholarship

From the book by Fernando Barraza (1972) to this Encyclopedia, several articles, dissertations, and autobiographic, journalistic and academic books have been published in Chile, France, Great Britain, United States, Spain, Italy and elsewhere on Chilean New Song and its artists. Musicology, history, sociology, cultural studies, literature and journalism have joined in an effort to elucidate the musical, literary, social, political, cultural and historical features of NCC. Figures such as Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara have been the most studied both in Chile and abroad during the exile and after the return of democracy.

A comprehensive study of the life and musical style of Víctor Jara was published in a collective book (Acevedo et al. 1996), while some articles published by *Revista Musical Chilena* since the 1990s include musical analytical approaches to the work of Violeta Parra. Books on the other NCC artists, such as Quilapayún (Carrasco 1988), Inti-illimani (Cifuentes 1989) and Isabel Parra (Parra 2003), are mostly autobiographical. A musical study of the features of NCC was published by Luis Advis (1998) and studies on its relation to art music, rock and folklore were published by Becerra (1985), Salas (2003) and González et al. (2009) respectively. Studies on the industry that supported NCC are found in Bravo et al. (2009), Castillo et al. (2006), González et al. (2009) and Larrea et al. (1997).

Later Developments

The military coup of 1973 led to the death of Víctor Jara as a prisoner in the Chile Stadium of Santiago (a gymnasium, since 2004 called Víctor Jara Stadium) and the exile of all other NCC artists. Until the late 1970s, these artists engaged in political activism abroad and fully expected to return home. New groups were created, but they did not last long. By the early 1980s, the exiled NCC artists, especially the Parra brothers and Quilapayún in France and Inti-illimani in Italy had begun to 'unpack their bags' and integrate into the European circuit. In this way, they continued to work on the project of developing and renewing folklore that they had begun in Chile, and in so doing reached high levels of artistic development.

During their exile in Europe (1973–89), Inti-illimani and Quilapayún continued the process of extending folk roots, begun in Chile in the early 1960s, by incorporating Mediterranean influences, especially from Italy and Spain, into the mix. This unexpected expansion of Latin American roots, emphasizing the search for universals of folklore (something that ethnomusicology had already tried to systematize in the 1970s), needed to be justified only to the musicians themselves and not to the far-away Chilean public. Both Inti-illimani and Quilapayún augmented their own repertoires, inviting classical and popular musicians to create, perform and record with them. These groups achieved full recognition in the European scene of the 1980s, doing so with the support of an international audience base that sympathized with the Chilean political cause, and to which the musicians offered their synthesis of Latin American music and highly professional performances. The theme of exile entered their repertoire in songs such as ‘Vuelvo’ (I’m Coming Back) by Inti-illimani, ‘Ni toda la tierra entera’ (Not Even the Whole Earth) by Isabel Parra, ‘Cuando me acuerdo de mi país’ (When I Remember My Country) by Patricio Manns and ‘Vuelvo para vivir’ (I’m Coming Back to Live Here), by Illapu.

With the end of Pinochet’s dictatorship in 1988, most of these exiled artists returned to Chile, where they were warmly received by their home audience and reintegrated into Chile’s cultural life. However, new social, cultural and political scenarios and the changed musical orientations of the new generation (more toward pop-rock) left NCC singer-songwriters and groups without the media coverage and the public attention that they deserved. The new century brought an unexpected situation for the two main NCC groups: a division due to internal conflicts. One part of Quilapayún remained in Paris and the other in Santiago. All Inti-illimani musicians remained in Chile, but they too were divided, in two groups: Inti-illimani and Inti-illimani histórico (Historical Inti-illimani).

A new way of understanding folk roots was to mark the renewal of the national music scene in the first decade of the twenty-first century, continuing the trend of Chilean musicians and public of incorporating world music into their practice and consumption. Those responsible were a third generation of Chilean singer-songwriters, who came on the scene in the 1990s, such as Francisco Villa (b. 1967), Manuel García (b. 1970), Chinoy (b. 1983), Nano Stern (b. 1985) and Camila Moreno (b. 1985), among others. For these *cantautores*, folk roots do not need their own particular land or soil; rather they are *hydroponically*

fed by a mediated and universal folklore. With this generation, roots began to be a personal choice rather than a collective heritage, generating social networks of personal choices that find in music its most effective medium to knit communities from margins and divergence.

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JUAN PABLO GONZÁLEZ

Nuevo Cancionero (Argentina)

The Movimiento del Nuevo Cancionero (New Songbook Movement) originated in Argentina in the early 1960s, leading to the creation of music that was widely disseminated in subsequent decades to the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean. The movement was initiated by a group of poets and musicians, joined later by singer-songwriters and folklore-oriented groups. Movements with similar characteristics appeared in Uruguay and Chile (*nueva canción chilena*); in Paraguay, Nicaragua and Mexico there emerged the so-called *canción testimonial* and in Cuba the *nueva trova*. All these movements shared an opposition to musical production that followed the logic of pure commercialism and expressed a left-wing ideological posture within the historical context of revolutionary movements in Latin America during the twentieth century.

In Argentina, the historical context in which the *nuevo cancionero* movement developed was marked by the ideological struggle between diverse social groups with opposing views about the country's economical and political future, a struggle which crossed over into the intellectual and cultural spheres. It was also a period in which, internationally, the effects of the Cold War had repercussions in Latin America. In the mid-1970s in Argentina, the political struggle resulted in a violent escalation, ending in a new *coup d'état* that brought to power a right-wing military dictatorship, which ruled from 1976 to 1983. During this period, the majority of the musicians who represented the *nuevo cancionero* movement and were involved in political activities suffered from systematic censorship and persecution, which led them to exile in various European countries.

The Goals of Nuevo Cancionero

In 1963 in the town of Mendoza, a group of Argentinian musicians, poets and composers wrote and published the *Manifiesto Fundacional del Movimiento del Nuevo Cancionero* (Manifesto for the Foundation of the *Nuevo Cancionero* Movement). In this document they articulated their position in favor of the defense of freedom of expression and formulated the basis for the renovation of popular music, exhorting artists and intellectuals to work together to find better means of aesthetic expression. The *Manifiesto*