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# MUSIC AS MEMORY AND TORTURE: SOUNDS OF REPRESSION AND PROTEST IN CHILE AND ARGENTINA

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“Few cultural movements,” writes Albrecht Moreno, “have had as profound an effect on the social histories of their time as has the New Song movement in Chile” (108). Nueva Canción, as the music was called, played a significant political role in the periods preceding and during Salvador Allende’s socialist Unidad Popular government in Chile. This new type of folk/protest music supported the emergence of Allende’s Popular Front. Singer-songwriters and bands such as Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Inti-Illimani, Patricio Manns, Quilapayún, Margot Loyola, Grupo Cuncumén and others criticized the exploitation of the working class while exalting populist socialism.<sup>1</sup> Nueva Canción, then, was both oppositional and supportive—it took form as a movement that protested injustice at the same time as it supported the establishment of Allende’s government. The new song movement quickly became a Pan-Latin American phenomenon, a call for social justice from the Left.

Chilean Nueva Canción’s left-wing political agenda overlapped with a discursive project of cultural recovery and memory. Musicians in the Nueva Canción movement embraced indigenous instruments and rhythms thus rejecting both the imperialism associated with U.S. popular culture and the Latin American elite’s dismissal of indigenous culture. Poncho-wearing musicians sang Andean songs in rallies, striving to bring “the people” together to change a government that benefited a small ruling class over the masses of impoverished Chileans. In some cases, songs recalled specific injustices from history, in others they resurrected musically a sometimes mythical autochthonous past. “Their task,” writes Mark Mattern, “was to ‘recover the past,’ to ‘recover the memory of their origins’ and to find their ‘lost race’” (40). Whereas the Chilean elite had traditionally rejected or ignored indigenous culture and any notion that they might have native roots, new song artists celebrated a connection with indigenous history. Rejecting capitalism and valorizing an idealized version of traditional culture, *nueva canción* asserted a new version of Chilean identity.

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<sup>1</sup>Violeta Parra committed suicide in 1967, almost three years before Allende won the presidency. She is credited, nevertheless, for having catalyzed interest in Chilean folk music on a national level, essentially founding the Nueva Canción movement. For an analysis of her role in popularizing Chilean folk music and her subsequent influence on the Nueva Canción movement, see Moreno. On Nueva Canción and Canto Nuevo see Morris. See also Mattern, chapter 3.

When the (U.S.-supported) coup of September 11, 1973 ousted the Allende government and those who sympathized with it, the military also declared war on, and with, music. The reasons for this extend beyond the purely symbolic. The combination of music's sonic, textual and symbolic properties affect a person's psychological and emotional balance. During the coup, the military temporarily replaced television and radio programming with Nazi march music. Víctor Jara was assassinated five days later in a prison camp that the military established in Santiago's Estadio Chile. (In 1998 the Fundación Víctor Jara presented a petition to the Chilean government with several thousand signatures asking that the stadium be renamed officially "Estadio Víctor Jara." On September 12, 2003 the stadium was officially renamed). Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún happened to be touring outside of Chile at the time of the coup and they remained in exile for years. From one day to another *Nueva Canción* was outlawed in Chile. Musicians in exile continued to play their music. They continued to sing many of the same songs, but in the postcoup context this music took on a new meaning. Now, instead of a populist movement that was supporting the emergence of a new Chilean version of socialism (via the symbolic recovery of Chilean roots), the music became a postcoup cry of protest from exile.

In this context, musicians attempted to garner support from outside of Chile and to decry the violence that was taking place in their homeland. The band, Inti-Illimani, for example, released the lp album *¡Viva Chile!* from exile in Italy in 1973. The album includes many of the songs that called for and celebrated the Unidad Popular's rise to power. The songs "Venceremos," the hymn of the UP, "Canción del poder popular" and "Cueca del C.U.T.," all celebrate the power of the Chilean working class. "La segunda independencia" links the struggle in Chile to populist movements throughout Latin America. The album jacket includes the poem "Cómo en España" by Spanish poet Rafael Alberti equating the murder of Allende with the rise of Francisco Franco: "Al fin, los mismos en Chile que en España." *¡Viva Chile!*—a text comprised of music, lyrics, graphic art and liner notes—located the Chilean crisis within a larger global sphere. As Moreno points out, the Chilean military's war on *Nueva Canción* ironically resulted in the internationalization of the music and its cause: "Since the music had heretofore been pretty much confined to Chile, this internationalizing of *La Nueva Canción* is certainly one of the more ironic accomplishments of the military coup" (121). Exile allowed for continued freedom of expression, expanded international solidarity and a continuation of *Nueva Canción*'s focus as protest music.

In Chile, *Nueva Canción* had been essentially silenced from 1973-75 when it began to re-emerge in limited and coded expressions of solidarity (Torres). The reappearance of protest music represented another kind of recovery process. Through music, Chileans attempted to reconstitute a political identity that had been forced underground. The dictatorship silenced *Nueva Canción*, fusing the banned music with the politically precarious memory of the UP. The reappearance of *peñas* and music in public bore witness to "la recomposición de una memoria trizada y una identidad política puesta en entredicho por el autoritarismo" (Torres, 206). In 1976, Ricardo García (founder of Sello Alerce records) coined the term "*Canto Nuevo*" for this new postcoup incarnation of New Song music. García explains that he sought a new name for the movement that would be easy to remember and that would evoke the memory of *Nueva Canción*: "Buscamos muchos nombres que cumplieran con dos requisitos: que fuera fácil de retener y que sugiera una vinculación con la Nueva Canción Chilena" (quoted in Torres, 218 note 17). Note the double importance of memory implied in the name and its place in history. "*Canto Nuevo*" arose as a process both to recall and regenerate—to remember—the music and political movements that had been severed by the coup. This new arm of *música comprometida* developed, by necessity, more sophisticated mechanisms of poetic

discourse. As Mattern points out, in order to effectively critique the authoritarian government *canto nuevo* needed the protection of carefully coded metaphors.

*Canto Nuevo* innovated musically on the tradition of Nueva Canción by incorporating the use of electric instruments, especially guitars and keyboards as well as drum kits. *Canto Nuevo* also borrowed rhythmically and harmonically from pop and jazz. Whereas the (now coded) political content of *canto nuevo* was inherited from Nueva Canción, the music also was influenced by Cuban *nueva trova* (Silivio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés and others). Such a search for musical origins reveals the historical convolutions of cultural exchange. Cuban *nueva trova*, for example, had also previously received considerable influence from Chilean Nueva Canción (and other related musical movements that emerged from within Cuba and throughout Latin America). *Canto Nuevo*, then, served to remember Nueva Canción, music that before the coup recalled the history of oppression while discursively recovering the memory of indigenous America.

Given the significance that music has played in Chilean politics, it comes as no surprise that music often figures centrally in Chilean literature. Antonio Skarmeta's short novel, *No pasó nada* (1980), narrates the story of an exiled Chilean adolescent named Lucho who is living in West Berlin, Germany. The first person narrative constitutes a "novel of education," it is a novel that represents Lucho's struggle (hence his name) to discover who he is and how he fits into the larger sociopolitical context of the world at large. Lucho struggles with raging hormones at the same time as he struggles to adapt to life in Germany and to come to terms with his life in exile. He struggles to understand and consummate his sexual urges at the same time as he fights, physically, with competing German adolescents. A fight with a boy named Hans constitutes the dramatic climax of the novel. Ultimately the two become close friends.

Music plays a key role throughout *No pasó nada*. In the novel's opening paragraph we learn that Lucho was forced to abandon a new guitar after the coup and that he has given up on his dream to become a musician:

El 13 de septiembre era mi cumpleaños y mi papi me regaló una guitarra. Yo entonces quería ser cantante... Con los amigos del barrio cantábamos en la esquina y queríamos formar un conjunto para tocar en las fiestas de los liceos. Pero nunca pude tocar la guitarra... (76)

Politics didn't have anything to do with his original interest in music. For Lucho, music represented a form of entertainment that he could share with his friends. When he moves to Berlin, Lucho learns German by listening to contemporary German pop music. His first romantic crush falls on a girl named Sophie who works in a record store, the Elektrola Musikhaus. Ultimately though, Lucho decides that pop music lacks depth. He realizes that he never really loved Sophie and that it is not necessary to sing pop songs to acquire a girlfriend: "Recién ahora me doy cuenta que uno no necesita saber cantar tonterías para conseguirse una amiguita... Después aprendí que ni palabras se necesitan" (90-91). Over time Lucho becomes aware of the process of manipulation that the pop music industry uses to shape youth identity: "Yo creo que había sacado esa idea de las revistas donde siempre los cantantes populares aparecían fotografiados con chicas lindas" (91). Music in *No pasó nada*, runs a parallel course to Lucho's emotional and intellectual maturation. First a vehicle for dream and fantasy, music subsequently becomes a language that is charged with political content.

At one point in the novel Lucho attends a massive protest against the dictatorship and the crowd rallies around the song "Venceremos." When a German man asks Lucho to explain the lyrics to him we find out that the boy does not know the words or understand the song:

El señor Kramer me soltó del hombro y cantó el estribillo, pero nada más que la parte que dice ‘venceremos’ y después me miró a mí para que le cantara el resto, pero no hubo caso, y tuve que hacerle así con los hombros que no había caso, porque parece mentira pero jamás me la he podido aprender. Y es que no entiendo bien la letra. Por ejemplo no sé lo que es el crisol de la historia, ni quién es el soldado valiente. Me dio vergüenza... (113)

Lucho’s confusion stems not only from his age but also derives from the horizon of his recently lived experiences. Soldiers, from the perspective of a Chilean boy who’s family lives in exile, would connote anything but bravery and valor. This scene underscores the transition of *nueva canción* to an international movement from exile, and furthermore exemplifies the manner in which music and musical movements change meaning for younger generations over the course of time.

The above scene also represents a series of embedded conflicts within conflicts and in so doing reiterates the dramatic structure of *No pasó nada*: Lucho needs to discover the meaning of the song, while struggling to understand who he is and how his life fits in with the political conflicts that surround him. By the end of the novella, Lucho not only understands the lyrics and the broad political context that has given a particular shape to his life, but he is able to transmit this knowledge to others (his former archrival Hans and his new girlfriend Edith).

“Venceremos” is of course a real song by Sergio Ortega, that served as the rally anthem for Allende’s Unidad Popular in Chile (for impressive images of massive crowds singing and marching to “Venceremos” in the streets of Santiago see Patricio Guzman’s first documentary film, *La batalla de Chile* [1975]). The lyrics of “Venceremos” can be seen as a musical time capsule, *un crisol de la historia*—a reflection of the atmosphere and rhetoric of the Chilean socialist movement. As the title suggests, the song attempts to create faith in popular unity amongst workers, farmers and students:

Venceremos, venceremos  
Mil cadenas habrá que romper  
Venceremos, venceremos  
La miseria sabremos vencer!

Clearly written before the feminist movement—women figure into the song almost as an after thought:

Campesinos, soldados, mineros  
La mujer de la patria también

The popular march both predicts a socialist victory and invites the community to participate together in the joint project of history:

Sembraremos las tierras de gloria  
Socialista será el porvenir  
Todos juntos seremos la historia  
A cumplir, a cumplir, a cumplir

Note the persistent use of the future tense. “Venceremos” represented an effort to literally make history, to celebrate the Unidad Popular, and in so doing to endorse and create a socialist future.

Skarmeta’s historical novel represents Chilean history through a historical song in a fictional narrative. The plot moves from the Unidad Popular to the period of military dictatorship. In so doing, *No pasó nada* calls attention to the mnemonic function of music as a vehicle to remember both the dreams of a precoup socialist past and subsequently the abrupt terminus of these dreams that resulted from the coup. At the same time Skarmeta’s novel exemplifies the protagonizing role

that music plays in the formation of identity. Music does not simply reflect a pregiven identity but rather, as Simon Frith has argued, functions as part of the process of identity formation. We cannot simply look at music to find a fixed reflection of Lucho. Pop music and *nueva canción* in exile contribute towards the formation of Lucho and by extension a generation of Chileans that shared similar experiences.

As part of Patricio Guzmán's documentary, "Chile, memoria obstinada" (1997), the filmmaker commissioned a band of Chilean young people to play "Venceremos" while marching through the center of Santiago. This was purportedly the first time that the song had been played publicly in Chile in over 23 years. Although the band plays the song without lyrics, a great number of people immediately recognize the characteristic melody and rhythm of the socialist march. Reactions of onlookers vary from jubilation to anger and fear. No matter what a Chilean listener's political perspective, this song triggers memories—memories of the Unidad Popular, of the coup, and of those that disappeared during the dictatorship. For Chileans on the Right, these memories constitute a political thorn; they would prefer to ignore the military's excessive use of force (excesses, which they insist were committed by both sides in what they describe as a "war") and to celebrate instead the triumphs of neoliberalism.

Guzmán's exploration of Chile's relationship with its history underscores the fact that memory changes over time and can disappear from one generation to another. Young Chileans who were born during the dictatorship often have never even heard "Venceremos." In Skarmeta's novel, Lucho embodies a bridge between these different generations. Although he was originally unaware of the song's political meaning, his experiences in exile shape his political consciousness as well as his taste and understanding of music.

The short story, "El clarevidente," by the Chilean writer Gustavo González Rodríguez (published in *Pasión por la música*, a collection of stories that entered a competition for literature focusing on music), exemplifies how successive generations experience music differently. The story focuses on the manner in which music can function obsessively as both the memory and symbol of a particular time in history. The protagonist, Antonio, falls in love with a young folk singer named Valentina during the time of the Unidad Popular. They spend a night together, performing Violeta Parra songs at a *peña* and subsequently making love. Political work for the Unidad Popular keeps them apart for a time and when the coup takes place they go into exile to different parts of the world.

Antonio spends his exile dreaming nostalgically about his long-lost love and when he returns to Chile fifteen years later he encounters a different (neoliberal) country and different music:

Retorné definitivamente cuando comenzaba la campaña del No para el plebiscito del 88. Los Prisioneros y Sol y Lluvia marcaron mis primeros reencuentros con el país, dándole contradictorias tonalidades a mi afán de cerrar un paréntesis de quince años de lejanía sin encontrar raíces de las que volver a afirmarme, escéptico como llegaba con respecto a la política y atado a una lejana noche de 1972 en el amor. (108)

When he finds out that Valentina lives in Santiago he eventually gathers the nerve to visit. The scene at the door bodes for a nostalgic reencounter with paradise lost: "Toqué el timbre, se abrió la puerta y allí estaba" (109). The image is an illusion, however, "era y no era la Vale. La misma piel mate de entonces, tersa y sin señales del paso de los años. El mismo rostro de frente abierta, pómulos suaves y perfil recto. Los labios tal vez un poco más carnosos, con los grandes ojos que ya no eran pardos, sino grises (109). The apparition in the threshold is Valentina's daughter, Violeta, who constitutes a trace of the past both in her physical appearance and in her name. She

is a living memory on two levels: Whereas her name evokes the memory of Violeta Parra, her appearance brings back memories of Valentina and their shared experiences, political and amorous, and the overlap of their encounters with music. Antonio's nostalgia for Nueva Canción grows from personal and historical memory, his intimate relationship with Valentina and the inseparable memory of the Unidad Popular—the collective dream of justice through democratic socialism in Chile.

Ironically, Violeta knows nothing about her namesake, *nueva canción* or *canto nuevo*. Violeta is a heavy metal fan, particularly fond of the British band, Iron Maiden. When the real Valentina returns home Antonio realizes that the woman he has loved obsessively for years exists only in his memory. Today's Valentina wears high heels and makeup, works in an office, wears a uniform and no longer plays guitar or sings. "El canto," she tells him, "es cosa del pasado" (112).

Her daughter's predilection for Iron Maiden underscores the extent to which taste in popular music has changed over time in Chile. In spite of heavy metal's association with head-bashing nihilism, Violeta's interest in Iron Maiden does not reflect a criticism of youth culture. To the contrary, Iron Maiden has a reputation of philosophical, religious, political and intellectual depth. Antonio is originally ignorant of this aspect. When looking at the album cover he asks Violeta if the group is "satánico" (110). She mocks his ignorance, explaining that Iron Maiden's emblematic monster, "Eddie," is "capaz de asustar a la reina Isabel y de estrangular a Margaret Thatcher" (110). Whereas Iron Maiden epitomizes contemporary cynicism, Violeta explains the band, as well as the fear and rejection it provokes, as another instance of a centuries-long phenomenon of discrimination:

Los que le cuelgan a Iron Maiden el rótulo de satánico son los herederos de la Inquisición. En la Edad Media inventaron a las brujas para alimentar sus hogueras. Después torturaron a Galileo y más tarde quemaron libros y mataron a los comunistas. Hoy no saben nada mejor que perseguir a los rockeros. Satán es una criatura de ellos. (110-11)

Seen in this way, the character's understanding of Iron Maiden demonstrates certain compatibilities with the social and political agenda of Violeta Parra and Nueva Canción. Time has passed and the musical opposition to authoritarianism manifests a markedly different (non-Chilean) style, but we still see a Chilean youth culture identifying with music while denouncing the abuse of power. As the protagonist says, he went searching for his past and encountered to his surprise "una Violeta postmoderna" (111).

The story underscores music as memory and juxtaposes remembrance to the cumulative attrition of memory and the past. For Antonio, who lives in the past, Nueva Canción constitutes a framework to support his memory of the time before the coup. Years of dictatorship and censorship in Chile, resulted in a kind of cultural amnesia causing the early protest music, and then *canto nuevo*, to disappear from mass public attention. When Inti-Illimani returned from exile they played a massive outdoor concert in Santiago's *Parque de la Bandera* on September 23, 1988. More than 250,000 people were said to attend the concert (personal communication from Jorge Coulon, March 25, 2003). *Canto nuevo's* popularity has since waned in Chile, however, and even Inti-Illimani now plays for much smaller audiences. Mattern points out that *canto nuevo's* strict identification with the past ironically destabilized the music's political force:

The dilemma of *canto nuevo* lay in the tension between, on the one hand, its role of political remembrance and maintenance of democratic identity and community and, on the other, its tendency to become confined, in terms of mass appeal, to politically impotent nostalgia. Ironically, the role of *canto nuevo* in keeping mem-

ories alive also partly defined its failure. By looking backward it defined itself at least initially in nostalgic terms that failed to connect with the contemporary concerns of many youth. (63-64)

This is not to say that all Chilean music lost its critical edge. As the narrator of “El clarevidente” mentions, the group Los Prisioneros became representative of a new type of musical resistance in Chile during the 1980’s.

Although Los Prisioneros’s version of punk-rock referred only tangentially to politics (through the band’s name for example) they played an important part in the prodemocracy movement of the 80’s. Their song, “La voz de los 80” (1984), became a young-person’s anthem. The song does not explicitly talk about Pinochet or the plebescite, but rather alludes to big changes that are on their way in Chile:

Algo grande está naciendo  
en la década de los ochenta

This “something big,” requires that young Chileans leave behind the inertia of the 70’s and that they band together to form a new force:

Deja la inercia de los setenta  
abre los ojos ponte de pie  
escucha el latido, sintoniza el sonido  
agudiza tus sentidos date cuenta  
que estás vivo.

The song is both a reflection of young people’s identity in Chile of the 1980’s and also an invitation to join the movement. The song’s refrain—“Ya viene la fuerza la voz de los ochenta”—documents the political changes that were taking place in Chile. The song’s emphasis on imperative command forms

Deja la inercia  
abre los ojos ponte de pie  
escucha el latido, sintoniza el sonido  
agudiza tus sentidos date cuenta  
que estás vivo

represents an example of popular music’s constitutive relationship with identity. “La voz de los 80” narrates and describes the political changes taking place at this time in Chile. The song also advises people how to participate, albeit in loose ambiguous terms. “La voz de los 80,” simultaneously builds the very prodemocracy movement that it describes.

Los Prisioneros play an electric urban-style of music that alludes to contemporary conditions in Chile. Their song, “Las industrias” insists that the factories that emit choking pollution into Santiago’s air should move elsewhere. “¿Por qué no se van?” underscores the tensions between dissatisfied Chileans who returned from exile vis a vis others who have suffered through years of dictatorship. “Dando patadas,” evokes the alienation of a generation of young Chileans who, though educated, have no hope of finding a job. Clearly the music of Los Prisioneros is less overtly political than Nueva Canción and *canto nuevo*. Los Prisioneros don’t sing about creating a workers’ paradise and their songs don’t explicitly refer to the dictatorship. On the other hand, by singing about what is wrong with Chile (unemployment, pollution, a generation of alienated youths etc.) they undercut the Dictatorship’s official discourse that all was in order in the *patria*. “En los textos de las canciones,” writes Torres, “predomina un fuerte y directo envión crítico a la cultura oficial, la moral, la educación, la dictadura, el arribismo el consumismo y el patriotismo” (212). One could say that Los Prisioneros reoccupied the void that was left behind by the “disappearance” of Nueva Canción and *canto nuevo*. By contributing rhythm and lyrics to the



“No” movement (for the plebescite of '88), Los Prisioneros provided a contemporary “Vencemos” for young people to rally around.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas music evokes bittersweet nostalgia in *No pasó nada* and “El clarevidente,” it can also trigger unpleasant memories of violence, or in the most extreme cases, can even function as a medium of torture. In Jacqueline Cuevas Narváez’s short story, “El favor” (also published in *Pasión por la música*) a Chilean army captain forced his captives to sing the socialist anthem, “La Internacional,” while hanging naked and upside down on meat hooks. Here again we have an example of a writer inserting a historical song in a fictional narrative, in a story that oscillates between past and present. The Captain insists that they sing while undergoing torture in order to humiliate his prisoners and to emphasize the fact that they have lost their cause. As an agent of the newly installed “order” the soldier even humiliates the prisoners for not being able to sing “La Internacional” on key. This act of violence turns against him however in subsequent years. The excaptain is haunted by the memory of the song. Everywhere he goes he believes that he hears the song (and sees the faces of those he tortured). The same song which he employed as an instrument of torture during the dictatorship now returns to torture his memory.<sup>3</sup>

Argentine Mempo Giardinelli’s short story, “Kilómetro 11” (1993), offers another striking example of a text in which music triggers memories of torture and simultaneously constitutes a mnemonic weapon of psychological revenge. The story describes a party held by a group of men who had been imprisoned together during the dictatorship. When the band begins to play the song “Kilómetro 11,” one of the men recognizes “el cabo Segovia,” the man who formerly provided musical accompaniment to their torture sessions: “Morocho y labiudo, de ojos como tajitos, siempre tocaba ‘Kilómetro 11’ mientras a ellos los torturaban. Los milicos lo hacían tocar y cantar para que no se oyeran los gritos de los prisioneros” (50). By covering the victims’ screams, Segovia’s playing of “Kilómetro 11” effectively collaborated in the torture sessions.

The story takes place in a time period subsequent to the dictatorship. When the men recognize Segovia they force him to take off his dark glasses and to play “Kilómetro 11” repeatedly, once for each of the former prisoners. This fictional scenario, recognizing a former torturer in Argentina (or for that matter in any country of the Southern Cone), is certainly feasible in reality. Julie Taylor describes such potential encounters in postdictatorship Argentina: “The terror had ended in 1983, followed by the courageous and unique trial and punishment of the military Junta by Argentine civilian courts in 1985. But soon thereafter new laws left most of the armed forces free, leaving in turn in the minds of the population the constant doubt as to whether a strange face might be that of an assassin or torturer” (11). The scene in Giardinelli’s story constitutes a kind of inverted “torture:” “el emparrado semeja una especie de circo romano en el que se hubieran invertidos los roles de fiera y víctimas” (50). None of the men ever touch Segovia physically. Yet by obliging him to play and replay “Kilómetro 11” again and again, they both reiterate the fact that they recognize him and they force him to acknowledge his role in their torture. To torture, in its most basic sense is to touch another’s body with violence. By forcing Segovia “a tocar de nuevo” (51) the exprisoners compel the former soldier to *tocar la herida*, to reopen, as it were, the scab of time and anonymity that had been covering the crimes of the past.

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<sup>2</sup>Los Prisioneros broke up in the early 1990s and pursued individual careers without much success. November 30 and December 1, 2001, nevertheless, the band reunited to play two concerts that sold out almost immediately. Over 70,000 fans attended each concert in the Estadio Nacional.

<sup>3</sup>A true case of a professor (Felipe Aguero) who allegedly recognized another professor who had tortured him in the Estadio Nacional recently received international attention when a group of professors signed a petition asserting that the former military officer should not be allowed to work for a Chilean university (see Valdés).

The motivation for playing the song has changed directions: Originally used (in Giardinelli's fiction) as a means to cover the sounds resulting from physical torture inflicted by soldiers, it is now a vehicle to reopen the wounds of the past. For Segovia, this constitutes a type of psychological torture because it forces him to recognize and acknowledge his complicity with the dictatorship.

Although Giardinelli does not include any of the lyrics in the story, "Kilómetro 11" is an actual *chamamé* song (music by Tránsito Cocomarola and lyrics by C. Alguer). On its most basic level the song appears to be a nostalgic plea for a reconciliation of lost love:

Vengo otra vez hasta aquí  
de nuevo a implorar tu amor  
ya no hay tristeza y dolor  
al verme lejos de ti.

The song underscores the distance between the singer and the object of his desire. And yet while the lyrics clearly evoke a relationship of lost love, the references to guilt, anger and reconciliation connote a different meaning when read in the context of postdictatorship in Giardinelli's "Kilómetro 11." In the lyrics the singer claims responsibility for the transgressions of his past as a means to end his current suffering:

Culpable tan solo soy  
de todo lo que he sufrido  
por eso es que ahora he venido  
y triste muy triste estoy.

Notice as well the central role that memory plays in the song. On the one hand he begs her to forget her anger, "olvida mi bien el enojo aquel," while at the same time he beseeches her to never forget their past love and his need for reconciliation.

Clearly we should not equate the relationship between the ex-prisoners and the Cabo Segovia with one of former lovers. The story "Kilómetro 11," nevertheless, represents, through music, a recontextualized state of nonreconciliation in a time of postdictatorship. Throughout the Southern Cone there exist neoliberal political movements whose ideologues argue that the time has come to move beyond the memory of the dictatorships. It is time, according to some, to forget the past and to focus on the present and the future. Whereas in the story, Segovia as a representative of the Argentinean military covered the sounds of torture with the song "Kilómetro 11," present-day politicians similarly hope to cover the screams of the past, proposing shortcuts to the future. Or, as the former captain of the Chilean army says in "El favor," "Basta de recuerdos, . . . un cafecito y a mirar mujeres" (78). Mempo Giardinelli's story, "Kilómetro 11," represents an opposing viewpoint to this perspective. Justice will remain incomplete, at best, without public accountability for crimes committed and reparations for those injured. Only by "going the distance" and exposing the crimes of the past can there be any movement towards future reconciliation.

In conclusion, music offers a tangible cultural thread through which one can read recent history. Nueva Canción in Chile exemplifies the imbrication of politics, history, memory and the processes of identity formation. "They set out to recover an authentic Chilean identity," writes Mattern, "to answer the question of who they were as Chileans, to discover their roots and origins, and to answer the question of Chilean cultural inconsistency" (153). *Canto Nuevo*, in turn, embodies a musical movement of protest whose cause, in addition to opposing the dictatorship, was to remember Nueva Canción. Subsequent musical movements, such as Los Prisioneros, occupied the void with a different sound that again brought people together in their opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship. Their song "La voz de los 80," might be seen as a punk rock "Venceremos," a new kind of march that documented and built both collective consciousness and political resistance.

Examples of music in literature bear witness to the pervasiveness of music as a mnemonic symbol, ranging from nostalgia of the hope associated with socialism to memories of the coup

and the disappearance of hope, lives and Nueva Canción. Skarmeta's *No pasó nada*, delineates the historical transition of Nueva Canción to an internationalized musical protest from exile, and simultaneously narrates the manner in which music proves determinant in the protagonists's identity as a subject of history. González Rodríguez's story, "El Clarevidente," similarly portrays music across generational lines. This narrative stretches from Nueva Canción to *canto nuevo* and beyond. Even after returning to Chile, the protagonist remains permanently "exiled" in the nostalgia of his past. Cuevas Narváez's story, "El favor," and Mempo Giardinelli's "Kilómetro 11," both underscore the tensions that characterize life in postdictatorship. These texts recount the historical use of music as an instrument of torture and subsequently demonstrate how memories of the past constitute a psychological version of torture in the present. Through the integration of music in literature, writers record music as memory and torture, representing processes of repression, protest and recovery.

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