

➤ Out of the Blackout and into the Light: How the Arts Survived Pinochet's Dictatorship

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Abstract: This article shows how various artists segued out of the cultural blackout of the late seventies and into a phase of surprising artistic production during the military regime in Chile. At a time when political parties were banned and public gatherings considered illegal, Chileans found alternative ways to oppose the military government. In this climate, I argue that artistic expression took on political meaning. The fact that the “No” Campaign of 1988 was able to oust the dictator with an optimistic message of joy and hope, attests to the point that Chileans were able to shed their fears and change their outlook. Throughout the decade, the arts—innovations in poetry, music, theater, narrative and the audiovisual media—had offered people a much-needed forum for expression.

Keywords: Raúl Zurita; Ramón Griffero; Los Prisioneros; “No” Campaign; Culture of Resistance; Chile; 20th Century.

Resumen: Este artículo muestra cómo varios artistas hicieron una transición del apagón cultural a finales de los setenta a una fase de producción artística sorprendente durante el régimen militar en Chile. En una época en que los partidos políticos fueron prohibidos y las reuniones consideradas ilegales, los chilenos encontraron maneras alternativas de resistencia. En este clima, las expresiones artísticas pueden adquirir significado político. El hecho de que la Campaña del “No” lograra expulsar al dictador con un mensaje optimista de alegría y esperanza, dio fe de la capacidad de la gente para perder su miedo y cambiar su perspectiva. Durante toda la década, las artes —innovaciones en la poesía, la música, el teatro, la narrativa y los medios audiovisuales— habían ofrecido a los chilenos un foro necesario para la expresión.

Palabras claves: Raúl Zurita; Ramón Griffero; Los Prisioneros; Campaña del No; Cultura de resistencia; Chile; Siglo xx.

La década del ochenta recién está dejando de ser parte de los jóvenes de hoy. Es menos referencial y en la medida que sea así, hay necesidad de una mirada explícita sobre ella. Hubo una generación que se constituyó a través de sus grandes hitos: la imposición de un modelo económico nuevo, el proceso de las movilizaciones populares y protestas, con la sensación de una gesta épica y heroica muy cargada de lo popular y de lucha contra la dictadura.¹

1 Manuel Antonio Garretón quoted in: “Malditos 80’ (en Chile, con mariguana)”. In: <<http://www.portal.bitox.com/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=480>> (16.07.2013).

At the time of the coup d'état on September 11, 1973, anyone with affiliations to Salvador Allende's uprooted Popular Unity government, or to anything leftist for that matter, became a target of the fierce cleansing process undertaken by the soldiers and police force of the newly formed military junta. Artists and singers were shown no mercy in the violence, in fact they were pursued with a vengeance; the torture and assassination of the extremely beloved, well-known folksinger Víctor Jara is the quintessential example of this kind of tragic death. The military regime set out to "extirpar el cáncer marxista" that they deemed threatening to the health and morality of Chilean society. As Brian Loveman notes, the junta was determined "to eradicate all vestiges of the political left," attacking entities outside the political realm, including "literature, sculpture, painting, and even popular songs" (Loveman 2001: 261). Musical groups that had been the celebrities of the Allende years, such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, realized that they would undoubtedly be attacked for the "subversive" nature of their image and music. Both bands happened to be in Europe for international tours in September of 1973, so they stayed in exile instead of risking persecution and death in their home country. This state of affairs not only attests to the reality of the dangers for the bands but also suggests that the government really did feel threatened by these performers.

In what ways did musicians and other artists pose a threat to the new government; why was it necessary to hunt them down, expel them from the country, or kill them? Chile's recent cultural history shows a strong connection between artists and governments—during the phase preceding the coup, the *Nueva Canción* movement followed the political and social processes of the democratic road to socialism as purported by the Popular Unity, and its musicians were the face of the euphoria that swept the nation during this time. But what happens in Chile while these singers and other expelled artists are absent; and how is it that the cultural environment reintegrates them fifteen years later at the time of the 1988 plebiscite?

The purpose of this article is to examine certain artistic and cultural aspects of what has been called the "aperture of the eighties" in Chile, as opposed to the "cultural blackout" that characterizes the first phase of Augusto Pinochet's authoritarian regime. The coup of 1973 and the military regime that ensued had such severe repercussions in the arts world that by the late seventies the term *apagón cultural* became the moniker to describe the void. However, during the eighties there are some surprising foundational works that emerge in various art forms.

Historians agree that in 1983 there was an opening up in politics, put into effect by Pinochet to contain massive protests and demonstrations, but there is very little said about how the arts world experienced the changes. Ascanio Cavallo, Manuel Salazar, and Oscar Sepúlveda write that a new Minister of the Interior, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, assumed his position "con un plan político aprobado por la Presidencia y estimulado por vientos de apertura" (Cavallo/Salazar/Sepúlveda 2004: 566). As the opposition gathered to propose a plan that included a new Constitution, Pinochet's resignation, and a provisional government for a brief transition, Pinochet announced that he would apply "toda la mano dura del gobierno" (Cavallo/Salazar/Sepúlveda 2004: 567) to contain the planned protest. The struggle between the regime and the opposition played out to extremes, yet the regime seemed to be firmly rooted. But how did the cultural sphere adapt to all the political ups and downs of the decade? How did different types of artists and writers manifest resistance in their works? And what effect did culture have on the eventual uprooting of the dictatorship?

In this showdown, where democracy and peace finally prevailed, culture played a key role. Although television (national and cable channels) and film were subject to severe censorship by the Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica, and the publishing of books was at a bare minimum, there were alternative circuits that kept people's creative energy alive. There are a number of case studies that illustrate the relationship of art to politics in various forms of cultural production. The transition to democracy, usually dated from when Patricio Aylwin took office in 1990, is a difficult moment to define and has been the point of much contention. Without entering into the debate of how or when the transition started and took effect, it bears mentioning that Pinochet himself proposed a transition as early as 1977 in his Chacarillas speech (Jocelyn-Holt Letelyier 1998: 179). The intention was to legitimize the regime and transition from a military to civil government. However, in reality, the political arena was not opened up, and Pinochet was the only individual protagonist in his so-called "transition," having reinforced his authority with the steps toward institutionalization. Despite the lack of any real political platform, Chileans started to clamor for justice. Even though the official changeover of power only took place in 1990, there are numerous critical moments during the 1980s that cause the military regime to lose its stronghold over all aspects of civilian life.

The decade of the eighties itself constitutes a paradoxical phase of the dictatorship, which bears witness to a surprising effervescence in certain segments of the art world—new forms of counterculture emerged in theater, music, performance, and poetry. Honing in on works and movements realized in the eighties helps to record the decade's momentum and suggests that the military regime did not manage to thwart cultural production. The restrictions inspired artists to be more innovative in communicating their messages of resistance. Censorship was not a clear-cut mechanism and in certain cases seemed to provide a point of departure as something to rebel against. Some writers and playwrights were allowed to realize their works because Pinochet did not consider them a threat—sometimes their audiences were a small intellectual elite, or they were people who lived in the slums and were already of the anti-regime camp. On the other hand, some censorship did manage to silence resistant expressions and instill people with fear. The political legislation and Pinochet's institutionalization strategies have been documented and analyzed with respect to their influence on the transitional period, but there is no assessment of the role that culture, and in particular art, might have had on people's political choices.

Two major plebiscites frame the decade: the first one approved a new Constitution, ironically named "Constitution of Liberty" on September 11, 1980, amidst severe restrictions for opposition and vote fraud, and the second plebiscite, with the famous *Campaña del No*, managed to oust the dictator on October 5, 1988, with 92 percent of eligible voters participating. These bookends show a stark contrast between the beginning and the end of the period and thus raise the question of how the country was ready to make the shift from dictatorship to democracy. Chilean society transformed from a fearful and silenced one to an expressive and even daring one that cast out its dictator. The successful campaign to vote "No" to the prolongation of Pinochet's power in the 1988 plebiscite is a quintessential example of the melding of artistic creativity with a political agenda, one that beat the odds and overturned the military regime. This creative and political endeavor brought together filmmakers whose industry had practically disappeared in Chile, as well as publicists and creative directors, affording them the opportunity to use their artistic capabilities and advertising know-how to produce the most important "commercial" of the decade.

The television campaign managed to coax the population out of its fear, and it was artists who led this collective effort, supporting the notion that art can be a crucial instrument for communicating political messages.

There are many historical studies that attest to how social tensions exploded from 1983 on, namely in the visible form of street protests. The initial shock of the coup and the fear that paralyzed the population during the first years of the dictatorship gave way to a more active period when people started to express their discontent, and the regime showed the first signs of instability in the early 1980s. Reactions and realities of censorship vary across the spectrum—the panic and self-censorship of some artists and writers and the daring of others. While many succumbed to fear and were silenced, others seemed to face fear head-on, almost begging the answer to the question: what is the worst that could happen?

Poetry off the Page and into the Public Eye: Raúl Zurita's Sky-Writings, Earthworks, and Visual Verse

Chile has long been considered a country of poets, and the military coup did not change this. Poetry did not suffer a downward turn during the post-coup period; rather it proved its resilience as one of the most creative processes in Latin American writing. Iván Carrasco Muñoz affirms Chilean poetry's vital position by denoting it as being in a "boom permanente", consistently producing a great quantity of texts while maintaining its vigor, variety, and the intensity of its proposals (Carrasco Muñoz 1989: 305). Raúl Zurita, the emblematic poet of the decade, rose to the peak of his fame and published some of his best works during this period. His persona coupled with his poetry created new means of expression and innovated the traditional medium; he took his art off the page and into the physical environment as well as onto his own body. Two examples of his innovation within this traditional medium are when his poetry took to the skies of New York City: verses of *La vida nueva* were written in smoke out of five small airplanes, and his statement "Ni pena ni miedo" was excavated into the desert of northern Chile on such a grand scale that it is only visible from the sky.

Perhaps due to his affiliation with the Juventudes Comunistas, Zurita was taken prisoner at the time of the coup and kept in the hold of a ship—a space with capacity for about two hundred people was crammed with three thousand—and he survived for twenty-one days. Bearing this torture in mind, and the fact that Zurita never sought asylum, it is logical that his writings were carefully composed to avoid endangering himself.

In September 1975, Ignacio Valente lauded Zurita's first published verses in his weekly column in *El Mercurio*: "consagran ya a Raúl Zurita entre los poetas de la primera fila nacional, como un digno descendiente de los grandes de nuestra lírica y de aquellos otros" (1975: III). This article early on in Zurita's career can be credited for opening up a widespread acceptance of his work. Zurita reflects back on the accolades, saying that Valente was almost schizophrenic—a fiercely conservative Opus Dei priest yet progressive in his literary critiques.² Valente asks, "¿Quién es este poeta, que a los veinticuatro años irrumpe con una voz enteramente propia y ya formada, con un timbre de inequívoca propiedad

2 Raúl Zurita in personal interview, 20.10.2009.

a pesar de lo exiguo de su obra?" (III). Valente poses the question and then proceeds to answer it for his massive Chilean readership, declaring that this poet is an unmistakable talent. From Zurita's first publication of brief poems, the critic praises his strangely original voice, which he says appears to have been formed alone in a most unexpected and fruitful conjunction of poetic sensibility with the spirit of the scientific disciplines.

In the late 1970s Zurita was one of the founders of a group called CADA (Colectivo de Acciones de Arte) that realized multiple *acciones de arte* aimed at subverting the regime. His activities with this group and how he incorporated them into his verse were deemed superfluous by Valente. CADA used encrypted codes to avoid persecution and challenged the status quo by intervening in urban spaces, bringing their art into the everyday reality of society. Their actions varied widely and were often filmed and made into video clips. Cultural critic Nelly Richard added meaning to this group's activities with a theoretical stance, explaining that their creative production crossed genre borders and mixed mediums such as visual art, literature, and the audiovisual. They pushed the limits of what "art" could be by including the body and the city in their creations, thus opening up new channels for a rebellious energy that questioned the military order. The members of CADA all formed part of an alternative art scene, taking performances and installations into the city streets. However, Zurita recalls that it was an indeterminate scene oftentimes misunderstood by the community; the members were passionate risk-takers but did not possess any theoretical stance—this was put into place post-facto by Richard.³

CADA—characterized since its inception by socially disruptive art—grew into a movement that united visual artists, poets, writers, and critics; their avant-garde activities became known as La Escena de Avanzada. La Avanzada's project emerged during the chaotic post-coup period when, according to Richard, the whole system of social and cultural references had been broken and disarticulated, thus requiring a reformulation of codes and language in order to make sense of present history (Richard 2007: 15). Zurita's art actions as well as his poetry grappled with the political situation as it unfolded during the years of the cultural blackout, but the repression and censorship that he criticized continued into the second phase of the dictatorship. Although there are important differences and developments in the political climate of the eighties, La Avanzada laid the groundwork for interpreting aesthetics as something not totally disconnected or exempt from sociopolitical responsibility. In other words, art had the potential to denounce or dialogue with the established powers. Although this avant-garde movement was not understood or received by a massive audience, it was a point of departure for art-as-resistance, a trend which continued into the 1980s in a changing political environment.

When I asked Zurita why CADA's activities died down and then ceased in the 1980s, he explained that it coincided with the dates of the first massive protests in 1983. The group had intended to wake people up from their passivity, so that they might participate in some sort of resistance movement. Without knowing exactly what that movement would look like, the members of CADA wished to inspire action in an oppressed and fearful populace. Zurita notes the difference in society: "Se empezó a perder poco a poco el miedo."⁴ Speaking about the *grandes intuiciones* and the collective creativity evident

3 Raúl Zurita in personal interview, 22.04.2009.

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in the massive protests, Zurita remarks: “Cuando nosotros empezamos no había absolutamente nada de eso.”

Zurita’s individual performative acts were extreme: he burned his own cheek in a solitary, desperate moment, and on another occasion he tried to blind himself with ammonia in his eyes. I argue that Zurita, as the most radical member of CADA, carved an alternative space in the cultural realm that became an important forum for his and others’ expression. His actions and his experimental poetry demonstrated his desire to completely change how we perceive and define art, marking a radical rupture with tradition. These extreme “art actions” can also be interpreted according to what the poet himself explained in an analytical text published by CENECA in 1983, *Literatura, lenguaje y sociedad (1973-1983)*. Speaking about the relation of literary production to the context in which it emerges, Zurita emphasizes the *golpe* as a rupture that affected many aspects of people’s everyday existence, including the way that they communicate: “Esa confianza en la oralidad, en un sistema de conversación transparente y unitario, sufre, a partir del golpe militar (que sin embargo suponía) un quiebre profundo y traumático” (1983: 6). In a culture where suddenly much goes unsaid, as Zurita calls it: the advent of “lo no dicho,” the poet in particular takes up a role, saying things in a new or different way. This observation can guide our understanding of Zurita’s poetry and his art actions, as attempts to say that which cannot be expressed in language.

One of the leading critics on Chilean poetry and a poet himself, Tomás Harris, points out that Zurita along with Juan Luis Martínez constitute the “fundamental nucleus” of the *Promoción del 80*, a group who inaugurated a new way of speaking about Chilean poetry, which has been denominated “neo-avant-garde,” owing some credit to its avant-garde predecessors from the beginning of the twentieth century: both experimented linguistically as well as topically and broke new ground for a well-established genre (Harris 2002: 305). Harris lists some foundational books of 1970s poets that indicated who would become, among others added later, the key players of the *Promoción del 80*. Zurita’s 1979 work *Purgatorio*, part of the trilogy that includes *Anteparaiso* (1982) and *La vida nueva* (1993), is included in Harris’ assessment, and Zurita himself is an undisputed influence for this generation. It is less clear what Zurita’s poetry and physical suffering might have meant to his readers. His experimental nature, fragmentation of normal codes, and his books of poetry as well as his actions, paved the way for other dissident voices and alternative expression.

Zurita was revered as a national hero, but his image was to slightly deteriorate over time: he went from being like a resuscitated Pablo Neruda to being criticized as a sellout to the system, a *poeta maldito*, according to an article published in *El Mercurio* (28 March 2003) entitled “La rabia del poeta” (Simonetti 2003). His connection to President Ricardo Lagos in the 1990s reversed his public image to such an extent that a group of people petitioned to strip him of the Premio Nacional de Literatura in 2000—a stark contrast to the smiling Zurita who accepted the Premio Pablo Neruda in 1988 while the notorious performance group, Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis, intervened to don the poet-hero with a crown of thorns, suggesting that he was a Christ-like figure, their redeemer.

With Raúl Zurita, his *acciones de arte* with CADA and his poetry, we can see how he took his art off the page and onto the city streets, into the skies and across the desert, and not least of all, onto his own body. CADA’s interventions intended to reach out to a broad public, using non-traditional means for politicized messages. The art action *Para*

no morir de hambre en el arte made a clear statement about poverty and deprivation; *¡Ay Sudamérica!* provided a kind of mission statement, which was delivered by airplanes and dropped above Santiago's *poblaciones*, encouraging people to broaden their mindsets and aspire to collective happiness. *NO + graffiti* covered many different spaces of the country, taking on a life of its own as people completed the phrase with whatever they saw fit, and it featured in the *No Campaign* as the expression of a society fed up with Pinochet's rule. This social experiment became popular as intended; its image and message ended up on the official ballot to vote *NO* to Pinochet. As shown multiple times in the *franja*, voters were to draw a vertical line next to *NO* – so that it looked exactly like the graffiti *NO +*.

Zurita comments that poetry under Salvador Allende, namely with Pablo Neruda, had become *el portavoz* for Chile's popular movements; in this way, “desbordó su propio marco de circuito para pasar a ser uno de los componentes de la historia de los movimientos populares” (Zurita 1983: 8). Poetry had gone from being an integral part of society and class struggles to being totally cut off from the official discourse. Given this extreme change in the dynamic, one can appreciate Zurita's efforts to regain a poetic voice, seeking language that was neither from the *Unidad Popular* years nor of the military code. For the many things that had no words and were left unsaid, Zurita made his body into something which Diamela Eltit calls a *foco político* (Eltit 1997: 41). His acts of so-called *locura* and self-mutilation resisted the status quo of a highly ordered, symmetric and controlling military body. Verses in the sky and carved into the Atacama desert also disrupted the usual order of things, bringing literature to unlikely places. Zurita's own trauma, art actions, and poetic projects were specific to his time, but he recognizes many influences and predecessors, from Dante and the European vanguard poets to Neruda, Nicanor Parra, and Juan Luis Martínez.

Los Prisoneros Rock the Regime

Another emblematic force in the cultural realm, one that had a much more widespread audience, is the *Nuevo Pop* band Los Prisoneros. Their lyrics communicate the angst of youth and a desire for change. Los Prisoneros are undoubtedly the most popular rock-and-roll band in Chilean history. Their timing, debuting in the early eighties, and their messages of discontent and injustice struck a chord with their audience, who received them with gusto. The 1984 album *La voz de los ochenta* put Los Prisoneros on the map; it is strident with defiance for the establishment and cries out its dissatisfaction without regard for censorship. This “voice of the eighties” appealed to a young Chilean fan-base and supports the notion that the 1980s represented a new experience with the authoritarian regime, as the lyrics from the song *La voz de los ochenta* demand that people leave behind *la inercia de los setenta*. It is important to note that the band's supporters comprised a massive audience, one that caused a reaction from the dictator. Los Prisoneros songs, a few of which became mantras for not just Chilean but Latin American youth, were banned from official radio broadcasts in Chile and from television, which was an important forum for musicians during the dictatorship.

The trio of Los Prisoneros—Jorge González, Claudio Narea, and Miguel Tapia—started playing together as high school teenagers and emerged onto the national music scene in the early eighties, making serious waves with their irreverent attitude. Since they

had known no other reality than the dictatorship, the young teens were not as fearful as their predecessors who had memories of the pre-coup era as a contrast to the regime's violence. The nostalgia for the band's humble beginnings is evidenced in Matías Cruz's film *Miguel, San Miguel* (2012), which tells the story of the tumultuous time period from the perspective of Miguel Tapia. Los Prisioneros were the ringleaders for changing the way in which Chileans defined and experienced resistance. At a time when society was demonstrating its dissatisfaction with a series of strikes that broke out in 1983, Los Prisioneros emerged on the scene with an unforeseen energy and new style that epitomized as well as fueled the 1980s social unrest.

The most famous folk singers of the 1960s and 1970s were Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, both of whom wrote the story of the marginalized social sector in their lyrics and helped to register their histories. On the morning of September 11, 1973, Salvador Allende had addressed the youth on Radio Magallanes, acknowledging their creative force and responsibility for the Chilean people, their attention to the threats of fascism and willingness to defend the rights of Chilean citizens. Los Prisioneros continued the tradition that Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara had started, insofar as they sang to the masses about social injustices, yet their production reflects issues that correspond to their specific experience. The advent of the cassette tape allowed their songs to be shared widely, as they performed in gymnasiums, cafés and schools.

Another emblematic song of the decade, along with a number of Los Prisioneros tunes, was Isabel Aldunate's adaptation of Paul Eluard's *Yo te nombro, Libertad*, which conveyed various injustices suffered at the hands of the regime. The record label Alerce produced Aldunate's album in 1984; the sound of her compositions and the way in which the crowds chanted along at her performances waving Chilean flags resembled folkloric customs. Aldunate's album came out the same year as Los Prisioneros' first album, yet her music and style, which can be called "intellectual folklore," differ greatly from theirs. After the coup, resistant music had been fiercely oppressed, and by the 1980s the dominant aesthetic paradigm of the traditional left—embodied by Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Inti-Illimani, Quilapayún, and Isabel Aldunate—had a serious rival in expressions inspired by Anglo-American popular music. Los Prisioneros fit into the Chilean music trajectory as leaders of a changing paradigm yet they still harnessed its energy; they saw the traditional mode as passé and sought out new ways to manifest resistance. Their look, or rather "anti-look," consisting of the national brand "North Star" sneakers, jackets, and tight-fitting pants, had nothing to do with the sixties or seventies style rooted in the Cuban Revolution, but rather followed rappers from the Bronx and gothic, punk influences of the United Kingdom (Osse 2002: 77). Los Prisioneros' actions, lyrics, and insolence helped to incite an awakening that was particular to the eighties, rallying Chilean youth to join in the "gran rebeldía generacional" of the decade (Chile vive 1987: 155).

The existing criticism recognizes the importance of Los Prisioneros for Chilean culture as the most popular rock band ever and one best known for their critical stance toward the dictatorship. According to Caco Lyon, it was an unforgettable experience to participate in and support a band that most definitely was going to leave its mark on history (Osse 2002: 24). I believe this sense of involvement provided the fan-base with a forum for political expression that they previously lacked. Not only do the band's compositions question the current socio-political situation of Chilean youth—as being excluded from the official system—but also they demand action in order to bring about change. Los Prisioneros'

lyrics, performances, music videos, and participation in the political campaign of 1988 all led to the politicization of their songs. They called out to their fans for radical change, and in turn, the public bestowed a political sense on their songs that was not originally intended.

Los Prisioneros insist that they were not following any national models, and they unequivocally reject the folklore tradition, its sounds, its style, and even its *peñas*. Due to the dictatorship reality that they grew up with, they are not familiar with political participation; they are more like teenagers rebelling against an overbearing father. Much like the connection that poetry had with popular movements during the Unidad Popular, el *Canto Nuevo* had also been a mouthpiece for social issues. Isabel Parra says in an interview in 1985 that she felt a disconnect when she went to a *peña* in Santiago, the movement seemed stuck in the past; the regime was partly to blame for the music's lack of "vitalidad, energía y ánimo" (Yopo 2005: 391). Yet Chileans still had an affinity for folkloric music, setting their sights on songwriters like Silvio Rodríguez with whom they could identify. The *peñas* did not die out, but places like Café del Cerro and underground venues like El Trolley and Garage Matucana added new layers to the musical scene. Los Prisioneros embodied "la voz de los ochenta" and provided an outlet for frustrated youth, but this did not mean that their music replaced the previous movements. Parra observes, "los jóvenes, la gente de esta generación, están muy perdidos, están muy solos. No saben en qué afirmarse culturalmente" (Yopo 2005: 391).

I believe that Los Prisioneros lent a voice to many people who did not have one, at a time where there was no Neruda or *Canto Nuevo* to fulfill that role alongside their government. Their lyrics sang and shouted out many messages that became like political manifestos, despite the fact that the youngsters claimed time and time again that they did not care about government or politics. The band members' insolent attitude was part of their self-image; it is consistent with a marketing strategy that portrays Los Prisioneros as originators of the pop movement. Speaking of musical traditions with roots in the sixties, Fabio Salas points out, "el pop chileno, no ha inventado nada. El rock chileno, en sus comienzos abarcaba expresiones vastas de música pop, realizada con mayor talento y amplitud" (Salas 2005: 403). While it is true that Los Prisioneros did not emerge out of nowhere, they did burst onto a dismal and repressive scene to inject it with their energy—colorful, loud, and danceable.

Dancing with the Dictator: Ramón Griffero's Teatro Fin de Siglo

Theater also renovated its forms in order to adapt to the challenges of the times, even though their channels of transmission were not as fiercely censored as other mediums. In the critical book *Literatura chilena hoy: La difícil transición*, editors Karl Kohut and José Morales Saravia observe that after the coup theater has a separate trajectory from the literary context and is not analyzed in the same vein as narrative, stating that when it comes to theater, "nos encontramos con una realidad literaria tan diferente como si se tratara de otro país" (Kohut/Morales Saravia 2002: 17). These critics speak of two kinds of exile during the dictatorship, exterior and interior, the first being a mass exodus of writers, intellectuals, and artists, and the latter being a radical shift in the way those who stayed in Chile could express themselves. The literary context inside Chile's borders was affected

by censorship and repression, so that writers resorted to “silencio o camuflaje” (Kohut/Morales Saravia 2002: 13).

Theater did not experience the same backlash of censorship and managed to flourish throughout the dictatorship, becoming more bold in the 1980s. María de la Luz Hurtado distinguishes the situation for theater from that of narrative, asserting that “nunca se produjo un bache en la capacidad de dar cuenta de la realidad: el teatro en el país pudo, a través de distintos mecanismos, ir acompañando cada uno de los procesos político-sociales durante la dictadura” (Hurtado 2002: 281). However, theater did not pass through the coup unscathed; only ICTUS survived the initial crackdown on culture; all university arts programs, including theater, were closed, and private companies suffered severe financial strain. Pinochet’s regime had a much more fluid approach to theater in the 1980s, and instead of censorship, they aimed at controlling production through coercion. After all, they did not wish to draw more attention to the plays and arouse any external affirmations of the cultural blackout or of the regime’s fascist characteristics. Hurtado claims that from the 1980s on, there was a further opening up in the theatrical world whereby playwrights dropped their metaphoric and allegorical representations to speak directly and critique the dictatorship with more sting (Hurtado 2002). In this decade theater truly embraces its role as one of social commentary, broaching themes such as exile, the desperate search for loved ones and “desaparecidos,” torture, and death. One troupe in particular, Ramón Griffero’s Teatro Fin de Siglo, epitomizes theater’s ability to adapt to the dictatorship, manifesting alternative visions to the hegemonic one and moving to the forefront of eighties counterculture.

Griffero’s group performed in El Trolley and bridged the gap between the public and its performers; they altered theater’s modes of communication not just through the use of political themes but also by innovating their medium. The Trolley venue itself was an old gymnasium converted into a mechanic shop and center for the union of transport workers. Griffero’s group then used it as an alternative theater/concert hall/studio, and it became the place for artistic renovation and a kind of alternative cultural renaissance. Due to the underground nature of El Trolley, Griffero’s dramaturgy and the locale’s other activities—musical concerts, art exhibits, and video displays—enabled a reconstitution of social relations where spectators had the opportunity to participate in resistance. In his book, *Teatro en Chile: huellas y trayectorias, siglos XVI-XX*, Luis Pradenas observes the trends in society and in theater that seemed to go hand in hand: “A comienzos de los años ochenta, en tanto que la sociedad civil presenta una cierta capacidad de organización expresada en las primeras ‘protestas callejeras’ contra la dictadura militar, una ‘nueva’ dramaturgia comienza a explorar y elaborar un nuevo lenguaje escénico de la representación teatral” (Pradenas 2006: 440).

This dramaturgy gave autonomy to the performative aspects of a play without denying the literary text, and also incorporated “textos no inicialmente concebidos para la representación teatral, un punto de partida para una creación más espectacular que verbal” (Pradenas 2006: 463). The content, style, and actual performance space of Griffero’s best known play, *Cinema Utopía* (1985), support my definition of the 1980s as a decade of artistic innovations and reviving social cohesion, a period when people could envision a different future. The play’s continued success in theaters is testament to its timeless themes as well as the audience’s ability to connect to its aesthetic. The theater did treat current issues thematically, allowing the audience to identify with the presentations as well as

with their compatriots, but it also projected utopian images to contrast with the spectators' surroundings. It was the way in which Griffero presented his material to the spectators that engaged them in an interpretive exercise of collective and individual memory that had been sidelined by the official history or silenced by the violent trauma of the coup (Pradenas 2006: 463). This was accomplished partly because of the rebellious spirit of the period and partly because of Griffero's experimentation with forms, spaces, and language. As a returned exile himself, having spent more time in Belgium than anywhere else, Griffero came back to Santiago with a fresh perspective and the desire to bring to fruition a theater of resistance. Manuel Antonio Garretón points out the importance of theater in its psychosocial characteristics, saying that at a time when Chileans favored the individual, the sectored and separated, theater provided a key experience for the collective, to try to re-tie the social cohesions of pre-coup times. According to him, as a spectator you do not feel isolated in what you are suffering in your daily life because on stage these themes are treated artistically, you could look around the audience and realize you're not the only one identifying with the drama, "porque tanta gente aplaudió" (Correa *et al.* 2001: 315).

In his 1985 "Manifiesto como en los viejos tiempos para un teatro autónomo", Griffero expounds on the need for innovations in order to avoid the codes and systems that oppress; one needs to speak a new language in order to communicate something that can go over the heads of the hegemonic powers and reach the target public. While Griffero's intention is to create something totally new, the phrasing of his Manifiesto, "como en los viejos tiempos", implies recognition of past masters, especially Bertolt Brecht, who aimed to engage the audience (in the 1960s). The circumstances of the Teatro Fin de Siglo production and representation highlight a break with previous modes of performance—including the manipulation of the stage to create limitless spaces that appeal to the imagination—thus the audience gets more involved than usual in the play and can take part in a collective anti-dictatorial act. Rather than a cause-and-effect relation to explain and connect phenomena, there is an associative relation between narrative events that creates what Pradenas calls a type of "cubismo teatral" (2006: 463). In this regard the spectator must make sense of the juxtaposed scenes, however fragmented they seem, drawing the connections and conclusions as he watches. This complicity between playwright, actor, and spectator brings about the regeneration of a new theater, one that inherits references from the 1960s and 1970s yet charts new territory in the 1980s. Thus the Teatro Fin de Siglo imposes on its audience to achieve a certain rupture with tradition, yet it borrows from "los viejos tiempos" in a nod to continuity from the past.

The staging of *Cinema Utopia* divides the space up and eschews theater norms. The two plot lines that run into one another correspond to different planes of time and space. The film that the Valencia audience watches is set up on a backlit screen, and it bears mentioning that the effect truly is an optical illusion. For a member of the real audience, it takes a minute to focus on the action and figure out that the actors are live and not two-dimensional figures on a movie screen. A clever play of light gives this effect; half the action takes place behind the diaphanous screen but the objects and figures are not mere silhouettes. In his essay about his work *El teatro chileno*, Griffero says that he wishes to emphasize, ironically within parentheses, that the cinematic quality of this play in particular is not the real use of cinema or video on stage, but rather "la transformación en lenguaje teatral de los códigos cinematográficos" (2000: 137). Without the use of actual film, Griffero achieves an eye-popping likeness to cinema, lending his play

a multi-dimensional quality. The mastery of the stage adds to the concept of the work because the true audience watches the “film” along with the audience of actors. Cinematic effects come via loud rhythmic beats that play over the action like a soundtrack, still-frames and slow motion scenes (especially with the injection of heroin), dream-like sequences and flashbacks. Griffero’s idea was to place the El Trolley crowd inside the action in order to convey the message that they, like the Valencia audience, are watching a film without grasping its meaning. “La película que no podíamos entender era la metáfora de nuestra propia realidad. El país era un gran cine y nosotros éramos espectadores de una película que no comprendíamos” (Griffero 2000: 136). The Valencia group, consisting of nostalgic social misfits, sees the “futuristic” film *Utopia* as pure fiction, since the exiles, drug addicts and male prostitutes are too upsetting to imagine as real. Chileans during the dictatorship paralleled these actor-spectators since they were also isolated from their own reality, living in disbelief of the many atrocities that were occurring.

Ramón Griffero’s Teatro Fin de Siglo found a new space for articulating culture and resistance. As the playwright points out, their way of doing things was unrecognizable as subversion to the military because their late night parties, video and art installations, theater, and concerts did not borrow from a sixties or seventies aesthetic. Griffero’s “Manifiesto como en los viejos tiempos para un teatro autónomo” echoes much of what Zurita says in *Literatura, lenguaje y sociedad*: there is a need for new codes in language in order to override the imposing military codes. This way the experience of theater is altered for the public, broaching taboo subjects and becoming more relevant for people’s daily struggles. The cinematographic quality of Griffero’s works and the underground venue certainly were novelties for theater; for this reason the playwright insists that he was creating “foundational” and “autonomous” texts. From Griffero’s point of view, returning to Chile after nine years in exile, people were not taking enough action to disrupt the military regime. However, popular and street theater had existed throughout the harshest years of the dictatorship, not without difficulty and censors’ threats. Much like Los Prisoneros, they derided the previous decade’s style of doing things, artistically and politically, yet Teatro Fin de Siglo intended to encroach on politics. They did this by taking a strong stance in their art, trying to shake things up for the audience and make them see things that were customarily hidden. In other words, they wanted to create political space on their own terms, in an underground venue that took no cues from conventional politics. Here they felt empowered enough to mock Pinochet, something that was never done legally or publicly until the *Campaña del No*. As the members of CADA had done, they encouraged spectators to interpret the messages and to engage with the spectacle, in the hopes that they would let go of their fears.

Griffero is a critically acclaimed director, whose plays provide insight into Chile’s politics, social structures, and value systems. He directed a play, an adaptation of the novel *El deseo de toda ciudadana* by Marco Antonio de la Parra, and this production not only served to promote the novel, but also was awarded the Premio del Círculo de Críticos for best play of 1987. In the next section, which focuses on this novel, one can understand why this production would have appealed to the critics—for its content as well as for the way in which Griffero brought its themes to the stage.

Marco Antonio de la Parra's *El deseo de toda ciudadana*: The Impossible Novel of the Dictatorship

The novel *El deseo de toda ciudadana* (1988) must be placed in its appropriate context, as a precursor to the literary movement "Nueva Narrativa". Literary criticism generally refers to the novelists who grew up under Pinochet's rule as part of this generation; however the majority of their works were published after the transition to democracy in the nineties. The "Nueva Narrativa" has been examined and catalogued in the following academic texts: Rodrigo Cánovas' book, *Novela chilena, nuevas generaciones: El abordaje de los huérfanos* (1997), Carlos Olivárez's critical edition *Nueva narrativa chilena* (1997), Kathrin Bergenthal's *Studien zum Mini-Boom der Nueva Narrativa Chilena* (1999), and Verónica Cortínez's edition *Albricia: La novela chilena del fin de siglo* (2000). These volumes reflect on how the generation's image and collective voice were configured. They describe the common characteristics of the "Nueva Narrativa" and qualify the writers as those who grew up under the dictatorship, wrote about the violence that was a part of their daily existence, but mainly published from 1990 onward. In order to trace their roots, it bears observing how these observations apply to the literary activity in the eighties.

Although the term "Nueva Narrativa" circulated in literary circles in the mid-eighties, it was only officially put into print when Jaime Collyer claimed it as his contemporaries' namesake in his essay "Casus Belli: Todo el poder para nosotros", which appeared in a 1992 edition of the magazine *Apsi*. It appears that only after the fall of the dictator could Collyer call out to fellow writers and assume a collective identity. This poses a problem for defining what happened before the "mini-boom" of Chilean novels in the nineties. Given the fact that the market controlled literature and the output of books, and there was little opportunity for people to get together and share ideas—except for in a few literary workshops and short story conferences—it is difficult to consider the writers of the eighties as a generation. Considering the lack of novels from this period, who can qualify as an immediate predecessor to the "Nueva Narrativa"?

The answer lies with one representative novel, written in Chile in 1986 and published by Ediciones del Ornitórrinco in 1988, which is mostly overlooked yet shows various characteristics of what was to come in Chilean letters: *El deseo de toda ciudadana* by psychiatrist and playwright Marco Antonio de la Parra. The author recounts in his personal chronicle, *La mala memoria*, that the novel was converted from a draft of a screenplay that he co-wrote with Alex Zisis; this way he could send it in to Ornitórrinco, "que está abriendo trecho para escritores de una novela aún imposible" (1998: 173). There are a few questions that emerge regarding this statement: what were the conditions that made this novel writing "impossible"? Were the outside restrictions mainly to blame, or were writers hindered by their own internal deliberations? Manfred Engelbert, the only critic who has given attention to this book, points out that once the previous censorship was lifted in 1983, Ornitórrinco published a series of experimental novels that "entregan una visión desgarrada y esclarecedora, a veces lúcida y siempre sincera de la situación vivida por la clase media intelectual en su afán de comprender y de hacer surgir los debates necesarios en condiciones precarias de sobrevivencia" (2002: 166). *El deseo de toda ciudadana* observes the ills of the actual surrounding society and thus encourages "los debates necesarios" and pertinent discussion during the closing stages of the dictatorship.

El deseo de toda ciudadana exposes the instability of Chilean society under the regime, and it does so through the paranoid and panic-stricken mind of the protagonist. This character foreshadows the “Nueva Narrativa” narrators, who are often orphans of distinct types: abandoned youngsters either living nostalgically in the past and inheriting memory from the previous generation, or, as Cánovas explains, “habrá otros que fueron concebidos en un presente perpetuo y sólo sueñan con ser expulsados hacia el futuro” (1997: 75). It is important to note that the novel does this during a time that predates the official literary generation; there were plenty of young writers (mainly of short stories) but no “Nueva Narrativa” as of yet. The problems woven into the fiction reveal the deep psychic scars suffered by Chileans grappling with a second decade of authoritarian control. This novel leads the way to the common themes of 1990s texts, as put forth by Cánovas and Olivárez: fear and paranoia, orphaned individuals, tortures and disappearances, dark and terrifying cityscapes, and evil father figures.

In an interview with the contemporary writer Alberto Fuguet, he reminded me that indeed people read during the eighties—despite the supposed “cultural blackout”—and they read a lot, even if they had to do so in secret. He mentioned two important novels of the 1980s: Isabel Allende’s *La casa de los espíritus* (1982) and José Donoso’s *Casa de campo* (1978).⁵ However, the circulation of these works was not an open and accepted phenomenon, they were highly allegorical, and neither one of them was written or published in Chile. Donoso’s book was published by Seix Barral in Barcelona, and Allende’s book, after being rejected by many Spanish-language publishers, became a bestseller thanks to Plaza & Janés, also in Barcelona. These novels address many concerns and themes of the Chilean experience under dictatorship, but they do so from outside Chile’s borders as opposed to from within, where the contact with the regime was a daily reality. The advantage of *El deseo de toda ciudadana* is that it affords the reader an opportunity to look at the key topics—fear, paranoia, haunting pasts, atrocities of torture and disappearances, and insecurity—without the distance and retrospect inherent in the 1990s “Nueva Narrativa” novels, which confront these same issues.

The desire to live without fear is the theme of Marco Antonio De la Parra’s novel *El deseo de toda ciudadana*, and the depiction of Santiago in this novel exposes a dark, terrifying atmosphere. The fact that the book made it into print is an anomaly for the time period. There was a circuit of short story writers who only had the opportunity to publish novels and assert themselves as a literary movement once Chile had transitioned to democracy in the 1990s. This fact demonstrates the market’s incisive force in culture, and it is something that does not escape commentary in *El deseo de toda ciudadana*. De la Parra’s participation in José Donoso’s literary workshop, sponsored by the Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, shows how writers also found alternative spaces for sharing ideas and maintaining connections when the editorial market was closed off to them. The Catholic Church played a role throughout the regime, filling in certain voids in politics and culture. The Vicaría de la Solidaridad was established to uphold Catholic social doctrines and morals and from 1976 was the “single most important source of moral opposition to the dictatorship” (Loveman 2001: 267). The Agrupación de los Detenidos Desaparecidos provided the only support for women whose husbands, brothers and sons had disappeared, providing protection for human-rights defense groups. Cardinal Raúl

5 Alberto Fuguet in personal interview, 29.05.2008.

Silva Henríquez helped numerous community organizations and research institutes; the magazine *Análisis* was able to circulate and evade the censors' legal constraints, and the Academia de Humanismo Cristiano supported authors' efforts to continue their writing in workshops.

Books and films perhaps suffered the worst censorship, except for television, which was under the regime's total control until the *franja*. Television throughout the dictatorship put shows on the airwaves that distracted people from the reality of betrayal, kidnappings, and torture. Óscar Contardo and Macarena García's *La era ochentera: TV, pop y under en el Chile de los ochenta* (Contardo/García 2005) describes how Chileans immersed themselves in the glitz of game shows and contests hosted by big name brands, allowing the most superficial market culture and publicity campaigns to fill their daily lives. The protagonist of *El deseo de toda ciudadana* epitomizes this TV culture, shutting herself in her apartment where she falls prey to psychological games and is convinced that the "bad guys" are the Russians or some other sort of communist enemy. While the novel's ambience is a bleak reflection of Santiago society, the fear of a perceived communist enemy is unfounded and can be interpreted as a result of TV's brainwashing and being out of touch with the outside world. It also reminds the reader of this ghost from Chile's socialist past looming in the background, which artists wished to avoid, not because it was frightening but because it was no longer the capstone for political participation.

The "No" Campaign of 1988: Where Art and Politics Unite

Ironically, the TV-obsessed culture depicted in De la Parra's novel is what honed the opposition for a successful political campaign in September and October of 1988, fittingly during the spring season in Chile. Many Chilean artists were able to contribute their advertising skills toward the "No" Campaign and sell the ideas of political participation and regime change. The opposition was able to connect with the public on national television for the first time in over fifteen years, and the context was not the superficial marketing of products but rather a joyful experiment in leading Chileans to the polls. Here there was a spirit of *convivencia* instead of competition, a celebration of Chile's diversity, a true rainbow nation. Their sights were set on the future, guaranteeing that the country would not revert back to the Unidad Popular years. But in this case, the past was not treated with fear; rather, the Campaign incorporated traditions such as *la cueca* and embraced artists such as Silvio Rodríguez, three generations of Parra women: Violeta, Isabel, and Tita, and all the ICTUS actors. Simultaneously, the new generation of artists was welcomed enthusiastically, as evidenced by the double appearance of Los Prisioneros. Instead of a drab military regime imposing order on people's daily lives, the Campaign brought a promise for peace, the joyful energy and courageous spirit of the Chilean people, and a variety of cultural expressions into people's homes via national television.

In February 1988 the Concertación de Partidos por el No joined more than fifteen parties and movements (excluding the Communist Party) in a common effort to win a "No" vote for the impending plebiscite (Collier/Sater 2004: 379). The campaign was the culmination of this collaborative endeavor that succeeded despite very limiting circumstances. With the mere fifteen minutes of airtime allotted to the opposition out of a 24-hour day of government-controlled television, the political underdog urged the

Chilean people to vote “No” to the prolongation of Pinochet’s power. The collaborative effort of creative directors, politicians, sociologists, and intellectuals played a key role in ousting the dictator and urging the country out of repression. This watershed moment in Chile’s recent history, which closed the decade and opened the transition to democracy, deserves academic attention. It is a focal point that unearths a network of artists, many of whom had been working in publicity during the regime and seized the opportunity to use their craft for political gain.

There is very little scholarship about this campaign: one publication, *La Campaña del NO vista por sus creadores* (1989); a documentary film, *La alegría de los otros: el 5-0 visto desde lejos* (2008); and Larrain’s feature film *No* (2012). This has made it difficult to know who was responsible for what and how the campaign was realized. While Larrain’s film claims to tell the story of a “marketing campaign that sparked a revolution”, there were many minds and forces behind the operation, including experts in public opinion and politicians. Documentary filmmaker Ignacio Agüero, the chief editor and general director who was also responsible for a few of the television spots, explained the process and emphasized the unprecedented modern feel of the campaign and the hard work of many individuals who contributed their time and talents for free. Christian Democrat Edgardo Boeninger and the historian and academic, Sofia Correa, saw the plebiscite as the one opportunity to defeat Pinochet, so they created a group that studied political campaigns from all over the world, especially North America. They had begun work toward their objective from at least four years prior to the plebiscite.⁶ The slogan “Chile, la alegría ya viene” (Happiness in on the way) attracted the masses to their television sets each night at 11p.m. and convinced them that a safe passage toward democracy was possible. The group of publicists, led by José Manuel Salcedo, went away to a spiritual retreat center called Patagüilla (a priest lent them the space for a long weekend), and from there the concept and the slogan of the campaign were born; it was Jaime de Aguirre who wrote the jingle.⁷ By the time the plebiscite took place on October 5, 1988, the campaign’s artistic efforts were capable of responding to the aspirations of a majority of Chileans. Certainly, there were a number of serious obstacles to overcome—limited funding, minimal media exposure, and a fearful, skeptical public—but the campaign, made up of a diverse group of Chileans, knew how to reach its own public. As Juan Forch, who directed the campaign alongside Agüero and Eduardo Tironi, explains: “La clave del éxito comunicacional de la franja estuvo justamente en ese punto: el arte conectado con la franja. Esas personas y su capacidad y habilidad de comunicar, pienso, fueron la clave del éxito mediático de la misma.”⁸

Manuel Alcides Jofré writes about the “permanent distrust” in post-coup Chile, “What really has been reduced is everyone’s social aura, that psychological space within which one travels wherever one goes. Chileans project themselves differently now. Everything is kept inside” (Jofré 1989: 73). Yet as the 1988 plebiscite drew near, people came out of their shells to listen to the opposition’s first public rejection of the dictator and to express optimism for Chile’s future. To what extent did artists—those involved in the *franja* for the “No” vote as well as those more active prior to the campaign—play a part in coaxing

6 Ignacio Agüero in personal interview, 13.10.2009.

7 Juan Forch in personal interview, 08.05.2010.

8 Juan Forch in E-mail, 12.12.2009.

Chileans out of their restricted “social aura” for this decisive moment? People gave a warm welcome to Inti-Illimani, who returned back to Chile only days after the ban against them was lifted, and to Quilapayún, who also came back in time to perform in support of the 1988 “No” campaign. Both groups joined the fold of renewed political activism.

Chileans' public behavior evolved from being withdrawn, self-conscious, and subdued to being optimistic and open enough to receive hopeful messages for a return to democracy at the end of the decade. By the time the plebiscite took place, the Chilean people were able to receive the opposition with gusto, which allowed the campaign's artistic efforts to pay off.

Conclusions

My query as to how the “No” Campaign seems to have defied all odds leads me to rethink the nature of politics during the dictatorship. At a time when political parties were banned and public gatherings considered illegal, Chileans found alternative ways to oppose the military government. In this climate, I argue that artistic expression took on political meaning. Leftist political activists recognize that in-fighting and a failure to unite were major factors in the demise of Chile's democracy in the seventies, so it is understandable that people made every effort to avoid anything that resembled political party lines. Marxism and Allende's *Unidad Popular* loomed like a specter during the dictatorship, and it became an impulse for artists to distance themselves from this previous model in order to assert themselves as new, different, and relevant. On the one hand, there was a rupture with tradition; art readjusted to the new socio-political scene. But on the other hand, there was a continuity that the artists themselves were eager to deny. In my overview of the decade's various cultural expressions—in poetry, music, theater, and narrative—I have proposed that this tension between rupture and continuity created a type of hybrid culture, one that had an increased capacity for communication with the Chilean people. The “No” Campaign's rainbow emblem is the perfect representation of this concept, embracing diversity and incorporating the past as the nation looks ahead to a brighter future.

The military coup certainly shocked the Chilean people with its violent force, causing a rupture in their democratic history that affected people's everyday existence, their conversations and social interactions. At the time, many citizens saw the junta as a temporary solution to their country's severe economic troubles. The four military men: Admiral José Toribio Merino, Commander in Chief of the Navy, General Gustavo Leigh, Commander in Chief of the Air Force, General César Mendoza, Director of Police, and General Augusto Pinochet, Commander in Chief of the Army, announced their intention to cure Chile of its Marxist ills as part of their program of restoring “nuestra Patria”. In their *Declaración de principios del Gobierno de Chile*, the junta proclaimed that Chile should try to achieve “la libertad como forma de vida”, but the reality that set in over the next decade only served to strip people of their liberties and freedoms of expression (Declaración 1974: 1). The imposition of a new economic model, high unemployment, and massive social uprisings and protests all marked the eighties and generated a legendary fight against the dictator. The Chilean people managed to come out of the “apagón cultural” and seek *alegría* once again. This did not mean a return to the past but rather a capacity for confronting the present and finding new ways to come together, express

ideas, and seek a way out. I believe that Chile's artists were ringleaders in this process, maintaining a reserve of joy and hope. An illustration of this is the way that music can nourish the Chilean spirit. The world famous *Himno a la alegría*, based on the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth Choral Symphony, is known as an ode to peace, and it became the hymn of Chile's political prisoners. The song has its roots in the eighteenth century; it was Friedrich von Schiller's poem "Ode to Joy" that inspired Beethoven. The *Himno de la alegría* or *La canción de la alegría* has been interpreted by multiple artists, including Joan Manuel Serrat; it also served as the opening theme song to Chile's first annual *Teletón* in 1978 where Florcita Motuda danced the *cumbia*. And finally, the jingle, "Chile, la alegría ya viene", carried optimism and an expectation for change in its catchy tune. The resistant energy of the people was impossible for a dictator and his army to root out, because it had been crystallizing in multiple layers and in unlikely places throughout the decade.

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