Fm07-Lyrics.fm. 2017-11-07, 15:10

7. Words, etc.

The main topic of this chapter is *Fernando*'s English lyrics and their interaction with the song's musical meanings. The song's Swedish and Spanish lyrics are also discussed in brief, as is artwork of particular relevance to the main topic. However, before offering any sort of commentary, I'll let the words 'speak for themselves' in all three languages.[1]

Just the lyrics

English version

- *VERSE 1*. Can you hear the drums, Fernando?
  I remember long ago another starry night like this:
  In the firelight, Fernando,
  You were humming to yourself and softly strumming your guitar.
  I could hear the distant drums and bugle calls were coming from afar.
- *VERSE 2*. They were closer now, Fernando.
  Every hour, every minute seemed to last eternally.
  I was so afraid, Fernando:
  We were young and full of life and none of us prepared to die
  And I'm not ashamed to say the roar of guns and cannons almost made me cry.
- *REFRAIN*. There was something in the air that night,
  The stars were bright, Fernando.
  They were shining there for you and me, For liberty, Fernando.
  Though we never thought that we could lose, there's no regrets.
  If I had to do the same again, I would, my friend, Fernando.
- *VERSE 3*. Now we're old and grey, Fernando,
  Since many years I haven't seen a rifle in your hand.
  Can you hear the drums, Fernando?
  Do you still remember that fateful night we crossed the Rio Grande?
  I can see it in your eyes how proud you were to fight for freedom in this land.

1. NB.The refrain occurs twice again after verse 3 in all three language versions.

Spanish lyrics[2]

SPANISH	*Literal ENGLISH translation*
v1. ¿Puedes escuchar, Fernando? Me recuerda tiempo atrás estrellas y una noche... En la lumbre azul, Fernando. Tarareabas tu canción con ese suave guitarrear Yo podía escuchar esos tambores con un sordo redoblar.	**v1**. Can you hear, Fernando? / I remember long ago stars and a night in the dark blue light, Fernando. / You were humming your song and strumming your guitar softly. / I could hear those drums quietly rolling.
v2. Se acercaban más, Fernando Y el momento que pasaba parecía eternidad; Sentí temor, Fernando, Por la vida y juventud nadie pensaba en morir Y no siento hoy vergüenza al confesar que tuve ganas de llorar.	**v2**. They were approaching, Fernando / And the moment that passed seemed like eternity; / I felt afraid, Fernando, / For life and youth: no-one was thinking of dying / And today I'm not ashamed confessing that I felt like crying.
ESTRIBILLO **(r)**. Algo había alrededor quizás de claridad, Fernando Que brillaba por nosotros dos en protección, Fernando. No pensábamos jamás perder ni echar atrás. Si tuviera que volverlo a hacer, lo haría ya, Fernando.	*REFRAIN* **(r)**. There was a sort of brightness all around us, Fernando / That was shining for the two of us and protecting us, Fernando. / We never thought we would lose or lag behind. / If I had to go back and do it again, I would, Fernando.
v3. La vejez llegó, Fernando Y con ella una paz que hoy logramos disfrutar. Se durmió el tambor, Fernando: Pareciera que fue ayer que lo vivimos tu y yo Y en tus ojos veo aún aquel orgullo que refleja tu valor.	**v3**. Old age arrived, Fernando / And with it a peace that we manage to enjoy. / The drum went silent, Fernando: / It seems like it was yesterday we lived (all of) that, you and I / And in your eyes I see some of that pride which reflects your courage.

2. The Spanish lyrics are by Buddy and Mary McCloskey (Buenos Aires): see pp. 220-221.

Swedish lyrics[3]

SWEDISH	*Literal ENGLISH translation*
v1. Varför sörjer du, Fernando? Varför klingar din gitarr i moll, vad är det som står på? Är det kärleken, Fernando? Har hon lämnat dig, din stora kärlek, är det så? Den som älskat och förlorat allt vet att sånt kan hända då och då.	**v1**. Why are you troubled Fernando? / Why is your guitar in the minor key? What is wrong? / Is it love, Fernando? / Has she left you, that great love of yours? Is that the way it is? / Whoever has loved and lost knows that this can happen now and again.
v2. Sorgen kan va' tung att bära, Men att vänner sviker är nånting man måste lära sig. Jag har också mist min kära: Vem är du som tror att detta kunde bara drabba dig. Har du några glada sånger kvar, så spela, spela, spela dem för mig.	**v2**. Sorrow can be a heavy burden / But being abandoned by friends is a lesson that must be learned. / I too have lost the one I loved. / Who are you to presume that such things only happen to you? / If you still have any happy songs left, please play (×3) them for me.
REFRÄNG (**r**). Länge, länge leve kärleken, vår bästa vän, Fernando! Fyll ditt glas och höj en skål för den, för kärleken, Fernando! Spela, spela melodin och sjung sången om lyckan! Länge, länge leve kärleken, den kärleken, Fernando!	*REFRAIN* (**r**). Long, long, long live love, our best friend, Fernando! / Fill your glass and drink a toast for love, yes, for love, Fernando. / Play, play the tune and sing the song of happiness: / Long, long live love, that (kind of) love, Fernando!
v3. Ska vi skåla för dem andra, Som fick evig kärlek och den tro som bor i varje sång? Eller skåla med varandra Vill du dricka för den lycka som jag upplevde en gång? Det är lika sant som sagt den vackra sagan, den blir aldrig (×2) lång.	**v3**. Shall we drink to the others? / To those who found eternal love and the faith that lives in every song? / Or drink to each other? / Will you drink to that happiness I once knew? / It's as true as true that such wonderful stories never last long.

3. The Swedish lyrics are by Stig ('Stikkan') Anderson (see p. 222).

The lyrics: discussion

One obvious point to make about the three versions of the song's lyrics is that the English and Spanish versions are, with five exceptions (Table 6, key words underlined), pretty similar, whereas the Swedish version follows a different sort of narrative.

Spanish lyrics

Table 6: Differences between *Fernando*'s English and Spanish lyrics

	English	*Spanish*	Literal translation
v2	…the roar of guns and cannons… made me cry.	…al confesar que tuve ganas de llorar.	…to admit that I felt like crying.
r	…shining there for you and me, for liberty…	*… brillaba por nosotros dos en protección…*	…shining for the two of us and protecting us…
v3	…I haven't seen a rifle in your hand. Do you still remember that fateful night we crossed the Rio Grande? …how proud you were to fight for freedom in this land.	*Y con ella una paz que hoy logramos disfrutar.* *Pareciera que fué ayer que lo vivimos tu y yo* *…aún aquel orgullo que refleja tu valor.*	…a peace that we manage to enjoy today. It seems like it was yesterday we lived (all of) that, you and I … some of that pride which reflects your courage.

The five differences just listed have one thing in common: the first-person reminiscences in the Spanish lyrics are less concrete and provide less detail than those of the English original. First, the 'guns and cannons' of verse 2 don't turn up at all in the Spanish version. Then, instead of the English version's stars shining 'for liberty' (**r**) in the 'fight for freedom' (**v3**), they shine in Spanish merely to 'protect' the couple (*nosotros dos, en proteccion*). Similarly, the rhyming 'rifle in your hand', 'Rio Grande' and 'fight for freedom in this land' (**v3**) are all absent in the Spanish lyrics which replace them with much vaguer concepts —enjoying peace, remembering old times, recognising pride and courage, the latter with no hint of any feasible context in which that pride and courage could have been put to good use.

There are two possible reasons why the Spanish lyrics can seem like a watered-down version of the original English. One reason has to do with the prosaïc fact that translators of any song lyrics must retain the original language's *prosody* in the target language if it's to sound musically convincing: each sung phrase must contain the same number of syllables of the same duration and stress pattern as the original. At the same time, the translation has to be idiomatic, make linguistic sense and, preferably, provide a reasonably faithful *lexical* rendering of the original. The trouble is that demands on both prosodic *and* lexical fidelity often present an unsolvable equation in that one fidelity or the other, usually the lexical, has to be jettisoned. Given that the prosodic differences between English and Spanish are substantial,[4] it's quite likely that those who translated *Fernando*'s lyrics for Abba to rerecord in Spanish chose at several points in the song to abandon lexical fidelity in favour of prosodic accuracy and idiomatic credibility.[5] Figure 24 illustrates one aspect of the issue quite efficiently.

Fig. 24. *Fernando* sung in English on Spanish TV

Abba's preference to sing live [laɪv] in English, not Spanish, necessitated the use of subtitles showing *TVE*'s Spanish viewers the *lexical* sense of the English lyrics (fig. 24). The subtitle is a literal translation of 'since many years I haven't seen a rifle in your hand' (**v3**), as sung in English on camera by Frida and Agnetha. The subtitle is lexically correct but prosodically inaccurate because the last three syllables —*tu mano* ('your hand')— fit a ♪|♪♩ motif, as in 'Fernando' (m6, p. 163, ff.): it just doesn't fit the sung ♪|♩ of 'your hand'.[6] But that doesn't explain why the ♩ ♫◡♩ of 'liberty' is translated *protección* (♩ ♫◡♩) instead of *libertad* (also ♩ ♫◡♩).

4. See *'Llorando, cantando, pensando'* (pp. 163-166) and 'Scotch snaps' (YT Tagg, 2011c).
5. The Spanish version is by Buddy and Mary McCloskey (see next paragraph). It was considered to 'fit well' and to be 'quite idiomatic' by several participants in my seminar at the *Cursos latinoamericanos de música contemporânea* in Brazil (1984: see p. 27).
6. On the other hand, the lexically incorrect '*Y con ella una paz que hoy logramos disfrutar*' ('And with it a peace that we can enjoy today') is prosodically correct.

The second plausible reason for the 'watering-down' is that Buddy and Mary McCloskey,[7] who wrote the Spanish lyrics for *Fernando* in the late 1970s, were at the time living in Buenos Aires. Those were the days of Argentina's execrable dictatorship (1976-83),[8] of its death squads,[8a] death flights,[8b] state baby-snatching,[8c] detention centres,[8d] etc. As one of the junta's naval officers later confessed, '[w]e did worse things than the Nazis'.[8e] These right-wing state terrorists saw 'reds under the beds', including musical 'commies', everywhere. It wasn't just revolutionary guys with guitars (e.g. fig. 25d) who they targeted: even internationally famed artists like Charly García and Mercedes Sosa were treated as subversives.[10b] Sosa, for example, had to flee Argentina after a concert at La Plata in 1979 when security thugs first searched her on stage and then arrested both her and her whole audience.[9] Under such circumstances (see figure 25 and footnotes 8-10), it would be understandable if the McCloskeys thought twice before producing a translation of *Fernando* that mentioned GUNS, CANNONS, a RIFLE, LIBERTY and FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM. After all, if your head of state says, as did General Videla in 1976 (fig. 25b, c), that 'a terrorist is not just someone with a gun or a bomb, but also someone who spreads ideas that are contrary to Western and Christian

7. Buddy McCloskey was at the time head of RCA Argentina (Rivas, 2007).
8. 30,000 humans were killed during Argentina's state terror under General Videla (1976-83: W *Dirty War* and W *El terrorismo de Estado*). **[a]** The worst W *death squad*s were those linked to the AAA (*Alianza Anticomunista Argentina*). **[b]** In W *death flights* victims were thrown from a great height out of military aircraft into the sea. **[c]** At least 500 babies were stolen from political prisoners and given to childless couples sanctioned by the junta: see fig. 25a, ftnt. 65 (p. 151) and Osorio (2012). **[d]** The régime's most infamous centre of death and torture was the *Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada* in Buenos Aires (W *Detention Centres in the Dirty War*). **[e]** The junta naval officer was W *Adolfo Scilingo*, cited in Verbitsky (1996:7); he received a 1084-year sentence for crimes against humanity.
9. It was thanks to an international outcry that those arrested, including Sosa, were released. After fleeing to Paris, then Madrid, she returned to Argentina in 1982. Sosa has performed with many famous artists, including Andrea Bocelli, Franco Battiato, Jaime Roos, Joan Baez, Nana Mouskouri, Pablo Milanés, Holly Near, Milton Nascimento, Luciano Pavarotti, Silvio Rodríguez, Shakira, Sting and Caetano Veloso (W *Mercedes Sosa*). In 1977 Charly García fled to Brazil where he wrote songs with veiled but allegorically clear lyrics, e.g. *Viernes 3am, Los dinosaurios*, *Alicia en el país*. Among anglophone hits banned by the Argentine junta were Rod Stewart's *Do You Think I'm Sexy?*, Pink Floyd's *Another Brick In The Wall* and most recordings by Donna Summer: see also Andreassi (2014), Irigaray (2009) and Pujol (2007). Music in Uruguay suffered a similar fate under its own right-wing dictatorship (see Fornaro (2014) and Aharonián (nd)). For more about this dark period in Latin-American history and its relation to Abba's *Fernando*, see pp. 234-257.

civilisation' (McSherry, 2005: 1), and if such paranoid zeal is an article of faith in a system of state terror, as in Argentina 1976-83, then no-one is safe, neither the McCloskeys, nor me, nor anyone 'subversive' enough to be reading these 'commie' words.

Fig. 25. Argentinian 'circumstances': (a) Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo; (b) Dictators and neighbours Videla (L) and Pinochet (R); (c) Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, with Videla; (d) Orlando Navarro, 'disappeared' in Santa Fé, Sept. 1976; (e) Enriquito Imhoff (1½ yrs.), murdered in Rosário, May 1983.[10]

These distressing circumstances are an inevitable part of *Fernando*'s contemporary reality. They will regrettably rear their ugly head again later in this chapter because this analysis of *Fernando* has to make sense in the wider global context of the mid 1970s when Abba hits were heard all over the world. But first we need to see what the Swedish and English lyrics can tell us about the song.

10. **(a)** The *Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo* (W *Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo*) is an organisation that aims to find the stolen babies whose mothers were killed during the state terrorism in Argentina. **(b)** W General *Jorge Rafael Videla* was military coup leader and presided over Argentina's state terrorism 1976-83. He was sentenced to life for the deaths of prisoners and to another fifty years for the systematic kidnapping of children during his 'presidency'. **(c)** Kissinger basically gave the vile Videla Washington's go-ahead to rid Argentina of 'subversives', as long as the process went quickly (Campbell, 2003). **(d)** Novarro studied at the *Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales de la Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Santa Fe*; **(e)** Enriquito was an 18-month-old toddler. What can *anyone* say about that?

Swedish lyrics

The Swedish lyrics contain no mention of guns, cannons, rifles, bugles, freedom, liberty, the Rio Grande, fighting for freedom, or of any other identifiable object, location or event. Even the Spanish version's fear of dying, its pride and valour are absent in the Swedish lyrics whose only 'crying' and 'losing' involve romantic love, not an armed struggle for a noble cause.[11] The Swedish lyrics are in other words those of a typical YOU AND ME love song. True, the singer is, as in the English and Spanish versions, alone in her conversation-as-monologue with a Fernando who never responds in words. In the Swedish version, however, it is he rather than she who seems to have 'the problems': he has lost the one he loves and she offers him words of consolation in a spirit of complicity similar to that expressed in the very different narrative framework of the English and Spanish versions. Indeed, all three versions rely on shared experience to construct the couple SINGER-PLUS-FERNANDO as a narrative device. The Swedish words suggest that both he and she must learn to sustain the misfortunes of love in much the same way that LOSING the fight for liberty links with NO REGRETS in the other versions.[12a] Moreover, overall verbal processuality is similar in all three versions: it proceeds from PROBLEMS in **`v1`** and **`v2`** to CELEBRATION and positive REMINISCENCE of the 'problem sphere' in **`r1`**, **`v3`**, **`r3`** and **`r4`**.[12b] The obvious question is: how, despite the general processual similarities just mentioned, can the Swedish version's love-ballad lyrics be sung in the same way and with the same backing tracks as the radically different English lyrics? And what in the Swedish lyrics, apart from 'Fernando' (♪|♪♩ —m6), is conceivably Hispanic, let alone Latin American, even less Andean, that can reasonably connect with quena, charango and *Boléro* musemes m1 and m4? Those questions are discussed on pages 230-265.

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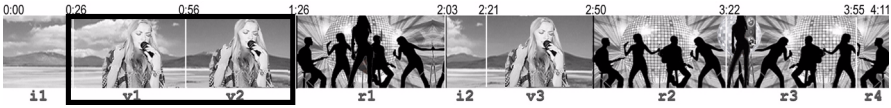
11. **`v1`** *Varför sörjer du…?* **`v2`** *Den som älskat och förlorat…* ; **`v2`** *Jag har också mist min kära…* ('Why are you sad?', 'He/she who has loved and lost love', 'I've also lost my darling').
12. **(a)** English: 'Though we never thought that we could lose, there's no regrets'; Spanish: 'No pensábamos jamás perder…Si tuviera que volverlo a hacer, lo haría ya'; Swedish: …'att vänner sviker är nånting man måste lära sig'.
(b) CELEBRATION: see section on *Mjukdisco* (pp. 189-190) and Table 4 (p. 204).

English lyrics

As with the Spanish and Swedish versions, the English lyrics take the form of a monologue in which the female vocalist addresses a supposed conversation partner —Fernando— who never responds verbally to her questions.[13]

Verses 1 and 2



In verses 1 and 2 she reminisces —*'I remember', 'you were humming', 'I could hear', 'they were closer', 'seemed to', 'we were', 'almost made me cry'*, etc. She recalls events in the form of disconnected flashbacks —*drums, cannons, bugles, guitar, crossing the Rio Grande*, etc.— and tells of her fears —*'none of us [were] prepared to die', 'I was so afraid'*, etc. It's all in the past tense and, as readers will have doubtless noted, the reminiscences are given a poetic dimension —*'starry night', 'firelight', '… last eternally'*, etc. References to places, persons and events may be more concrete than those of the Spanish lyrics but they are by no means unequivocal: the '*fight*', the '*losing*' and '*dying*' could have taken place at virtually any time in any place where they speak Spanish, have a *Rio Grande* and play ethnic flutes. Or could they? I'll return to that question (p.230, ff.) after this initial discussion.

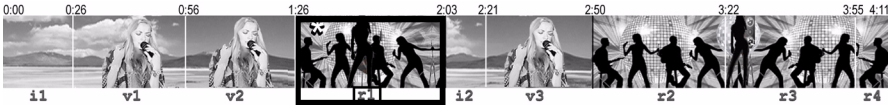
In the verse sections of *Fernando*, clear links of cultural troping are found in a number of correspondences between words and music. These correspondences occur at two levels: (1) discrete and musematic; (2) processual. At the first level, the following correspondences exist between (↔) the music (♪) and (≣) the lyrics:

- ♪ m1, m4, m5, tertial parallels ↔ ≣ a sense of 'Latin America';
- ♪ m3 ↔ ≣ 'stars', 'firelight', etc.;
- ♪ m4 ↔ ≣ the 'distant drums' and strife;
- ♪ m1b, m10c ↔ ≣ 'guitar';
- ♪ irregular periodicity, rhythmic-melodic license ↔ ≣ emotional involvement, fervour, danger and fear;
- ♪ graceful, controlled, fervour (m5) ↔ ≣ the noble cause of liberation and the sincerity of the vocalist's first person;

13. *Musical* response comes in the form of the m1a fills (♪♩𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯♩) in **v2** and **v3**.

- ♪ the heavenly, devotional (m3) ↔ 🗏 notions of transcendence, e.g. 'stars', the 'fight for freedom' with its possible consequence of martyrdom ('none of us prepared to die') and '… last eternally';
- ♪ the quena (m1a) ↔ a man in the lyrics whose origins could well tally with the ethnic and cultural origins of those melodic elements.

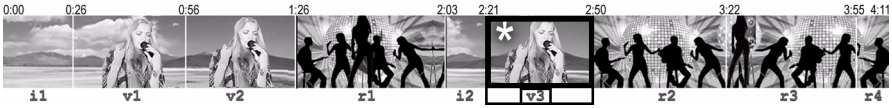
Refrain 1: seen from here and now



The words of the refrain are more general than those of the three verses. Apart from the '*stars… in the air that night*' and the vocative *'Fernando'*, there are no references or flashbacks to anything concrete, nor to anyone in the 'real' situation of the verses. The refrain lyrics are at a safe mental distance from the fears of the verse (*'though we never thought that we could lose, there's* NO *regret'*), while obvious symbols of strife from verses 1 and 2 (*drums, guns, cannons, bugles, dying*, etc.) are all absent in the refrain whose verbal gist seems to be 'yes, those were great times, Fernando'. The apparent opposition between the musical HERE-AND-NOW of the refrain and the THERE-AND-THEN of verses 1 and 2 takes on a new dimension in combination with the lyrics. This combination of the refrain lyrics, with their generally positive mood and the singer's delightful longing (m8), transforms the fear, fervour and involvement in the strange but beautifully exotic environment of verses 1 and 2 into nostalgic reminiscing. Of course, it would be absurd to suggest that nostalgic reminiscence can occur in the temporal, social or geographical location which is the object of that nostalgia because there must be distance, temporal and/or spatial (a HERE v. THERE, a NOW v. THEN), for any such reminiscing to take place. This means that the 'real' (musical) environment of the verse to which the verbal reminiscences of the refrain refer cannot be prominent *in* the refrain. Since THOSE-WERE-THE-DAYS and THOSE-WERE-THE-PLACES involve emotional and musical distance in time and/or space to the objects of such reminiscing, the HOME (musical) environment of the refrain (m9, m10 — instrumental, metric, rhythmic, timbral disco leisure familiarity and non-latinness)— can be interpreted as a kind of 'armchair' HERE AND NOW position from which the 'FOREIGNNESS' of the verses can be viewed at a safe distance.

The switch from **v1** and **v2** into **r1** acts as a catalyst on the rest of *Fernando* because: (i) it's the first structural block shift; (ii) it's the first radical change of mood, taking us from the comparative concretion of fear, problems and involvement to the comparative generality and abstraction of pleasant longing, reminiscence, happiness and familiarity. This shift sets a processual precedent and is, as argued in chapter 6, the main dualism on which the aesthetic dynamic of the whole of *Fernando* rests. The only links between verse and refrain are, apart from the style-indicative constants of the whole song (the same solo voice, roughly the same tempo, the same metre, the same key, the same basic sort of tonality, the same [verbal] language, etc.) are: (i) the possible latinness of the longing museme and its upbeat (m7→ m8 as in *Quizás*); (ii) the verbal and musical statement of the name 'Fernando' (m6).[14]

Verse 3

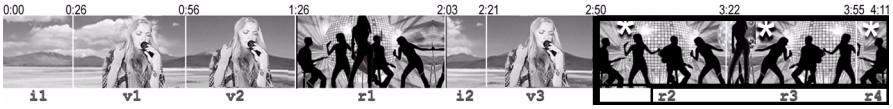


In verse 3 (**v3**) the familiar, happy HERE-AND-NOW, SOFT DISCO musical environment of **r1** reverts to THERE-AND-THEN, while the THOSE-WERE-THE-DAYS generalities of the refrain lyrics become more concrete, though, as we'll shortly see, in a different way. The process from **r1** into **i2** and **v3** is the second of three block shifts of mood. Musically we're taken back to the 'other place', the THERE-AND-THEN where the song started. However, no recap of verbal or musical material can be interpreted in the same way as its initial statement, because whatever separates an earlier statement from its recap will exert influence on the understanding of the recap, even if it's musically identical to what preceded the insertion of other material. In fact the words of **v3** are so influenced by the insertion of **r1** after **v2** that its main verbs are now, unlike **v1** and **v2**, in the present or perfect tense —*'we're old and grey'*, *'I haven't seen'*, *'Do you recall?'*, *'I can see'*, etc., not in the simple past tense of the previous verses (*'were'*, *'seemed'*, *'made'*, etc.).

14. Although the Fats Domino-style bass riff (m10a) may have forerunners in the habanera it cannot be considered a museme of latinness (see pp. 186-189).

One way of understanding perceived musical change in a set of unchanged musical structures is to imagine travelling to a new place and experiencing new things there, returning home for a time and then going back to what *was but not longer is* the 'new place'. (It can't be new if you've been there before.) Obviously, even though that place might be identical on your return visit and even though your actions there might be similar to those of your previous visit, the same place can never be *experienced* exactly as it was before. It's in this way that listeners are more than likely to hear **v3** through the recent experiential prism of (i) **v1+v2**, (ii) **r1**, (iii) the shift from **v1+v2** into **r1**. Thus, though *structurally* well-nigh identical to **v2**, the music of **v3** can't be *semiotically* the same as **v2**. It's also likely that such change in the perception of identical musical material within the song to WHAT WAS BUT NO LONGER IS may have contributed to the *structural* change of tense in the *lyrics* of **v3** from the simple past (**v1**, **v2**) to the present or perfect. This switch of tense is underlined by temporal adverbials in **v3** —*'now', 'since many years', 'still'*— all of which imply water under the bridge and greater temporal distance to whatever the music and lyrics had been hinting at in earlier verses. In other words, the verbal reminiscing in the musical HERE AND NOW of **r1** continues into **v3** even if the music returns to THERE AND THEN. However, that musical THERE AND THEN has also changed its connotations due to the altered relationship between words and music. Fernando is no longer pictured strumming his guitar under the stars with the distant rumble of battle and the fear of dying in his (or the listener's) head. It's almost as if he's sitting beside us on the sofa, as if the THERE AND THEN of **v1** and **v2** had drifted even further away from what once must have been a real HERE AND NOW.

Final refrains



After **v3** the refrain comes back with a vengeance and keeps going until the end of the song. It's the third episodic shift in Fernando: [i] **v+v1+v2 ▸ r1**; [ii] **r1 ▸ i2+v3**; [iii] **v3 ▸ r3-4** and we're back on home ground in the HERE AND NOW all the way down to the fade-out, musically with the SOFT DISCO and the vocalist's PLEASANT LONGING (m8), verbally with the lyrics' positive reflections and nostalgic reminiscences.

One important point to note in the lyrics of *Fernando*'s refrains is that they're all in the past tense apart from the final line: *'if I had to do the same again, I would, my friend, Fernando'*. Linguistically, that sentence follows the 'conditional II' pattern which is normally 'used to describe hypothetical, typically counterfactual situations'.[15] This grammatical nicety is important if considered in its musical context because the IF... WOULD construction occurs together with m8. Now, that concurrence might be interpreted as proof of congruence between verbal and musical message in that the vocal first-person's wish to go back and *'do the same again'* is sung to a museme linked to states of LONGING (m8). But that concurrence is also contradictory: on the one hand, musical processes have moved from the serious, foreign, THERE AND THEN of the verse to the relief, regularity, familiarity and comparative jollity of the HERE AND NOW refrain; verbally, on the other hand, there is now a longing to return *from* the familiar everyday happiness of the refrain *back to* the exotic, exciting, threatening setting of the verse. Does the vocalist's first person really want to 'do the same again'? Does she really want to return to those foreign places and get involved in a dangerous liberation struggle now that she's back home in the refrain? After all, the refrain's final sentence expresses 'doing the same again' as a counterfactual clause — 'if I had to'— and puts its consequent into the conditional tense —'I would'—, not into the future —'I will'—, nor into a more determined type of modal present —'I must', 'I want to', etc. But there's more to the contradiction than the mere grammar of conditional sentences and the nuances of auxiliary verbs.

The issue here is that the verbally expressed hypothetical undertaking to return to Latin America to fight the good fight coincides *not* with the initial statement of m8 (LONGING) but with the RESOLUTION OF LONGING, already discussed,[16] in the descending melodic cadence version of m8 (8̂-ᐃ7̲̂-5̂-4̲̂-2̂-1̲̂), and its final position in the highly directional harmonic progression VI7-II7-V7-I (F♯7-B7-E7-A). In the refrains following **v3** (**r2**, **r3**) these markers of finality don't lead musically to the situation which the words express the hypothetical intention to revisit: they simply end the refrain and stay conclusively in its HERE-AND-NOW AT HOME environment. It's in this way that

15. W *English conditional sentences*. *Counterfactual*: 'a conditional statement the first clause of which expresses something contrary to fact, as "If I had known".' (dictionary.com).
16. See under 'Ambiguity of longing', pp. 193-196.

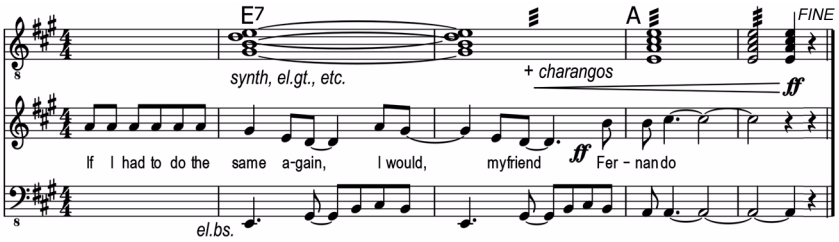
the *modus irrealis* of the words in the last line of the refrain are clarified by the music. Either there's no solution to the 'longing' since the object of longing (returning to fight) is fulfilled in neither words nor music, or else there is no real longing that requires resolution in the first place. If the latter is nearer the truth, the only possible interpretation is that the state of longing in words (to 'do the same again') is self-sufficient and that the longing in the music is fulfilled through completion of full V-I perfect cadences at the end of standard four- or eight-bar periods in the familiar, pleasant home setting. This means in turn that there is really only one main process in *Fernando*:

> ***FROM*** problems and involvement in an exotic, exciting environment ***TO*** happy reminiscences at home about that environment and those events.

This interpretation means that the verbal wish to leave HOME and rejoin a liberation struggle somewhere in Latin America is unconvincing, a bit like saying 'Come on! Let's go!' in a voice that says 'let's stay here and relax'. Together with the final occurrence of m8 which tails off down to the octave below (8̂-♭7̂-5̂-4̂-2̂-1̂) in a harmonic context of regular four-bar VI-II-V-I and V-I sequences (b. 85-91, 100-106, 107-110, 111-114), the initial tritone tension of m8 is patently resolved. These progressions have the final word not only in each refrain but also in the whole song, thrashing out, right though the final fade, *not the 'longing' of m8 but release of its tension*.

To make the verbal longing more musically credible and to finish the song in a spirit of greater determination, you could try example 165: it simply lifts the final 'Fernando' figure (m6) an octave to end with an ascending gesture (b-b-c♯) on the final tonic chord (A), complete with tremolando and crescendo to ***ff***. It's certainly more GET UP AND GO than REPEAT AND FADE.

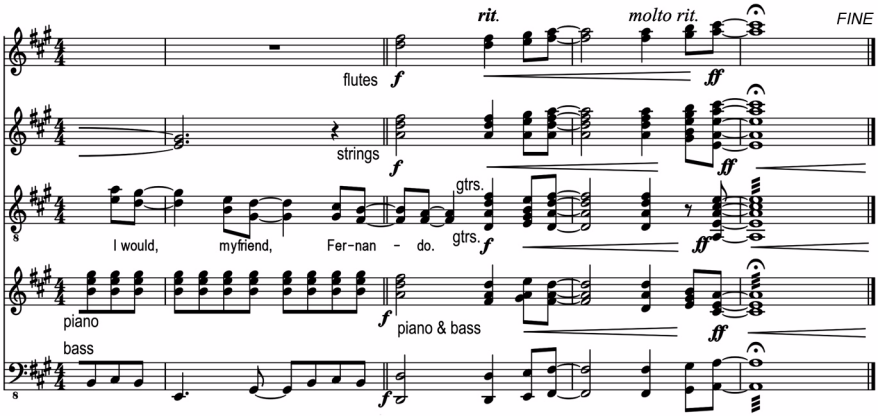
Ex. 165. *Fernando* — alternative ending 1



Another way of making the vocal first person's IF I HAD TO… I WOULD… more convincing is to end **r3** in the same way as **r1** in bars 55-56 (pp. 53-54) by re-

placing the final tonic (A) with the subdominant (D) and using m2, the SUNRISE museme, to end the tune on an extended tonic (A), as in bars 56-58 (pp. 53-54) and as suggested in example 166.

Ex. 166. *Fernando* — alternative ending 2



In fact, ignoring the tremolando effects, the dramatic crescendos and the ritardando, example 166 shows how Abba themselves actually ended their live stage performances of *Fernando* on several occasions.[17] This ending has not only the same advantage as example 165 —its outward and upward thrust is in fact even greater—; it also takes the music to the song's only passage (m2 in **i2**) linking HERE AND NOW (**r1**) *forwards* into THERE AND THEN (**v3**). This ending makes the singer's '*if… I would*' much more convincing because we might actually be on our way back there to really '*do the same again*'. Even if we don't actually get there —it's an ending— a final burst of the museme (m2) which twice previously led into THERE AND THEN[18] now exploits those precedents to suggest that the song ends by taking that same direction. The question is: WHERE exactly (if anywhere) is the THERE of *Fernando*'s THERE AND THEN?

17. See, for example, one Australian fan's lo-res amateur recording at a 1977 Abba gig in Melbourne: Yi ngXZNSCZNnM [160522]. Another Abba strategy for ending *Fernando* in stadium gigs was to omit the last three notes in the last repeat of m7+m8: [Abba and musicians on stage] 'If I had to the same again, I would my friend' [crowd only] 'FERNANDO!!'.
18. Precedents: in bars 7-12 m2 introduced **v1**; in bars 56-64 it introduced **v3**.

Where is 'there'?

Rio Grande & Mexico

Musical connotations of place have already been discussed at some length. For example, the quena flutes and their MAÑANA TURNs (m1a) plus the tremolando charango sound (m1b) were identified as typical of traditional music from the Andes, while the ♪|♪♪ rhythm of m6 ('Fernando') and the snare drum patterns in verse 1 (m4, *BOLÉRO*) were characterised as generically 'Latin' or Hispanic. Still, the English lyrics, though less vague than those of the Spanish version, aren't exactly specific. As noted on page 223:

> 'The *fight*, the *losing* and *dying* could have taken place at virtually any time in any place where they speak Spanish, have a Rio Grande and play ethnic flutes. Or could they?'

In fact the only name apart from 'Fernando' giving any hint of where THERE might be in the English lyrics is in verse 3's 'we crossed the Rio Grande'. Now, men called Fernando and rivers called Rio Grande are two a penny in Latin America, so let's narrow down the selection of Rio Grandes to just three long, wide and significant border rivers in the Americas (Figure 26).

Fig. 26. Three large Rio Grandes: (a) border Mexico-USA; (b) border Bolivia-Brazil; (c) border Minas Gerais-São Paulo states (Brazil).[19]

Despite the size and significance of Rio Grandes (b) and (c), not to mention the importance of Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul,[20] it's Rio Grande (a) that's most likely to have been on the cultural radar screen of *Fernando*'s listeners outside Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking regions in the mid 1970s. Rio Grande (a) is the one that for much of its length marks the border between Mexico and the

19. There are countless Rio Grandes in Latin America (see W *Rio Grande (disambiguation)*). Rio Grande (a) is 3,051 km in length and known in Mexico as Río Bravo del Norte; Rio Grande (b) is 1,438 km long, a tributary of the Ichilo which flows into the Mamoré; Rio Grande (c) is 1,100 km in length and becomes the Paraná river which eventually flows into the Rio de la Plata and the Atlantic between Buenos Aires and Montevideo (see also footnote 20).

USA, the one that lent its name to around forty Hollywood westerns, including *Rio Grande* (1950) starring John Wayne.[21] In 1976 it was a familiar geocultural notion for anyone raised on a diet of US media products. It also turns up frequently in accounts of the US-Mexican War (1846-1848) and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). Abba's Björn Ulvaeus seems to have had one or both of those conflicts in mind when writing the song's English lyrics in 1975:

> '*Fernando* was about two old freedom-fighters from the war between Texas and Mexico. I was lying outside one summer night, looking at the stars and it suddenly came to me'… 'I knew that the title *Fernando* had to be there and, after pondering a while, I had this vivid image in my mind of two old and scarred revolutionaries in Mexico sitting outside at night talking about old memories'. (W *Fernando (song)*)

Another online source reports Ulvaeus as saying that the two reminiscing veterans had been combatants in the Mexican Revolution.[22] In both instances 'THERE' was imagined as Mexico, 'WHO' as two old revolutionaries, and 'THEN' as either *c*. 1846 or *c*. 1910. It doesn't matter which historical conflict Ulvaeus was thinking of because both are compatible with the sound of the song's DRUMS, BUGLES, CANNONS and RIFLE rather than with the less archaic war sound of, say, a Kalashnikov AK47 or an Apache AH-64.[23] Whatever the case, there's little or no compatibility between *Fernando*'s music and either Mexican storyline. The point is that although MEXICO is, thanks to Rio

20. *Rio Grande do Sul*, Brazil's southernmost state (pop. 11 million), derives its name from the short but broad outlet —the Rio Grande— joining the vast coastal lagoon *Lagôa dos Patos* to the Atlantic at the port city of (yes!) *Rio Grande*. It's this Brazilian Rio Grande that gives its name to the British sea shanty *Bound For The Rio Grande* and to Constant Lambert's choral-orchestral composition *The Rio Grande* (1927).
21. **[a]** Among the dozens of other RG (=Rio Grande) Hollywood westerns are: *RG* (1939), *RG Patro*l (1950), *Rogue of the RG* (1930), *Across the RG* (1949), *Rhythm of the RG* (1940), *Heart of the RG* (1942), *Riders of the RG* (1943), *Law of the RG* (1931), *RG Ranger* (1937), *RG Raiders* (1946), *Renegades of the RG* (1945), *Headin' for the RG* (1936), *Down RG Way* (1942), *Outlaws of the RG* (1941), *Gunmen of the RG* (1965) and *Don Quickshot of the RG* (1923). **[b]** *Rio Grande* is also the name of a suite by Brian Wilson (1988), and *Rio Grande Mud* the title of a Z Z Top album (1972). **[c]** The sea shanty *Bound For The Rio Grande* and Lambert's *The Rio Grande* (1927) refer to Brazil's *Rio Grande do Sul* (see footnote 20).
22. Ulvaeus also warned against taking the storyline literally: 'it's entirely fictional', he said, 'in no way based on real historical events' (interviewed in Australia, Dec. 2008, see spinditty.com/genres/ABBAs-Fernando-A-song-about-the-Mexican-Revolution [160515]).
23. The Kalashnikov AK47 has been the most widely used automatic assault rifle since the 1950s. The Apache AH-64 is an attack helicopter used by US and Israeli forces.

Grande (a), a possible THERE in the *lyrics*, there's nothing unequivocally Mexican in the *music*. Instead there is, as we've seen, clear indication of Andean areas situated 6,000 kilometres from Mexico City and 8,000 kilometres from Rio Grande (a).[24] So, what's going on? Why the incongruity?

Did Abba think the flute and charango sounds of **i+v** (m1) were Mexican? I very much doubt it. Or did they think the sound was generically Latin-American and not specifically Andean? No: I'm sure Abba knew better than that. Well, if Abba *were* aware of the sound's geo-ethnic connotations, did they think their listeners weren't or that they wouldn't notice the bad fit? No, Abba seem always to have taken pride in providing their listeners with well-crafted songs and recordings. So, maybe Abba hoped their listeners *would* recognise the flute-plus-charango connotations and understand that the song wasn't about Mexico after all. Who knows?[25]

The previous paragraph is mere speculation. It's problematic also because it's auteurcentric. It's fixated on authorial intent instead of directed towards understanding how *Fernando*, both words and music, were dynamically linked to its context in *the real world of its listeners at the time of its release and of its greatest popularity*. So, returning to the question of whether 'the FIGHT, the LOSING and DYING' in *Fernando*'s lyrics could have 'taken place at virtually any time in any place where they speak Spanish, have a Rio Grande and play ethnic flutes?', the short answer is NO, it couldn't. As I try to demonstrate in the next section through the discussion of historical events relevant to the song, the THERE of the fight, of the losing, dying and remembering in *Fernando*, is quite specific when examined in relation to the reality that allowed its Swedish listeners to invest it with meaning in the mid 1970s.

24. Santiago de Chile is 6,525 km in a straight line from Mexico City, 8,050 km from El Paso. See 'Andean altiplano and alternative politics' (p. 234, ff.) for further discussion.
25. For reasons given in the next section (p. 234, ff.) I think the last speculation is the least implausible but even that one begs more questions. Why were the Mexico storylines necessary? Were Abba consciously self-censoring to make the song seem less 'political' so it could reach a larger audience? Or were the lyrics written exactly as described by Ulvaeus? In which case how did the song become associated with Chile, or with a Latin lover, or with nothing in particular, but not with Mexico? Or did Abba think the flute and charango sounds of **i+v** were actually Mexican? Whoops! I've gone full circle with these auteurcentric speculations!

Chronology

Table 7 presents a chronological overview of events discussed in what follows that are relevant to the understanding of *Fernando*.

Table 7: Chronological overview of some important *Fernando*-related events

1963	Los Incas release 45 rpm single *El cóndor pasa* in Paris
1964-04-01	Military coup in Brazil
1966-12	Los Calchakis album *La flûte indienne* released in Paris
1968-05	Paris student revolt and French industrial strikes
1969-09-14	Olof Palme becomes Prime Minister of Sweden
1970-01-26	*Bridge Over Troubled Water* (incl. *El cóndor pasa*) released
1970-09-04	Allende is democratically elected President of Chile: *Unidad Popular.*
1971-09	Chilean poet Pablo Neruda receives Nobel Prize for Literature
1972-06-17	Watergate scandal (Washington DC)
1973-03	*Ring Ring*: first recording issued under artist name Abba
1973-06-27	Right-wing military coup in Uruguay
1973-09-11	Fascist military coup in Chile (Pinochet). Allende killed, terror starts.
1973-09-15	Víctor Jara murdered in the *Estadio Chile*
1973-09-23	Pablo Neruda murdered by Pinochet junta agents
1973-12-09	Chile junta expel Swedish ambassador Hans Edelstam as *persona non grata*
1974-04-06	Abba's *Waterloo* wins Eurovision Song Contest in Brighton
1975-03-22	Eurovision Song Contest and *Alternativ Festival* held in Stockholm
1975-04-30	Vietnam war ends (fall of Saigon)
1975-08	Hoola Bandoola's *Stoppa Matchen* b/w *Víctor Jara* released
1975-09-03	*Fernando* backing and Swedish vocals recorded; released in November
1975-09-20	Båstad demonstration against Davis Cup match Sweden-Chile
1975-11-25	Operation Condor meeting in Santiago de Chile
1976-03-24	Fascist military coup in Argentina
1976-04-12	*Fernando* released in English
1980-01-03	*Fernando* recorded in Spanish (released not long after)
1983 - 1985	Dictatorships end in Argentina (1983), Brazil (1984), Uruguay (1985)
1986-02-28	Olof Palme assassinated in central Stockholm
1988-10-05	Pinochet régime ends in Chile; theoretical return of democracy
1992-12-22	Archives of Terror discovered in Ascunción (Paraguay)
1998-10-25	UK House of Lords vote for Pinochet's extradition

The events listed in Table 7 (p. 233) fall into two general categories that together can help reveal *where the* THERE in *Fernando* is actually situated: [1] 'Andean altiplano and alternative politics'; [2] 'Chile, Sweden and the USA'.

Andean altiplano and alternative politics

The first part of chapter 3 presented pretty incontrovertible evidence that the sound of museme 1 ('quena' and 'charango') is typical of traditional music from the Andes. That section concluded as follows.

> 'The combination of m1a and m1b… [connotes] large open spaces in a … far-off, exotic rural region, probably in the Andes (Peru, Bolivia, Chile) and… perhaps something like the scene shown as figure 9' (p. 82).

The issue here is whether someone listening to *Fernando* in Sweden in 1976 could have made that sort of connection and, if so, what else that Andean sound might have connoted.

El cóndor pasa *and* La flûte indienne[26]

Andean folk performances seem to have started off as a popular music niche phenomenon, first in pre-war Buenos Aires, where a conjunto line-up including quena and charango evolved as standard,[27] then in Paris after World War II. It wasn't until the mid 1960s, when the Philips and Arion/Barclay labels released recordings by Los Incas (1963) and Los Calchakis (1966), that this sort of music started to reach a much wider audience.

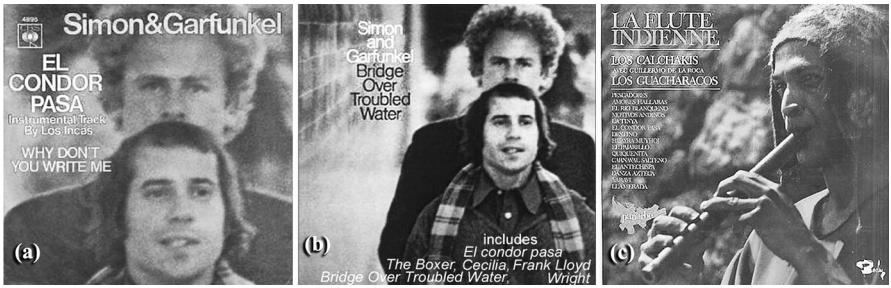
Fig. 27. (a) Los Incas: *El cóndor pasa* (single, 1963); (b) Los Calchakis in 2007[27]

(a) (b)

26. The discussion that follows is substantially informed by Pedro van der LEE's *Andean Music from Incas to Western Popular Music* (2000) and Fernando RIOS' *Andean Music, the Left, and Pan-Latin Americanism* (2009).
27. Figure 27 shows variants of the typical Andean conjunto line-up, Los Incas with charango and zampoñas (pair of panpipes), Los Calchakis with two quenas, guitar, charango and zampoñas. The Los Calchakis photo is from *Le Télégramme*, Lorient, 2007-10-13.

The Los Calchakis album, *La flûte indienne* (1966), sold well enough to spawn numerous Andean folk-flute follow-ups, including *La flûte indienne* volumes 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (1967-75), as well as *Flûtes, harpes et guitares indiennes* (1969).[28] In 1967 Los Incas released the LP *Flûtes des Andes* which, like Los Calchakis's *La flûte indienne* (fig. 28c), contained the track *El cóndor pasa*, a *zarzuela* instrumental from Peru[29] that the band had recorded as a single in 1963 (fig. 27a). It was that version which Paul Simon had heard in 1965 when he was on the same bill as Los Incas at Paris's Théâtre de l'Est. Simon obtained permission from the conjunto's leader, Jorge Milchberg,[29] to use the Los Incas recording as instrumental track over which he and Art Garfunkel went on to dub their English-language vocals ('I'd rather be a hammer than a nail', etc.). Released in 1970, *El Condor Pasa (If I Could,* fig. 28a) was quite successful in the USA[30] and topped the singles charts in Australia, Austria, Belgium, The Netherlands, West Germany, Spain and Switzerland.[31]

Fig. 28. Popular *El cóndor pasa* recordings: (a) Simon & Garfunkel single; (b) track on *Bridge over Troubled Water*; (c) track on *La flûte indienne* (1966).



More importantly, Simon & Garfunkel included *El Condor Pasa (If I Could)* on their 1970 LP *Bridge over Trouble Water* (fig. 28b) which topped the album charts in over ten countries and sold twenty-five million records worldwide,

28. Apart from those albums featuring Los Calchakis, two volumes of *Les flûtes roumaines* by Gheorghe Zamfir appeared in 1970-1971. In 1969 I managed to find three copies of *La flûte indienne 1* in the 'folk music' section of my local record store in Göteborg. I bought one.
29. *El cóndor pasa*, while based on traditional Andean tunes, is in fact by Peruvian composer Daniel Alomía Robles (1913, US ©1933). Copyright issues were, in late 1970, resolved amicably between Paul Simon and Robles' son Armando Robles Godoy.
30. It reached nº18 on the Billboard Hot 100 and nº6 on the Easy Listening charts.
31. CBS never released the single in the UK but a cover by Julie Felix made the Top Twenty. The song was also covered by Perry Como (1970), Paul Mauriat (1971), Yma Sumac (1972), Andy Williams (1970) and a host of others: discogs.com and W *El cóndor pasa* [160525].

becoming one of the biggest grossing albums up to that point in time.[32a] It's also important to note that *Bridge over Troubled Water* was in the Swedish album charts for 57 consecutive weeks from February 1970 until March 1971, 49 of which it was in the top four and 7 at nº1.[32b] Moreover, during the summer of 1970 the entirely instrumental Los Incas single *El cóndor pasa* (fig. 27a) was in the Swedish charts for 10 weeks and the Los Calchakis album containing the same tune, *La flûte indienne* (vol. 1), for 7.[32c]

It should be obvious that none of the statistics just enumerated in any way suggest that Andean sounds featuring quena and charango, as in *El cóndor pasa*, went unrecognised by a very broad record-buying public in the years between *Bridge over Troubled Water* (1970) and Abba's *Fernando* (1975-6), even less that those sounds were the preserve of cognoscenti in some sort of 'world-music' niche market. On the contrary, this global change in connotative music semiotics relating to Latin America is even detectable in library music production: whereas 1971 collections included titles like *Babassu* ('romantic, sultry') and *Ballyhoo in Bogotá* ('sunny fiesta') or *Santiago* and *Toma Tequila* (Afro-Cuban rhythms in typical Latin style'), they contained nothing resembling the *Exotic Flute* or *Inca Flute* numbers found in collections produced in the mid-to-late 1970s (see examples 5-6, p. 73).[33] If library music companies were able to update their tropes of South America to fall in line with what had become a mainstream trend in music semiotics, there's no reason to believe that Abba or their listeners were unable to do likewise.

Two questions arise from the account so far. [1] Why was the Andean style exemplified by *El cóndor pasa* and *Fernando*'s museme 1 so globally popular? [2] What else, if anything, beyond the general notion of a geo-ethnic space, did such Andean sounds connote to a non-Andean, non-Latin-American audience?

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32. **[a]** 🅆 *Bridge over Troubled Water* [160525]. **[b]** 🅆 sv. *Lista över ettor på Kvällstoppen* [160525] and ⬇ kvallstoppen.se/ [160526]. **[c]** 1970-06-09 to 1970-08-11, peaking at nº4 (1970-06-30) ⬇ kvallstoppen.se/ [160526].
33. *Babassu* and *Ballyhoo in Bogotá* are in the Boosey & Hawkes library (*Recorded Music for film, Radio and TV*; London, nd), *Santiago* and *Toma Tequila* in the *Major Mood Music Library* (New York, 1972), *Inca Flute* and *Exotic Flute* in the *Selected Sounds* catalogue (Hamburg).

Paris, politics and the Andean sound

According to Rios (2009), Andean music started to be identified with the political left in 1960s France. He attributes this connection partly to the policies of Général De Gaulle who, fearing a repeat of the 1940 débâcle[34] and wanting to establish a strong and independent France, took a number of radical initiatives.[35] One was to create closer ties with nations which, like France, wanted no alignment with either the USSR or the USA. To this end De Gaulle visited 24 Latin American countries in 1963 and 1964 where he repeatedly criticised US meddling in the internal affairs of sovereign states.[35]

> 'This anti-US stance was extremely popular in France, and De Gaulle's "third bloc" project… linked being "anti-US" with being "pro-Latin America." Surely realising this, ARION/Barclay of France recorded albums of Latin American folkloric music during De Gaulle's 1964 tour, including an "Argentina" LP'… [plus] '"Bolivia" and "Peru" by Los Calchakis' (Rios, 2009: 7).

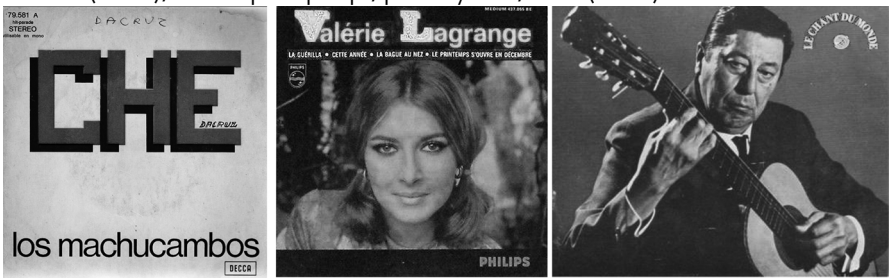
Rios (2009: 8-10) also explains how the French Left, accustomed since the Cuban Revolution (1959) to linking Latin-America and its music with revolution, went on to strengthen those links. One result was the Andean-inspired hit *La guérilla* (Lagrange, 1966; fig. 30, p. 238), including charango, bimodality and Los Incas' Jorge Milchberg on quena,[36] another the famed *La flûte indienne* album (1966; fig. 28c, p. 235). Then followed the 1967 Paris publication of songs by politically left-leaning South American musicians and poets like Violeta Parra (Chile), Carlos Puebla (Cuba), Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay) and Atahualpa Yupanqui (Argentina; fig. 54). Yupanqui also recorded two albums on the Chant du Monde label[37] (1968a, b) and was enthusiastically characterised by a *Le Monde* journalist as an 'Indian revolutionary'.

34. 1940 was the year in which the Nazis invaded France.
35. Among De Gaulle's other measures were the following. [1] He called a referendum that in March 1962 led to Algerian independence. [2] In January 1964 he presided over France's establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (France was the first Western power to do so). [4] In 1966 he oversaw France's withdrawal from NATO's military command structure. [5] In a speech at Phnom Penh in September 1966 he expressed France's strong disapproval of US involvement in Indo-China and called for US withdrawal from Vietnam as the only way to ensure peace in the region.
36. W *La guérilla,* written by Serge Gainsbourg, has lyrics that rhyme *guérilla* with *tequila* and *guerillero* with *sombrero*.
37. *Le Chant du Monde* is a record label affiliated to the *Musée de l'homme,* France's national anthropological museum (in Paris).

(By the way, hardly a single radical student night in May 1968 is said to have passed in Paris without hearing *Hasta siempre (Comandante Che Guevara)* (Puebla, 1965) at *L'Escale* (Rios, 2009: 9; see also fig. 30-31)).[38]

Fig. 29. Paris: two student demonstrations in May 1968.[39]

Fig. 30. Fr L to R. Single - *Che* (Machucambos, 1970); EP - Valérie Lagrange: *La guérilla* (1966); Atahualpa Yupanqui, publicity shot, Paris (1968).



'Indian' was a word with lots of cachet among left-wing intellectuals in Europe at the time, but there was little or nothing 'Indian' by way of Andean folk flutes or charangos in Yupanqui's music, nor in that of Puebla or Viglietti. In fact it wasn't the lyrics that had so much of an effect on audiences outside the committed Left. No, in the early 1970s it was the ostensibly apolitical

38. Interest in Latin America revolution and music increased with W *Régis Debray*'s imprisonment (1965) and W *Che Guevara*'s torture and execution in Bolivia (1967). W *Hasta siempre (comandante)* is a moving *guajira* song which since Che Guevara's murder has mostly been sung in homage to his memory [sources accessed 160527]. *L'Escale* is a bar/club/restaurant on Rue Monsieur le Prince in the 6th arrondissement, just two blocks from the Sorbonne. It has for many decades been the prime Paris venue for live Latin American popular music. In May 2016 its speciality was salsa.

39. *Left*: large demo on the Boulevard St Michel; '*Enseignants Sorbonne contre la répression*' means 'Sorbonne teachers against repression'. *Right*: please note (i) the classic poster of a victorious FNL fighter in Vietnam; (ii) the slogan '*La Palestine vaincra*' (='Palestine will win'); (iii) the iconic image of Che 'Mr Revolution' Guevara.

and entirely wordless 'Indianness' of Los Calchakis, of their *Flûte indienne* and its numerous follow-ups that had the greater impact. Indeed, *La flûte indienne volume 4* beat both *Imagine* (John Lennon) and *Gimme Shelter* (Rolling Stones) into fourth place on the French album charts in October 1971. As Rios (2009: 10) remarks, 'Andean music and the Left were by now firmly linked together in the French imagination'; he cites the single *Che* (Los Machucambos, 1970; fig. 30) as emblematic of the coalescence of left-wing politics and the Andean 'Indian' sound because it had Carlos Puebla's *Hasta Siempre Comandante* (a 'political' *guajira* from Cuba) as its *A* side and *Recuerdos de Calahuayo* (an 'apolitical' *huayno* from Peru) on side *B*.

Given this web of musical and political connotations, it's hardly surprising that Costa Gavras hired Los Calchakis, with their iconic, highly popular 'progressive Andean-Indian' sound, to provide the soundtrack for his 1972 film *L'état de siège* ('State of Siege', fig, 31),[40] starring Yves Montand as the CIA operative advising Uruguay's far-right government and its death squads on how to deal with the country's 'subversives', including the Tupamaro guerillas who kidnap him. During interrogation Montand's character reveals the true extent of the horrors committed by the US-backed régime that he's been paid to 'advise'.

Fig. 31. Poster for Spanish version of *État de siège* (1972)

The gradual revelation and increasing public awareness in the West about such horrors are, as we'll shortly see, central to the question 'Where's *Fernando*'s THERE?' Key factors in that awakening were at the time US atrocities in Vietnam —the use of napalm and cluster bombs, the Sơn Mỹ Massacre (1968)[41a] etc.— that were slow to come to light in mainstream Western me-

40. The film's underscore was written by Mikis Theodorakis. Costa-Gavras also directed *Z* (1969), *L'aveu* (1970), *Hannah K* (1983), *Music Box* (1989) and *Amen* (2002). His *Missing* (1982), starring Jack Lemon and Sissi Spacek, is to my knowledge the *only* Hollywood political thriller to deal with any aspect of human rights abuse in 1970s Latin America.

dia,[41b] and the Watergate scandal (1972) which, on the other hand, quickly became headline news.[42a] Now, Watergate was a piffling matter compared to revelations about COINTELPRO,[42a] but it was, at least in Western European eyes, another symptom of rottenness in the USA, a nation which, a mere generation earlier, was more commonly perceived as a beacon of liberty welcoming the 'huddled masses yearning to be free'[42b] and as a reliable ally in defeating the Nazis. But now the USA presented itself as an increasingly ugly monster —corrupt, cruel, greedy, unreliable, unreasonable, dangerous, destructive and exhibiting an arrogant disregard for human life. As one US-trained torturer confessed, 'We did worse things than the Nazis'.[43]

This drastic deterioration of the USA's reputation abroad could no longer be written off as communist propaganda because criticism of US warmongering had become a matter of *mainstream* politics. In February 1968, Olof Palme, who became Swedish Prime Minister the following year, marched with Vietnamese ambassador Nguyen Tho Chan in a demonstration, held in Stockholm (fig. 32), to protest against US aggression in Vietnam. Palme later denounced the US Christmas carpet bombing

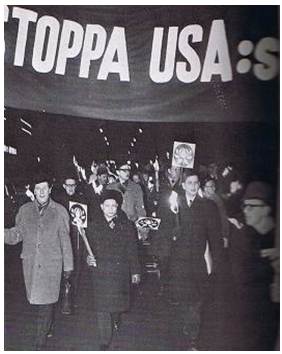


Fig. 32. Palme in demo against US war in Vietnam, Feb., 1968

41. **[a]** *Thảm sát Son Mỹ* or the 🅆 *My Lai Massacre* at which C Company (1st Battalion, 20th Infantry Regiment, 11th Brigade, 23rd Infantry Division) killed 500 men, women and children. **[b]** The massacre (March 1968) was not reported in the media until November 1969.
42. **[a]** One important reason for the relatively quick reporting of the Watergate scandal is that it coincided with the declassification of information about COINTELPRO, the FBI agency whose mission was to 'surveil, infiltrate, discredit and disrupt domestic political organisations', including the civil rights movement, the American Indian movement, the Poor People's Campaign, feminist organisations, anti-colonial movements and any organisation deemed to be on the Left. COINTELPRO made particularly zealous efforts to discredit Martin Luther King: '[a]fter the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,' [FBI boss J Edgar] 'Hoover singled out King as a "major target"' (🅆 *COINTELPRO* [160528]). These momentous news items were never reported: they were drowned out by the Watergate scandal, a piffling issue of criminal activity in high places compared to the revelations about the FBI's COunter INTELligence PROgram (see Chomsky interviewed by BBC's Andrew Marr. 🅈 jENnyQupow, 16:30-18:35 [160528]).
[b] Quoted text from *The New Colossus* by US poet Emma Lazarus, written in 1883, and engraved on a bronze plaque inside the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.
43. Argentinian naval officer Adolfo Scilingo: see footnote 8e, p. 220.

of Hanoi and Haiphong in 1972 as atrocities on a par with Guernica, Sharpeville and Treblinka.[44a] In fact newspapers in many countries, including Australia and the USA itself, used headlines like 'Genocide' and 'Stone-Age Barbarism' to draw readers' attention to the bombing terror.[44b]

Fig. 33. Some results of US bombing in Vietnam, December 1972.

Was the US government swayed by international condemnation of their terror? No. 'That Swedish asshole' was President Nixon's puerile reaction to Palme's statement. It was a reaction implying that those of us who agreed with Palme —a majority in Sweden— were all assholes.[45] So, would the USA keep besmirching its own name and become even more of an international pariah? Yes, it would —it already had for a long time— in Latin America.

Chile, Sweden and the USA

¡Basta ya que el yanqui mande!	Enough of what the Yanks tell us!
¿Quién ha ganado la guerra	Who won the war
en los montes del Viet-Nam?	in the mountains of Vietnam?
El guerrillero en su tierra	The fighter in/on his land
Y el yanqui en el cinema.	And the Yanks at the cinema.

Words like these, from a song by Atahualpa Yupanqui (1971), must have resonated all over Latin America.[46] The USA had on scores of occasions vio-

44. **[a]** Ⓦ *Olof Palme*. [160528]. 'We have many examples' [of such atrocity] 'in modern history and they are generally associated with a name: Guernica, Oradour, Babi Yar, Katyn, Lidice, Sharpeville, Treblinka. Violence has triumphed in those places. But posterity's judgement has been hard against those who were responsible. Another name is now added to the list: Hanoi, Christmas 1972.'
[b] Source Ⓦ *Operation Linebacker II*, 18 to 29 December 1972 when 15,237 tons of ordnance were dropped by B52 bombers on Hanoi and Haiphong.

45. Cited in *Militärhistoria/Nyhetsfronten* militarhistoria.se/nyhetsfronten/olof-palme/ [160529].

lated national sovereignty, sabotaged democratic processes, sanctioned state terror and supported the torture and killing of hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans.[47] In spite of such brute force, Latin-Americans, including the people of Chile who, encouraged by the success of the Cuban Revolution and, like Yupanqui, sensing ultimate victory (1974) for the Vietnamese, took heart and felt confident enough to take matters into their own hands.

Unidad Popular

Fig. 34. Salvador Allende: (not exactly Che Guevara!)

In September 1970 Salvador Allende (fig. 34) was democratically elected President of Chile. He presided over a broad Centre-Left alliance: *Unidad Popular*. The government's programme included nationalisation of key economic sectors, most notably the nation's copper, and agrarian reform.[48] During his first year in office things went well but US machinations to oust him soon took effect.[49] In the run-up to the 1970 Chilean elections, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had already clarified Washington's attitude to democracy as follows.

46. The advent of the talkies (1926) coincides roughly with the Clark Memorandum (1928) stating that the USA need not even invoke the W *Monroe Doctrine* to vindicate its meddling in Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine dates from the early 19th century!
47. e.g. Guatemala (1954, 1960s), Nicaragua (1939, 1933), Panama (1929, 1946) to name but a few. 79 US interventions in Latin America 1846-1996 are listed by Rosenfelder (1996). The 1964 coup in Brazil, when democratically elected President Goulart was overthrown by the military with support from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, was the first of several US-sponsored dictatorships: Uruguay, Argentina and Chile were to follow.
48. Copper is Chile's most important export. Like the Norwegians with their oil reserves, Allende's government considered copper to be the property of the Chilean people, not of Kennecott or Anaconda, the US corporations that had exploited the resources for private profit without any reasonable compensation to the Chilean people or its government; see also W Sp. *Unidad Popular* [160530].
49. US National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 437, declassified in 2013, documents Kissinger's thoughts about Chile in autumn 1970. [1] 'We will not let Chile go down the drain' (1970-09-12). [2] 'There's no way for the U.S. to deny Allende's legitimacy… [I]f he succeeded in peacefully reallocating resources in Chile in a socialist direction, other countries might follow suit. The example of a successful elected Marxist government in Chile would surely have an impact on… other parts of the world […]; the imitative spread of similar phenomena elsewhere would in turn significantly affect the world balance and our own position in it' (November 1970). nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB437/ [160530]).

> 'I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its people. The issues are much too important for the Chilean voters to be left to decide for themselves' (Kissinger, 1970-06-26).[50]

In November 1970, just after Unidad Popular had formed a government, President Nixon told the CIA to 'make the [Chilean] economy scream'.[51] The CIA's dirty tricks eventually created enough instability for US-backed military thugs in Chile to find a pretext for their brutal coup in September 1973.

Meanwhile, the Unidad Popular years (1970-1973) proved to be an exciting and productive time for the arts and humanities in Chile. In 1971 Chilean poet Pablo Neruda was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature and two academics working in Santiago published *Para leer al Pato Donald* ('How to Read Donald Duck'), one of the twentieth century's most widely read critiques of culture in the mass media.[52] During the same period, brightly coloured political street art gave life to blank walls and hope to those who walked by them (fig. 35).[53]

Fig. 35. Unidad-Popular-era murals: (a) 'Art for the People'; (b) '"... I have a blood bond with my people". P. Neruda' (apologies for the regrettable lack of colour!)[53b].

50. Cited by Goodman (2006); see also footnote 49.
51. Nixon, in a meeting that included Kissinger (1970-09-15); source: see footnote 49.
52. See Dorfman & Mattelart (1971, 1991). Subtitled 'A critique of North American cultural imperialism', the short book was translated into forty languages (W *Ariel Dorfman*, W *Armand Mattelart* [160601]).
53. **[a]** Cinema, too, was part of the process. For example, Miguel Littín's *Chacal de Nahueltoro* (1969) was a film that gave an identity and voice to those on the margins of society. **[b]** For hundreds of examples of Unidad Popular street art in *colour*, search 'murales unidad popular' in Google Images (google.co.uk/search?&q=murales+unidad+popular) [160601].

Fig. 36. Violeta Parra & Víctor Jara

Giving life, hope, a voice and an identity to the people of Chile: those were ideals which, in the mid-to-late 1960s, also inspired Chilean songwriters and musicians to develop the *Nueva Canción Chilena*. This genre owes much to the work of Violeta Parra (fig. 36) who, before her death in 1967, had tried to forge a new musical identity for Chileans by setting political themes to musical ideas she had found during her ethnomusicological trips up and down the country[54]. Artists like Quilapayún (fig. 37a), Inti-Illimani (fig. 37b) and Víctor Jara (fig. 36), all influenced by Violeta's work, became musical representatives of the genre and of the Unidad Popular government they supported.

Fig. 37. (a) Quilapayún ± 1970; (b) Inti-Illimani in the 1970s.[55]

The sounds of bands like Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, clad in their emblematic black ponchos, with their guitars, charangos, quenas and zampoñas, also reached outside Chile during the Unidad Popular period. In Sweden, where there was much sympathy for the Allende government and where a broad-based Chile Solidarity Committee (*Chilekommittén*)[56] had been established, the *Nueva Canción Chilena* sound of Quilapayún and Inti-Il-

54. 'Parra… steered folk music in Chile away from the rote reproduction of rural materials toward modern song composition rooted in traditional forms. Parra tried to incorporate folk music into the everyday life of modern Chileans, establishing musical community centres called *peñas*' (Ⓦ *Víctor Jara* [160531]).

55. (a) is publicity shot; note line-up: 2 guitars, quena, bombo; (b) is taken from *L'Eco di Bergamo* (ecodibergamo.it (nd) [160531]); line-up: percussion, charango, 2 guitars, zampoñas.

56. Ⓦ *Chilekommittén* was founded in 1971 as the Swedish Solidarity Committee for the Popular Front Government in Chile (*Svenska Solidaritetskommittén för Folkfrontsregeringen i Chile*). According to Stieg Larsson, author of the Millennium trilogy, it had 35,000 members.

limani became popular, partly because of the political sympathies just mentioned, partly because it resembled the already familiar 'progressive-Indian-Andean' style of *El cóndor pasa* and *La flûte indienne*.

Fig. 38. Atacama LP cover (1971)

One feature of the music's popularity in Sweden and of its link to Unidad Popular was the formation of local bands who made music in the Andean style. Atacama was one such band based in Sweden.[57] Their 1971 LP *Arriba quemando el sol* (fig. 38) illustrates how Andean music had become part of an international music semiotics linking flutes and charangos with progressive politics in South America and with Chile in particular. To understand the full import of such links, it is regrettably necessary to devote the next few pages to highly distressing matters.

1973-09-11

It's impossible to exaggerate the shock that reports from Pinochet's military coup caused Swedish TV viewers in 1973-74. In fact the first shock didn't even start with the actual 9/11 coup but with images from Calle Agustinas in central Santiago in late June 1973, where Swedish TV reporter Jan Sandquist —whose face any adult Swede would have recognised (fig. 39a, p. 246)[58]— and Argentine-born cameraman Leonardo Henrichsen (fig. 39c) were filming army tanks and soldiers firing at fleeing civilians (fig. 39b[i]). Suddenly a military truck draws up on the other side of the street (fig. 39b[ii]) and soldiers are ordered to fire at the Swedish journalists (fig. 39b[iii]). Filming ends as Henrichsen is shot in the chest, falls to the ground and dies (fig. 39b[iv]). Backup footage is smuggled out of the country and appears on TV in many parts of the world, including Sweden, where it was aired on *Rapport*[58] in late July, 1973.[59] I vividly remember watching that broadcast

57. Atacama's members were mainly Chileans with permanent residence in Sweden. My friend and colleague Pedro van der Lee started a similar band, Cono Sur, in Göteborg.
58. Sandquist was anchorman on Swedish TV2's evening news broadcast *Rapport*.
59. Dozens of copies of this footage exist on YouTube, e.g. 'Photographer Leonardo Henrichsen filming his death' YT lkVDHtSIfOk; 'Camarógrafo filma su propria muerte YT XrhQWzFUFS0 [both 160531]; see also W *Leo Henrichsen*. The events were part of the unsuccessful W *Tanquetazo* mutiny. Henrichsen and Sandquist had previously covered sixteen coups in Latin America and had been fired at on several occasions.

and seeing 'myself' being shot. I was unable to finish the meal I was eating in front of the TV.

Fig. 39. (a) Jan Sandquist on Swedish TV; (b) stills of footage from Santiago, 1973-06-29: [i] civilians flee; [ii] more soldiers arrive; [iii] firing at the Swedes; [iv] cameraman killed; (c) Leonardo Henrichsen, the murdered cameraman.[59]

The events covered in Sandquist's report and in Henrichsen's footage, including his own death, were truly shocking, but they were just a foretaste of what was to happen ten weeks later when the presidential residence (La Moneda) was bombed, Allende killed and Pinochet's junta installed.[60a]

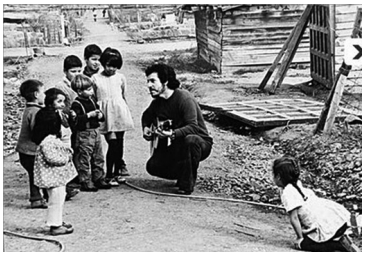
Fig. 40. Great dictators: Pinochet (coup official photo, 11 Sept. 1973) and Charlie Chaplin (still from *The Great Dictator*, 1940)

Initially I failed to understand why the junta would want such an unsympathetic and silly-looking individual as official image of itself (fig. 40): Pinochet was pulling the same grumpy face as Charlie Chaplin's Great Dictator (based on extensive study of Hitler's speeches).[60b] I soon realised that my reaction was naïve because it became abundantly clear that the whole idea was to

60. **[a]** One faint glimmer of hope had been Ⓦ *General Prats.* who by had remained loyal to Allende and the Chilean constitution. When the coup came, General Prats and his wife Sofia, fearing for their lives, fled to Buenos Aires where they were murdered one year later (1974-09-30) by professional US assassin Ⓦ *Michael Townley,* on behalf of the infamous DINA (Ⓦ *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional*, Chile's Gestapo-cum-CIA).
[b] Pinochet also spoke with a squeaky voice and said the silliest things about Marxism.

cause shock and disbelief, to engender not sympathy but fear, not reason but force, not openness but blind terror. Like Videla in Argentina (p. 220, ff.), Pinochet and those in the Chilean bourgeoisie that backed his coup were true believers in the righteousness of ridding the nation of Marxist 'scum' in the interest of 'free enterprise' and the 'Christian values of Western civilisation'. Thanks to this 'higher calling', anyone left of centre in the political spectrum was treated as a disease carrier, as some*thing* it was their god-given duty to stamp out. In the same way that the Nazis answered a 'higher calling' to demonise, dehumanise and annihilate Gypsies and Jews, Pinochet's state terrorism demonised, dehumanised and destroyed individuals on the political left. Instead of abhorrent genocide we had to witness an equally atrocious fascist *politicide*.[61]

Fig. 41. Víctor Jara sings with kids in a Santiago shanty town.



Starting on the 11th of September 1973, the military's murderers went straight to work. They turned the *Estadio Chile* into a concentration camp to which civilians —7,000 in the first ten days— were carted off, tortured and mostly killed. One of the prisoners in the stadium was *Nueva Canción* singer-songwriter Víctor Jara (fig. 36, 41). He was abducted with his students on the day after the coup. He had to stand for hours in a subterranean corridor where he was repeatedly kicked and battered, then tortured in earnest. Then, in front of other prisoners in the stadium, he had his fingers smashed and was told 'Now sing, you motherfucker, sing!' When he staggered to his feet and launched into *Venceremos*, the Unidad Popular anthem, he was mowed down with machine-gun fire. So was anyone else who joined in.[62]

61. W *Politicide*: 'Killing groups of people because of their political or ideological beliefs. Deliberate physical destruction of a group whose members share the main characteristic of belonging to a political movement; the systematic destruction of such groups is not covered as genocide under the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG)' [160601]. Fascism is difficult to define but one of its traits is the self-appointed right of a régime to persecute individuals belonging to a group which doesn't conform to the ethnic, religious or political ideals of the régime.

There's no room here to list, let alone describe, even the tiniest fraction of all the similar atrocities committed by the US-backed Pinochet régime against the Chilean people. Instead I'll just sketch the necessary general background by briefly summarising the results of Chile's national fact-finding commissions set up after the official end of state terror in 1990,[63] and by providing a few useful references, as well as just a few key illustrations (figure 42).

Some statistics about Chilean state terror 1973-1990

- 35,000 people are known to have suffered human rights abuses.
- 28,000 are known to have been tortured and 2,279 illegally executed.
- 1,248 individuals are missing (still *desaparecidos* after thirty years).
- 200,000 individuals were illegally imprisoned.
- 200,000 suffered exile.
- Around 70,000 children were orphaned.
- Between 10,000 and 40,000 were illegally held in the *Estadio Chile*.
- An unknown number went through clandestine centres and illegal detention.

How to access information about state terror in Chile (suggestions)

- Visit Santiago de Chile's Museum of Memory and Human Rights (*Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos*), opened in 2010 by President Michelle Bachelet, herself one of those tortured under Pinochet.[64]
- Read the Wikipedia article *Human rights violations in Pinochet's Chile* and follow its links.
- Watch the documentary *The War on Democracy* (Pilger, 2007) and/or the documentary films of Patrício Guzmán.[65]

The images shown in figure 42 are all from the first few weeks after the coup. They're included here to give a rough idea of the sort of thing the Swedish public saw in news reports at that time.

62. For more details on Jara's death, see Tyler (2013). Some of the information I heard first hand in Santiago from an official of the *Fundación Víctor Jara* when I visited the *Estadio Víctor Jara* to pay my respects as a music teacher in August 2013. I feel compelled to add that during my short stay in Chile I also learnt of *death flights* (ftnt. 8b, p. 220) taking off from Valparaíso and heard many other harrowing personal accounts of state terror.
63. W *The Rettig Report* (Commission of Truth and Reconciliation) and W *The Valech Report* ('The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report'). See also W *Caravan of Death*, W *Villa Grimaldi*, W *Chacabuco*, W *Pisagua Prison Camp*, etc.
64. The museum is located next to Metro station Quinta Normal. It has an extensive website museodelamemoria.cl/; see also W *Museum of Memory and Human Rights* [both 160601].

Fig. 42. Chile coup images seen by the Swedish TV audience in late 1973.[67]

Figures 42a, c, d and e show young civilians being humiliated, beaten and rounded up like cattle in Santiago in the days just after the 9/11 coup. Figure 42b shows Major Armando Fernández Larios (with cigarette and dark glasses), head of operations at the *Estadio Chile*.[66] Figure 42f shows young women being herded into a windowless room under the stadium where torture of the type shown in figure 42g was inflicted on prisoners.[67] Figure 42h shows the relatively benign but equally fascist activity of book burning.

65. The Pilger documentary covers US sponsorship of state terror in Venezuela, Guatemala, Chile (at 1:04:34), El Salvador and Bolivia; it can be viewed in its entirety at ⬇ johnpilger.com/videos/the-war-on-democracy; the section on just Chile is on YouTube as *Allende, Chile's Coup, & the United States,* YT INqb6zA5Kfs [both 160601]. Patricio Guzmán films: *The Battle of Chile*, parts 1-3, *The Pinochet Case* (2001) and *Chile, Obstinate Memory* (1997).
66. Larios currently resides at a secret location in Miami-Dade county (Florida, USA).
67. Figure 42g, in which an electric cattle prod is applied to the victim's genitals, I first saw at the *Museo de la Memoria* (ftnt. 64) in 2013. I had to include that appalling photo because I couldn't find the equally barbarous images I can't forget since seeing them on Swedish TV in 1973: bodies and brains shattered by dum-dum bullets, rotting in a stagnant pool.

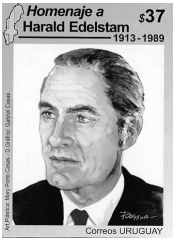
With similar atrocities committed all over the country, many Chileans sought refuge in the embassies of countries whose governments had enjoyed good relations with the Unidad Popular. The Cuban embassy initially harboured many refugees, as did those of Italy and Sweden. Swedish ambassador Hans Edelstam (fig. 43), while keeping the dignified cool of a distinguished diplomat and ex-army officer, worked courageously to save human lives. When Pinochet's military attacked the Cuban embassy he put it under Swedish protection, thereby saving hundreds of lives.[68] He also helped 67 Uruguayan and Bolivian refugees, and over 1,200 Chileans escape brutal persecution. During the first three month's of the junta's terror, Edelstam was quite outspoken. In TV interviews about his role as diplomat he was indirectly critical of most other European ambassadors (fig. 43a)[69] and explicit about his disapproval of the junta's violence (fig. 43b). Edelstam was expelled from Chile as *persona non grata* in December 1973.

Fig. 43. Jan Sandquist interviews Swedish Ambassador Harald Edelstam in Santiago, September 1973: (a) outside La Moneda;[69] (b) at Pablo Neruda's funeral.[70]

68. 'When the Cuban Embassy was under fire by tanks,… Edelstam took a Swedish flag and walked in front of the tanks as bullets hurled past.' He hoisted the flag and claimed the embassy grounds as Swedish territory. He took the Cubans back to the Swedish Embassy, then got them out of Chile. After the incident, the Cuban Embassy in Santiago de Chile remained under Swedish protection for 18 years. See Ⓦ *Harald Edelstam*; ❦ *The Black Pimpernel* (2007) and ❦ *Palme* (2012), from which I've cut the Cuban embassy episode down to 90" at Φ/Clips/EdelstamPalmeChile.mp4 [160604].
69. 'Det är viktigt att åtminstone någon utav de 60 utländska representanter som finns i Santiago säger sin mening och försöker hjälpa på ett bestämt och kraftigt sätt ... och framhåller hur ett europeiskt land ser på situationen här' (It's important that at least one of the 60 foreign representatives here in Santiago expresses their opinion and tries to help in a decisive and forceful way… and declares how a European nation views the situation here.'
70. Pablo Neruda died twelve days after the coup. In 2015 the Chilean government issued a statement acknowledging that 'it was clearly possible and highly likely that [Neruda] was killed as a result of the intervention of third parties.' (Ⓦ *Pablo Neruda* [160603]).

He returned to Sweden as a popular hero. I was certainly not alone in feeling proud to live in a country whose official representative in a fascist foreign country could act with as much courage and humanitarian dignity as did Edelstam.[71]

Fig. 44. Urugayan postage stamp: 'Homage to Harald Edelstam'



> 'Due to his remarkable courage and moral integrity, Edelstam is today considered as a true modern-day hero among millions around Latin America, and particularly so among the hundreds of thousands of Chileans who were forced into exile by the dictatorial régime' (W *Harald Edelstam*).

Fig. 45. Olof Palme (L), Sra Hortensia Allende, and ensemble Cuncumén (rescued by Edelstam (R)): Stockholm, 1974.

Whatever individual Swedes might have thought of Edelstam and of his actions in 1973, the repression in Chile was for quite some time a recurrent topic in the national media.[72] Nor did interest in the *Nueva Canción* sound, including its frequent use of charangos and folk flutes, exactly wane. On the contrary, although banned in Chile (e.g. Cuncumén, fig. 45),[73a] it flourished elsewhere throughout the decade and beyond.[73b] *Nueva Canción* artists like Inti-Illimani, who were marooned on tour in Europe at the time of the coup, and Quilapayún, who fled first to Argentina, became, along with Patricio Manns and ¡Karaxú! (fig. 46a) perhaps the best

71. See *Persona non grata, ambassador Harald Edelstam*, a personal account and tribute narrated by Henrik Janbell, a Swede abducted, imprisoned and tortured in Santiago, September 1973. He was rescued by Harald Edelstam: see YT YywQk5F7bLc [160604]. Sadly, Edelstam's civil courage does not seem to have advanced his diplomatic career.

72. While Edelstam was shunted off to become ambassador in Algeria, Jan Sandquist, thanks to his courageous coverage of events in Chile 1972-1973, had become such a respected figure of journalistic integrity in Sweden that he was the reporter chosen by Wideberg to bring a sense of authoritative reality to the helicopter crash scene in his 1976 crime movie *Mannen på taket* ('The Man on the Roof', based on Maj Sjövall and Per Wahlöö's detective novel *Den vedervärdige mannen från Säffle* (1971)).

73. **[a]** Víctor Jara (see p. 247) had been a member of Cuncumén in the 1960s.
[b] During this period many recordings of banned music made abroad were smuggled into Chile in considerable numbers (see, for example, Jordán, 2009).

known and most widely heard musical representatives of the struggle against fascism in Chile. Not a single Chile Solidarity Committee event went by in Göteborg (where I lived at the time) without everyone joining in the chorus of *Venceremos* or scanning the slogans in *El pueblo unido* (fig. 46b).

Fig. 46. (a) ¡Karaxú!, Francisco Roca and Amerindios at a Chile Solidarity event in Sweden, 1975; (b) Quilapayún: *El pueblo unido*, 45 rpm sleeve, 1973.

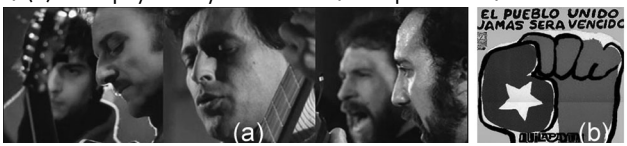


Fig. 47. Bolivian street music conjunto (Tokyo)

In Sweden we also started writing our own Chile solidarity songs in the 'progressive Indian-Andean' style even if we couldn't master the requisite instrumental techniques or lay down a convincing *cueca* groove.[74] In fact, so strong was popular support for the Chilean people in Sweden in the mid 1970s that 'Indian flute bands', like the one pictured in figure 47, turned up regularly on Saturday mornings in Swedish towns to play for people doing their grocery shopping. Whether the bands were collecting for Chile Solidarity or simply busking for their own benefit is not the issue. The issue *is*, firstly, that none of these musical activities could have become so widely popular without their connection at some point in the connotative chain to notions that made *emotional sense* to a broad cross-section of the Swedish population; secondly, that the 'some point' was a nexus consisting of exoti-

74. One remarkably good example of a Swedish-made Chile solidarity song was *Víctor Jara* (Hoola Bandoola Band, 1975: see p. 253, ff. and complete transcription, p. 328, ff.). Also using a faux-cueca 𝄋/𝅗𝅥 sort of hemiola metre, I wrote a much less convincing *Solidaritetssång för Chiles folk* (Röda Kapellet, 1974). *CUECA*: see Glossary.

cism v. solidarity, vulnerability v. collective strength, hope v. despair, justice v. injustice, all of which was embodied in the dynamic between, on the one hand sympathy for the suffering of the Chilean people and, on the other, the will to fight whatever and whoever was causing the suffering.

From Waterloo to Fernando via Båstad

As shown in the chronology on page 233, Abba's *Waterloo* won the Eurovision Song Contest at Brighton in March 1974 (fig. 48a). Later that year, *Manifesto*, a posthumous compilation of Víctor Jara songs, saw its first release (fig. 48c).[75] The version of *Manifesto* I bought in Sweden included an extra track: it was Pete Seeger reading an English translation of a poem written by Jara the morning of his brutal death and which had been smuggled out of the stadium.[76] If you had heard anything from that album and had somehow escaped knowing how Víctor Jara met his fate, you would no longer be ignorant of the terror in Chile.

Fig. 48. (a) Abba: *Waterloo* (single, 1974); (b) Inti-Illimani on tour in Chile for Unidad Popular (c. 1972); (c) Victor Jara: posthumous LP (sleeve, 1974).

With *Waterloo* victorious at the 1974 Eurovision Song Contest, it was Sweden's turn to host the event in 1975.[77] For many Swedes who not only owned a recording of *El cóndor pasa* but who also followed with disbelief and indignation the fate of Chile's Unidad Popular, for those who knew about Harald Edelstam, who had seen Sandquist's reports from Chile on national TV (dif-

75. *Manifesto* was of course not released in Chile at that time.
76. Posthumous compilations of Víctor Jara songs varied slightly. Most of them were released in 1975 with different names in different countries (see ⊙Jara, 1974)). Pete Seeger's English recitation of Jara's last poem ('*Somos cinco mil*'…), with a short introduction, can be heard at Y! UXKgeNMQzgA. It can be read in Spanish as *El último poema de Víctor Jara* at revista-terminal.cl/web/2013/09/el-ultimo-poema-de-victor-jara/ [both 160607]; quote from the poem: 'Blood is like medals for the military, Slaughter is the badge of their heroism'.
77. The winning song on that occasion was *Ding-A-Dong* by Teach-In from the Netherlands.

ficult to avoid) etc., the contrast between Eurovision glitz and human rights issues requiring urgent action had become unpalatable. That's one reason why an Alternative Music Festival was organised to coincide with the official Eurovision Song Contest in Stockholm in March 1975.[78] Among those performing at the alternative event were Francisco Roca of *Nueva Canción*-related bands Atacama and ¡Karaxú!, and Arja Saijonmaa, celebrated for her interpretation of Theodorakis and Violeta Para songs.[79] Particularly important in the Swedish context was the participation of Malmö-based pop-rock group Hoola Bandoola Band, who in 1971 had been approached by Abba manager, Stig 'Stikkan' Andersson, with a view to a recording contract.[80a] Hoola signed instead with the alternative label MNW and recorded two albums that had substantial chart success (1972-1974),[80b] even though MNW had no access to normal commercial distribution channels of the day.[81]

Hoola Bandoola's third album, *Fri information*, recorded in August 1975, included a four-minute tribute to Víctor Jara. The song, written by Hoola's Mikael Wiehe and called simply *Victor Jara* (fig. 49), is in $\frac{6}{8}/\frac{3}{4}$ metre with a ritornello featuring quena-style end-blown flute (transcription, pp. 328-336). The recording was issued not only as a track on *Fri information* in October 1975 but also as B side to *Stoppa matchen!* (='Stop the Match!'), a single released in advance of the Davis Cup tennis match between Sweden and Chile, scheduled for the afternoon of 20th September 1975 in Båstad.

78. Other reasons: [1] EXPENSE: why do Swedish taxpayers have to pay for organising mindless Eurovision glitz? [2] COMMERCIALISM: why is so much attention given to making money from music and so little to its other vales? [3] CONTESTS: it's ridiculous to grade different musics on a single bipolar scale. [4] STANDARDISATION: like national anthems representing different countries, Eurovision songs are all conceived in more or less the same mould, wherever they come from. See also W SV *Alternativfestivalen* [160608] and p. 000, ff.
79. Saijonmaa, Finnish singer b. 1944, also sang *Jag vill tacka livet* (Para's *Gracias a la vida*) at Olof Palme's funeral in 1986; see W *Arja Saijonmaa*. Among other non-Swedish artists at the 1975 Alternative Music Festival were W *Ewan MacColl* and W *Peggy Seeger* [all 160607].
80. **[a]** 'That's something we managed to avert', said Hoola's Mikael Wiehe in a 1973 interview. 'It's important that the money from our records goes to MNW [see Glossary] so they can record other bands we support' (Wiehe interviewed by Bengt Eriksson in *Expressen*, Dec. 1973: ⬇ hoolabandoolaband.se/intervju_och_deras_vg_mot_toppen.htm [160607]).
[b] Hoola Bandoola's LP *Vem kan man lita på?* was 16 weeks on Kvällstoppen (⬇ kvallstoppen.se), Dec. 1972 to Mar. 1973, their *På väg* album for 15 weeks, Nov. 1973 to Feb. 1974.
81. GLF, *Grammofonleverantörernas förening*, was the Swedish Recording Industry Association's commercial distribution network.

Fig. 49. (a-b) Single *Stoppa matchen!* b/w *Víctor Jara* (1975); (c) Joan Jara and Mikael Wiehe at the *Fondación Víctor Jara*, Santiago (January 2011).

'Boycott the junta!' was one of the Swedish Chile Committee's main slogans. The aims were to isolate the Pinochet régime, to raise awareness about state terror in Chile and to shame the media, the government and public opinion into constructive action on behalf of the Chilean people. The *Stoppa Matchen! / Víctor Jara* single (fig. 49) played its part in rallying thousands of Swedes to the tiny tennis town of Båstad tucked away in Southwestern Sweden at an inconvenient distance from major population centres (fig. 50).[82a]

Fig. 50. *Stoppa matchen!* Båstad demonstration, 1975-09-20.[82b]

The police presence at Båstad was unprecedented in Swedish history in terms of man-power, weaponry and cost to the taxpayer. The amount of mil-

82. **[a]** Demonstrator counts vary. 6,500, a widely quoted conservative estimate, means 1 Båstad demonstrator per 1,300 Swedes. That's the equivalent of 46,000 Brits travelling from London to St Andrews (475 km) to stop a golf tournament —it's 536 km from Stockholm to Båstad. **[b]** Photos (a) and (b) are at the *Museo de la Memória y de Derechos Humanos* (Santiago); (c) is from *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmö); (d) unknown.

itary installations, arms and equipment at the ready to prevent even one of our thousands coming to within a kilometre of the match venue was excessive.[83a] These extreme measures may have prevented us from actually stopping the match but we did manage to substantially disrupt it by making lots of noise (fig. 50b), by launching lots of balloons and, most effectively, by breaking the din of protest for one minute's silence to remember those tortured and killed by the régime governing the nation represented by the Chilean tennis players in Båstad. Our demonstration was totally non-violent: no-one was wounded and no-one died. It was also very orderly, several newspapers correctly noting that we cleaned up after us on the way back to our chartered buses. Nevertheless, the demonstration was, according to other sources, the work of 'foreign Marxists and criminal left-wing elements' (the couple in figure 50a?) who had perversely mixed 'pure sport' with politics.[83b] The fact that the Pinochet régime mixed sport and politics by turning the *Estadio Chile* into a torture and death camp was obviously not an issue for those commentators.

The notion that 'sport is sport' and unrelated to anything political is of course no less absurd a tautological illusion than 'art is art', 'music is music' or that entertainment is only entertainment and nothing else. I already argued against such sloppy thinking in the introduction to this book (pp. 14-15) and will return to it under 'The manufacture of musical consensus' in Chapter 00 (p. 000, ff.). Suffice it here to say that with Hoola Bandoola's *Víctor Jara* and the events in Båstad, sounds in the Andean style became even more firmly linked to anti-fascist politics and to issues of justice in Chile.

The Båstad demonstration was on the 20 September 1975. In November the Swedish version of *Fernando* was released (Lyngstad, 1975) and Operation Condor[84] was established (in secret) in Santiago. The English version of *Fernando* was released in April 1976. So, where was *Fernando*'s THERE for the Swedish audience at that time? Three factors, summarised next from the account given in this chapter, determine the identity of that 'THERE'.

83. **[a]** In addition to extensive barricades, the forces of law and order were prepared with tear gas, guns, dogs, helicopters, even an offshore patrol boat. '[E]l *New York Times* (1975) del 19 y 20 de septiembre comentaba la transformación de una ciudad turística "pintoresca" e "idílica" junto al mar en un "fuerte de hierro"' **[b]** '…"elementos foráneos marxistas" y "delincuentes" de la extrema izquierda chilena' (*El Mercurio*); source for [a] and [b]: Macchiavello (2009: 151-152)

[1] It was a country whose musical identity was linked to the INDIAN-ANDEAN FOLK FLUTES PLUS CHARANGO sound heard in museme 1 or in *LA FLÛTE INDIENNE*-type recordings like *EL CÓNDOR PASA*. [2] It was a country where FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM and STARS SHINING FOR LIBERTY were widely understood as relevant and positive notions. [3] It was a country where Spanish is spoken and where Fernando is not an unusual given name. In 1975-76 only one nation ticked all three boxes: Chile. !!! END Latin America in 1970s

Who is Fernando? (2)

'What's in a name?'[85]

As a given name 'Fernando' is ethnically quite specific. Although currently (2017) outside the top twenty most popular names for baby boys in Iberia and Latin America, it's much more common in hispano- and lusophone parts of the world than its equivalent in other languages ('Ferdinand'), infinitely more so than 'Vernon', its etymological counterpart in anglophone cultures. There are many well-known Iberian and Latin American Fernandos —King Fernando ('Ferdinand') II of Spain (1452-1516), Spanish Formula One driving ace Fernando Alonso, Spanish football star Fernando Torres and Brazilian ex-president Fernando Cardoso, to name just four.[86]

Two famous fictional Fernandos are also relevant to the connotative charge of the name: Ferdinand the Bull (fig. 51a) and DJ Fernando (51b).

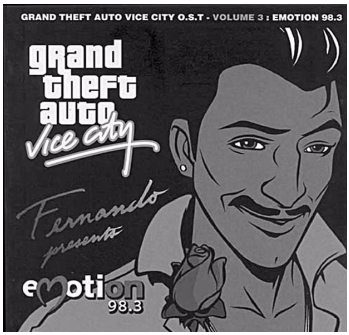
84. W *Operation Condor* was 'a campaign of political repression and state terror involving intelligence operations and assassination of opponents, which started in 1968 and was officially implemented in 1975 by the right-wing dictatorships of the Southern Cone of South America. The program was intended to eradicate communist or Soviet influence and ideas, and to suppress active or potential opposition movements against the participating governments'… 'Condor's key members were the governments in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Brazil. The United States government provided technical support and supplied military aid to the participants'… 'According to John Henry Coatsworth, a historian of Latin America and the provost of Columbia University, the number of victims in Latin America alone far surpassed that of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc during the period 1960 to 1990'.
85. Quote from Shakespeare's *Romeo & Juliet*, Act II, scene II.
86. Fernando II of Aragón married Isabella of Castille. They oversaw the infamous *reconquista* of Spain, set up the Spanish Inquisition (1480) and financed Columbus's expedition (1492). Fernando Torres (b 1984) played for Atlético Madrid, Liverpool, Chelsea and Milan. For details of 65 other famous Fernandos, see W *Fernando*.

Ferdinand the Bull is a well-known animated short by Disney (1938)[87a] about a peaceable bull who spends his time alone under a tree (*The Lonely Bull*)[87b] contentedly smelling flowers until one day, stung by a bee, he flies into a rage and shows such ferocity that talent scouts from Madrid's biggest bull-ring cart him off to the city as 'Ferdinand the Ferocious'. A woman in the crowd throws a bouquet into the ring for her dashing matador (fig. 51a). Ferdinand just sits down and smells the flowers: he shows no interest in fighting. He's a disaster as violent entertainment and is taken back to his tree, his field and his flowers. This fictional Fernando is decidedly Hispanic (bull-fighting, Madrid) and a thoroughly likeable character.

Fig. 51. (a) Ferdinand the Bull; (b) DJ Fernando

(a)

(b)



DJ Fernando Martinez (fig. 51b), a recurring character in the globally successful videogame series *Grand Theft Auto* since 2001 (*GTA III*), is just as Hispanic as Ferdinand but he isn't such a nice guy. His outrageous statements are those of a man out of touch with everything except his genitals, his machismo and his sleazy sentimentality.[88] He's an outrageous white US caricature of an outrageously egoist Latino pimp, petty criminal, fraudster,

87. **[a]** The Disney short is based on a story by US author Munro Leaf. *Ferdinand the Bull* is *El toro Ferdinando* in Spanish. *Fernando* is the abbreviated form of the much less common *Ferdinando* (Ⓦ Sp. *Ferdinando*: 'el nombre habitualmente usado como Fernando'). **[b]** With its good-natured, tranquil melody, *The Lonely Bull* (*El toro solo*), an instrumental tune by Sol Lake, seems to echo the basic sentiments of the Disney short. The tune has been recorded by numerous artists, including Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass (1962; see also pp. 148-149), The Ventures (1963) and The Shadows (1963).

88. Two typical DJ Fernando quotes: [1] 'Women's rights? What about women's wrongs? Fernando knows that when a woman says no, she is very wrong.' [2] 'Every woman knows: if you can't support a medallion you can't support a family'. Dozens more sexist DJ Fernando quotes are at ⬇ gta.wikia.com/wiki/Fernando_Martinez [160620].

trickster, smooth talker, sexual predator and womaniser —a despicable 'Greaser', 'Dego' or 'Spic' to put it in crude racist terms.[89] If you ever had to suffer the ethnic prejudices of such stereotyping or if you ever had to endure the behaviour of a rogue like DJ Fernando, you may well find the *Grand Theft Auto* caricature objectionable. If not, you may find it amusing, even liberating, in its acute observation and shameless exaggeration of outrageous attitudes. Whatever the case, DJ Fernando is a blatant Hispanic stereotype familiar to many millions of gamers worldwide.[90]

There are three possible reasons for choosing Fernando rather than another common male name of Iberian origin when non-Hispanophones need to generically and efficiently designate a Spanish-speaking male to other non-Hispanophones. [1] 'Fernando' has the Latin prosody of museme 6 (♪|♪ ♩; see p. 163, ff.), as indeed do names like *Roberto* and *Ronaldo*. [2] Also like *Roberto* and *Ronaldo* but *un*like *Jaime* [ˈxaime], *Jesus* [xeˈzus], *Jorge* [ˈxorxe], *José* [xoˈze] and *Juan* [xwan], 'Fernando' contains no phonemes foreign to speakers of, say, English, Swedish or French.[91] [3] Unlike, for example, *Alejandro* (Alexander), *Antón* (Anthony), *Carlos* (Charles /Carl), *Domingo* (Dominic), *Enrique* (Henry/Eric), *Esteban* (Steven), *Felipe* (Philip), *Marco* (Mark), *Miguel* (Michael), *Paulo*, *Pedro*, *Roberto*, *Rodrigo*, *Ronaldo*, etc., not to mention *David* [daˈvid] and *Martín* [marˈtin], all of which have obvious sound-alike equivalents in non-Iberian majority languages, 'Fernando' has, as we saw earlier, no such similarly sounding name in common use in English or Swedish.[92] The question is which, if any, of the Fernandos discussed earlier is the Fernando in Abba's *Fernando*. Let's see if cover art for recordings of the tune can provide any clues.

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89. For explanation of these derogatory terms, see Ⓦ *List of ethnic slurs* [160620].
90. Sales figures: *Grand Theft Auto III* - 14½ million; *Grand Theft Auto: Vice City* - 17½ million; *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* - 27½ million; *Grand Theft Auto IV* - 26 million (source *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* quoted in Ⓦ *Grand Theft Auto* (series)) [160620].
91. Please note that /x/ phonetically represents the *ch* sound in Scottish *loch* [lɔx], German *Bach* [bax], Greek *Χάρις Αλεξίου* [ˈxaris aleksˈiu] (Haris Alexiou), etc.
92. Like 'Fernando', *Diego* is also a common name given to almost exclusively Spanish-speaking males. Unlike 'Fernando', it's the probable origin of the derogatory label *Dego* or *Dago* [ˈdɛɪgəu] in the sense of *Greaser* (see Ⓦ *List of ethnic slurs* [160620]).

Fernando as cover art

Fernando was included on at least eighteen Abba albums.[93] The album sleeves of seven of those are shown in the thumbnails of figure 52.

Fig. 52. Cover art for a selection of Abba albums containing *Fernando*.[94]

(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e) (f) (g)

Even if *Fernando* is track 1 on the A side of, for example, *16 Abba Hits* and *The Best of Abba* (both 1976);[95] and even if 'Fernando' appears in a larger font than the album title on the sleeve to the French edition of *Greatest Hits* (1976, fig. 52b), none of the relevant cover art gives any clue as to the identity of Fernando in *Fernando*. Maybe the single covers will be more helpful?

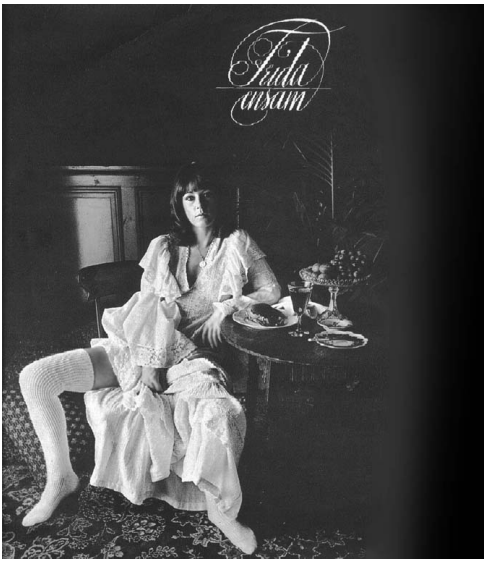
Not really. In figure 53, only one image has any direct bearing on the song. It's figure 53c depicting Björn and Benny, each 'softly strumming his guitar', together with Frida and Agnetha 'in the firelight', and some regularly arranged studio stars 'shining there for you and me'. Figure 53a focuses on lead vocalist Anni-Frid Lyngstad (1975), 53b is yet another generic group publicity shot and 53d a semi-psychedelic abstract design for the DDR single on which *Fernando* is B-side to *Dancing Queen* (1976).

93. For details, search |Abba Fernando| at discogs.com/search [160625].
94. (a) *Greatest Hits* (Sweden 1976); (b) *Greatest Hits* (France 1976); (d) *The Very Best of Abba* (1976e); (e) *16 Abba Hits* (Germany 1976); (f) *Gracias por la musica* (Argentina 1980); (g) *The Singles: first 10 years* (Sweden 1982); (h) *Abba Gold* (Europe 1992).
95. *The Best of Abba* album cover (1976) is yet another generic design, as indeed is that of *Absolute Abba* (1988) and others.

Fig. 53. Selection of covers for *Fernando* as a single

In short, although the covers of LPs and singles including or even featuring *Fernando* may well work as marketing for Abba, they give no hint of Fernando's identity in the song. That may well be because the majority of records pictured in figures 52-53 contain other notable Abba hits —*Waterloo*, *Mama Mia*, *SOS*, *Dancing Queen*, *Knowing Me Knowing You*, *Chiquitita*, *Thank You For The Music*, *The Winner Takes It All*, etc. However, things are different on the album *Frida Ensam* (fig. 54).

Fig. 54. Sleeve (cropped) for LP containing Swedish version of *Fernando*



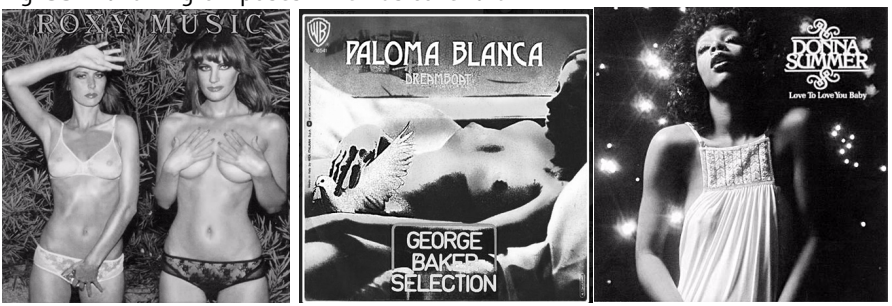
Fernando is the *only* chart success on *Frida Ensam* and its *only* Abba track. Moreover, it's placed as track 1 on the A side, not as an inside track on side B (*Greatest Hits* album), nor as track 5 on side A (Spanish), nor as side A, track 7 (*The Singles*).[96] It would therefore not be surprising if the Scandinavian purchaser of *Frida ensam* were to establish connections between its album sleeve and the Swedish lyrics to *Fernando* which, as we saw at the start of this chap-

96. None of the album's other tracks were hits (most were just English-language hits with Swedish lyrics): *Jag är mej själv nu* (Young Girl); *Som en sparv*; *Vill du låna en man* (The Most Beautiful Girl); *Liv på Mars* (Life On Mars); *Syrtaki* (Siko Chorepse Syrtaki); *Aldrig mej* (Vado via); *Guld och gröna ängar* (Wall Street Shuffle); *Ett liv i solen* (Anima mia); *Skulle de' va' skönt* (Wouldn't It Be Nice); *Var är min clown?* (Send In The Clowns).

ter, is a typical JUST YOU AND ME AND LOVE song. How does this connection between figure 54 and the Swedish lyrics work?

Frida, who sings the lyrics addressing Fernando, is seated in a dark, comfortable room (carpets, cushions). Light pours in from the left while the right of the picture is in total obscurity. This is clearly a very private sphere, most likely at home (attire, posture). The room contains a soft, Persian-style carpet, as well as a polished, antique-looking table, chair and dresser ('high' standard of living, *bon goût*). On the table there's an exotic looking plant ('classy'), a long-stemmed cut glass bowl ('quality') containing grapes and plums (not tacos or crisps), an empty plate with an as yet uneaten crab on it (not burger and chips), an ashtray (someone smokes) and papers (someone reads). Frida is seated by this table with her legs apart and right hand in her groin. As illustrated in figure 55, this posture was popular as a voyeuristic titillation device when presenting women on certain types of disco and rock LPs in the mid seventies. The woman on the left in figure 55a has the fingers of her left hand arranged to suggest clitoral stimulation, the woman in figure 55b is stroking the *paloma blanca* perched in her groin (will it 'fly high' as the lyrics suggest?), while Donna Summer's facial expression and the placement of her hands (fig. 55c) are hardly incompatible with a state of carnal delight.

Fig. 55. Hand-in-groin poses in 1970s cover art [97].



While figure 54, the *Frida Ensam* sleeve, is not as sexually explicit as the postures of figure 55, it sends other erotic signals. Particularly striking is the loose negligée type of lace-embroidered dress and the long length of luminous green stocking on her right leg (apologies for lack of colour): it's the

97. [1] Roxy Music: *Country Life* (1974). [2] George Baker Selection: *Una paloma blanca* (1975 —thanks to Paul Rutten for this IOCM). [3] Donna Summer: *Love to Love You, Baby* (1975).

only streak of bright colour and the most eye-catching area in the picture. The stocking finishes half way up her thigh, whose upper part would not have been exposed had her dress been casually draped and not so obviously hitched up and swept into her groin. With this arrangement of clothing and with her right hand covering her genitals, viewer attention is drawn to that part of her body. It's a picture of a sultry young woman who has either just got out of bed or is about to return there. Her eyes seem to be staring blankly into the space in front of her as she waits alone in this position by the table with the frugal gourmet supper. Looking at the sleeve of *Frida ensam* while hearing the Swedish version of *Fernando*, you might wonder if she's waiting for Fernando to emerge from the right side of the picture, maybe from the Torremolinos discothèque where they met earlier that summer. Are they about to enjoy a nostalgic *tête-à-tête* followed by a gastronomic and/or corporeal *repas d'amour* ('long live love')? Will the woman in figure 54 ask her Fernando to take the full wine glass from the table and 'drink a toast for love'? After all, an empty plate is there for someone. If it's not for Fernando, is it a personal invitation to each individual viewer/listener to join her?

But if, as the English lyrics (and Björn Ulvaeus) suggest, Fernando is a fellow revolutionary from a liberation struggle in Latin America,[98] then he would probably look like one of the men in figure 56a-c and she, as the vocalist's narrative first person, like one of the women in figure 56b-d. In that case the scene on the Swedish LP sleeve (fig. 54) would be a bizarre homecoming.

Fig. 56. (a) Pancho Villa c. 1910; (b) Mexican revolutionary couple c. 1914; (c) Sandinista couple (Nicaragua) ± 1978; (d) Soldadera sandinista ± 1981.

(a) (b) (c) (d)

98. See pp. 166-167, 215, 231, 234.

If she and Fernando were lovers as well as comrades-in-arms (maybe the couple in figure 56b or 56c), it's unlikely that their intimate moments of passion would resemble the scene on the *Frida ensam* sleeve (fig. 54). In fact the English lyrics neither mention nor imply anything romantic or erotic in their relationship. It would simply be inappropriate to express compassion and solidarity with the Fernando of the English lyrics from the perspective of figure 54 (p.261) because, if they're both revolutionary comrades they've probably seen burning villages, dead bodies, prison cells, etc., not to mention all those friends and comrades who perished that 'fateful night we crossed the Rio Grande' when they 'were young and full of life and none of us prepared to die'. She's neither his lover nor his mistress but his *friend* ('my friend Fernando'). Switching between cut glass, gourmet supper, a mahogany table, Persian carpet and hand-in-groin posture on the one hand and, on the other, the altruism, danger, distress, dedication, solidarity and hard work of 'fighting for freedom in this land' might work as poignant irony in another political context but it's unlikely that such Brechtian *Verfremdung* would have had much effect on the average Swedish buyer of *Frida ensam* in 1975 or 1976.

So, which Fernando could the average Swede hearing the song on the *Frida ensam* album in the mid 1970s have related to? Only two answers are possible. He's either a well-behaved, politically non-strident Latin American refugee in Sweden or else he's someone she met in Las Palmas, Marbella or Torremolinos during one of the charter trips undertaken by many ordinary Scandinavians in the early 1970s. The political connotations of Latin American refugees in Sweden in the early and mid-seventies (p. 241, ff.) obviously make the first identity less plausible. The second identity, however, is not only more likely judging from the Swedish lyrics and the album cover: it's also substantiated by the commercial success of several charter tour hits of the same period. I'm alluding here to songs like *Viva España* (Vrethammar, 1973, ex.131, p.166; fig. 57) with its 'SPANISH WEATHER AND MEN ARE BETTER AND HOTTER THAN SWEDISH' lyrics, via *svensktopp* hits by bands like Schytts and Sven Ingvars (fig. 57, p. 265), to the George Baker Selection's *Una Paloma Blanca* (1975; ex.107, p. 146, fig. 55c p.262), with its pseudo-Mediterranean, onbeat, 'oom-pah' eurohit sound.

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Fig. 57. Single sleeves for three *svensktopp* package holiday hits from the 1970s: (a) *[Y] Viva España* (Vrethammar, 1973); (b) *Hasta la vista* (Schytts, 1974); *Jag vill resa bort [från snö och is]* (Sven Ingvars, 1974).

END X-REF FERNANDO [2]

Bridge

The obvious difference as regards both album cover and lyrics between the Swedish and the other two versions of *Fernando* under discussion should be viewed here in the context, already mentioned, of the specific cultural and political conditions in Sweden at the time. That issue is explored in the next chapter.