left wing artists for whom Abba publicly expressed appreciation, so much so that they had even discussed a recording contract with Abba manager Stikkan Anderson before finally signing with the independent MNW (Borg, 1977: 83, 107). A comparison of Hoola Bandoola’s Víctor Jara and Abba’s Fernando will give a much clearer picture of the musical/ideological conditions in Sweden under which the latter was produced.

**Fernando and Jara**

Víctor Jara: transcription and lyrics

Ex. 167. : Víctor Jara
[Order of performance: (1) ritornello, (2) v.1, (3) ritornello, (4) v.2, (5) ritornello, (6) v.3, (7) coda.]
Víctor Jara — v. 1 (cont’d) + v. 2 (start) [ritornello: p. 276]
Víctor Jara — v. 2 (cont’d)

Fin het en år som den snöig är, sköna snöig ros.

Måste vi uppa oss väl för att förra de osiga.

Vänska vars oas mot de som vill krossa det som spirar och

Och de för hårdad såg att döden är lika för
Víctor Jara — v. 2 (end) + v.3 (start) [ritornello p. 276]

Verse 3

D.C. ritornello
then verse 3

[Music notation with lyrics]
Tagg: *Everyday Tonality II* — 8. Sweden and elsewhere

**Víctor Jara — v. 3 (cont’d)**

![Musical notation](image)
Víctor Jara — v. 3 (end)
Víctor Jara — Coda

Fig. 58. Víctor Jara b/w Stoppa matchen (Hoola Bandoola Band, 1974): sleeve art
Victor Jara: lyrics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse 1</th>
<th>Translation by Roger Hinchliffe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Det finns många som gör konster och krummsprång för dem som har makten, och det finns många som fjäskar för smulor ifrån den härskandes bord; men du valde din väg, du sjöng för de många, och du struttrade i de mäktigas löften och de härskandes hot. ja, Víctor Jara, du gavord åt de fånglades längtan till frihet; och du gav styrka och mod et de förtrampades drömmar; men mot de rika och få sjöng du ut din förakt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are too many jesters and fools who flatter the mighty</td>
<td>And too many dandies who’ll dance for the crumbs from their feasts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Verse 2 | |
|---------| |
| Men om framtiden är som ett träd vi har planterat i jorden och ifall friheten är som den spädaste sköraste ros, måste vi väpna oss väl för att försvara det svaga: vi måste värna det mot dem som vill krossa det som spirar och gror. och de förtvivlade säger att döden är lika för alla, men det är väl sannare att säga att man kan dö på samma sätt som man har levt; och att dö för förtjänst, det väger lätt som en fjäder, men att dö för sitt folk, det väger tungt som en sten. |
| But if the future is like a young tree we have lovingly planted | And if liberty is like a fragile and delicate rose | We must arm ourselves well to defend the defenceless, | We must shield them from those who trample what’s struggling to grow. | The desperate will tell you that death is the same to us all | But to tell you the truth you can die in the same way you live. | If you die getting rich, your fate’s as light as a feather. | But if you die for the poor, what more can your life give? |
Verse 3

Ja, Victor Jara, dina sånger ska eka i gruvornas gångar,
Och som fullmogna frukter ska de skördas ifrån plantagernas träd;
Och som vajande sed ska de bölja över fälten,
Och som fiskar i vattnet ska de fastna i fiskarnas nät.
Ja, Victor Jara, dina sånger ska inte bli glömda,
Från gitarr till gitarr ska de spridas över stad och land.
De ska vagga oss till sömns när våra nätter blir långa,
De ska marschera med oss när dagen är här.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ja, Victor Jara, your songs will ring out in the echoing mine shafts;</th>
<th>Like ripe fruit they’ll be gathered on farms as the autumn sun sets;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Och som fullmogna frukter ska de skördas ifrån plantagernas träds</td>
<td>They will drift with the wind over billowing wheat fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Och som vajande sed ska de bölja över fälten</td>
<td>And like fish in the ocean they will fasten in the fishermen’s nets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Och som fiskar i vattnet ska de fastna i fiskarnas nät.</td>
<td>Victor Jara, your songs will be sung, they will not be forgotten:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ja, Victor Jara, dina sånger ska inte bli glömda,</td>
<td>From guitar to guitar ‘round the world they will ramble and roam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Från gitarr till gitarr ska de spridas över stad och land.</td>
<td>They will lull us to sleep when our nights are uneasy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De ska vagga oss till sömns när våra nätter blir långa,</td>
<td>They’ll be marching with us in the morning to come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De ska marschera med oss när dagen är här.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Politico-musical polarisation

In Hoola Bandoola’s Victor Jara (example 168, p. 276, ff.), a quena-like flute sound was used in the short instrumental ritornelli. Acoustic guitars were also in clear evidence, just as in Fernando. However, the similarities between Fernando’s and Victor Jara’s Latin American connotations end there. As can be gathered directly from the differences in the very titles, not to mention the lyrics, of the two songs, Victor Jara (a real person) does not beat about the political bush like the fictitious Fernando. The lyrics of Victor Jara go far beyond the vagaries of concepts like ‘liberty; and ‘freedom’: they talk about the Chilian troubadour’s songs expressing the hopes of miners, of the oppressed, imprisoned, and downtrodden. The lyrics describe Jara’s songs ‘lulling us to sleep when nights are long’ and ‘marching with us when day breaks’.

There is no doubt what the song is ‘talking about’ musematically either. The quena flute sound of Victor Jara is much nearer the centre front of the stereo panorama, mixed up as loud as the singer, slightly to his left, with the solo acoustic guitar immediately to his right so that the ‘dialogue’ is equal and unified between, on the one hand, ‘Victor Jara’ as flute and decorative-inter-
pretative-melodic solo acoustic guitar fills and, on the other, the vocalist (Michael Wiehe). Both ‘individuals’ are accompanied in a dynamic 3/4-6/8 hemiola/cueca sort of rhythm played at a determined and urgent pace of 160 bpm accompanied by a bombo drum and by crisp Hispanic attacks and syncopations on acoustic rhythm guitar (see example 168, p. 276, ff.). Afro-North American and Euro-North American style indicators found in the refrain of Fernando (m9, m10) are conspicuously absent in Víctor Jara and even the electric bass keeps to simple onbeat oom-pah dotted minimis. The excitement and drive of the accompaniment is created by Latin-American and European, not North American means. These ‘non-U.S.’ traits are further emphasised by the harmonies used in the song which, although traditionally European and tertial (‘functional’), have neither the same regular periodicity nor the same narrow tonal limits as Fernando: Víctor Jara includes full cadences not only in the tonic (C minor) but also modulates (via Ab and Bb) to Eb, (via C minor) to F minor and (via D7) to G. All this makes for less harmonic and stereophonic monocentricity and less Euro-North American musical ethnocentricity.

The vocal delivery of Víctor Jara also differs radically from that of Fernando. In Víctor Jara we find a much higher melodic pitch than in Fernando. Moreover, the former song contains a whole series of bold rising intervals conspicuously absent from the former. Both these points demand a greater degree of physical and mental effort from the singer (more tension of the vocal chords, great care to ‘hit’ the high notes in tune without forcing them). In addition, although the name ‘Víctor Jara’ corresponds exactly with the rhythms of ‘yo te quiero’, ‘Bossa Nova’ or ‘mi Fernando’, there is not one single appoggiatura expressing the ‘graceful pleading’ of m5 or m6, in the whole of Víctor Jara. Apart from the sinuous but fast ‘fishing net’ word-painting fill by solo acoustic guitar in the middle of verse 3, we are led straight into onbeat melodic-harmonic consonances, not into the ‘mini-dissonances’ tinting the simple scale-like passages in the verse of Fernando and their veneer of sincerity and emotional involvement.

This single by Hoola Bandoola Band sold well in alternative bookstores and at Chile solidarity rallies (outlets not counted in the compilation of Swedish charts). Moreover, the album including Víctor Jara (Fri Information), though also mainly distributed through similar alternative outlets, managed to sell...
enough through the normal commercial outlets to reach number 6 on the Swedish charts (Skivspegeln) in October 1975. One month later Fernando entered the Swedish charts for the first time (on Annifrid Lyngstad’s album).

There is absolutely nothing to suggest that Abba have stolen anything deliberately from anyone, not even from Osvaldo Farrés, the composer of Quizás, when writing or recording Fernando. With Quizás, Víctor Jara and Fernando we are witnessing the sort of process in which musical ideas are produced, reshaped, incorporated into new (or old) contexts. Fernando is rather the result of a large number of specific and interrelated historical factors. Its widespread success may be in part attributable to the special conditions of popular music in Sweden during the 1960s and around 1970, as well as to the variety of popular musical backgrounds brought together in Abba as a group and to the modest but not working class origins of its members. It should also be clear that Latin America and, more specifically, the fascist coup in Chile were, by the time Fernando was issued, well-established spheres of reference in the minds of most Swedes who were visibly shaken by TV and refugees’ eye-witness reports from Chile (later also from Argentina) about torture, terror and oppression. The non-verbal sounding symbol of injustice in South America in the mind’s ear of the Swedish population gradually (between 1968 and 1975) came to be that of quena flutes, charangos and the bombo. The success of both Hoola Bandoola’s Víctor Jara and of Abba’s Fernando would have been unthinkable without such a process of politico-musical semiosis. Therefore, when Abba issued Fernando they met a musically and ideologically competent audience, in the sense that the musical codes and their connotations had been well prepared in advance. It should also be clear that music understood by Swedes as South American or Indian-Andean which appeared during the two years separating the fascist coup in Chile from the issue of Fernando would be far more likely to be directly associated with explicit political events and the deep feelings these

29. In fact all proceeds from the sale of the Victor Jara b/w Stoppa matchen went to the Swedish Chile solidarity campaign.
30. ‘Even the most conscientious composer now and then inadvertently uses a fragment of a melody that has stuck in his subconscious. But deliberately lifting phrases from the compositions of others if not only musical bankruptcy but incompetent craftsmanship’… ‘it is easier to write original music than to bother recalling music written in the past’ (Tiomkin, 1951: 18).
aroused than by the ‘South American’ references of Fernando, either because that music was performed by South Americans (often Chileans) or because the lyrics referred directly to events from that continent. However, none of this means that the reception of the song was as homogeneous as the argument thus far may seem to imply. We have only discussed the English lyrics from a certain part of the Swedish horizon. We have not dealt with the reception of the song elsewhere, nor with the obvious differences between the three verbal renderings of the song.

**Fernando’s listeners**

**The Swedish audience**

We have already seen some statistical evidence of the widespread popularity enjoyed by *Fernando* in 1975-6. We have also described the situation in which it was produced, accounted for some of the factors which may have contributed to its popularity and told how a large section of the Swedish public were well-prepared for musematic understanding of its symbols (those who had heard either Los Calchakis or Simon and Garfunkel, who had watched TV news in September and October 1973, perhaps seen Quilapayún or some other Chilean group on TV and who had possibly also heard Hoola Bandoola Band’s *Víctor Jara* on the radio). When summarising the main points of this discussion we shall use this Swedish audience as a sort of reference point in our discussion of the receiving end of the one-way communication model.

I have not carried out any empirical-statistical studies into audience perception (*Rezeption*) of *Fernando*. The methodological problems of music reception tests, enumerated elsewhere (Tagg 1979a: 52, ff.) would have been quite severe in the case of *Fernando*. Any statistically worthwhile results would not only have entailed the necessity of constructing test tapes which convincingly isolated individual musemes and musemes blocks, the arrangement of viable test situations and the usual counting of figures seldom expressing what the researcher really wants to know; it would also have been necessary to arrange these tests and test situations, complemented by interviews of course, in a representative selection of the hundreds of cultures and subcultures where *Fernando* was often played, heard, sung, whistled and hummed. Obviously wishing to avoid this gargantuan methodological issue but at the