

NO HAY REVOLUCIÓN SIN CANCIONES (THERE IS NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT SONG)

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In this paper, I will examine the connection between the north and south, and the creation of identity. I use the site of Latin America to argue that theory from the south, exemplified in socially conscious music, is able to both fix and unfix representation, meaning, and power. I propose that theory from the south, which appears to be an act of resistance, actually fixes meaning around unequal power relations between the north and south. Throughout this paper, I analyze the link between identity, power, and meaning through the theoretical framework of identity, and Stuart Hall's theory of representation. I argue that in order to combat hegemonic narratives created by the north, the south has to be understood in its own right. If people begin to view identity outside the binary of north/south, it is possible that global relationships between the north and south can change. Through its ability to give a voice to historically marginalized people around the globe, theory from the south, exemplified by Latin American music, is a tool for shifting ways of thinking and global patterns of inequality. In the site of Latin America, theory from the south acts as a transnational form of storytelling, and is able to promote a narrative different than that of northern hegemony. In time, this traveling story may unravel and destroy the grand narrative and destructive binary of north/south.

INTRODUCTION:

Music is not only a form of entertainment; it is a means of political expression, method of storytelling, and source of collective identity. In this paper, I analyze the connection between music, collective identity, and globalization within the site of Latin America. I pose the question, how is the idea of Latin American identity reflected in music, and how do global relations between the north and south affect this identity? I use the site of Latin America to argue that theory from the south, exemplified in socially conscious music, is able to both fix and unfix representation, meaning, and power. When theory from the south is rooted in identity, as seen in socially conscious Latin American music, even supposed forms of resistance reinforce hegemonic binaries. Socially conscious music is just one of many examples of theory from the south: a way of thinking that resists the dominant narrative constructed by the global north. Things that appear to be resistance, like theory from the south, actually fix representation and meaning around unequal power relations between the north and south. To combat these problematic global hegemonies, we need global resistance.

By cross-analyzing two socially conscious songs written by Latin American artists, with a range of scholarly articles, I will identify the advantages and complications created by theory from the south, embodied by Latin American protest music.

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Although this music seems to empower the south, it reinforces the problematic north-south binary that it is trying to resist. In this context, music acts as both a “fixer” and “unfixer” of representation, meaning, and power. The south must be understood and addressed in its own right, not in the hegemonic binary constructed by the north.

If people begin to view identity outside the binary of north/south, it is possible that global relationships between the north and south can change, over time. Through its ability to give a voice to historically marginalized people around the globe, theory from the south, exemplified by Latin American music, is a tool for shifting ways of thinking and global patterns of inequality. This theory allows people to reclaim and retell their own story, while promoting a different narrative. It is an outlet not only for political expression, but also for hopes of creating change in the world, and allowing criticism of society.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION:

In this paper, I use the concept of identity as a mechanism through which theory from the south is expressed. Chilean anthropologist Mariel Suárez Egizabel defines identity as a “dynamic system of representations by which the social actor, individual or collective, orients their conduct, organizes their projects, constructs their history, looks for contradictions and discovers conflicts...and always in relation with other social actors without whom they cannot define or know themselves.”¹ Suárez Egizabel explains that history is a key element in the configuration and study of identity. She argues that identity is not completely fixed, but rather, it is permanently reconstructed and redefined.

I also use Stuart Hall’s explanation of representation, meaning, and power to understand how identity is fixed and unfixed by unequal power relations. In the video, “Representation and the Media”, Hall explains that “... The issue of power can never be bracketed out from the question of representation, because ideology and power fix meaning.”² Representation and identity are inextricably linked to power, which means that a group in power is able to fix their narrative. In the relationship between the powerful north and historically disempowered south, the north is the creator of the narrative, while the south is not able to tell their own story. Theory from the south tries to unfix preconceived notions about identity, and detangle meaning and representation from power.

WHAT IS ‘THE SOUTH’?:

*“Operation Condor invading my nest, I’ll forgive but I’ll never forget”
- Calle 13, “Latinoamérica”*

The south is not a thing, it is a *relation* that has been made and remade through its past and present relation to northern nations. As Jean and John Comaroff explain in their book *Theory From the South*, “This is why ‘the south’ cannot be defined, a pri-

ori, in substantive terms. The label bespeaks a relation, not a thing in or for itself. It is a historical artifact, a labile signifier in a grammar of signs whose semiotic content is determined, over time, by everyday material, political, and cultural processes, the dialectical products of a global world in motion.³ The Comaroffs define the ‘global south’ as, “...the non-West—variously known as the ancient world, the orient, the primitive world, and now the global south...” The global south is extremely diverse, but shares a history of oppression, “...the closest thing to a common denominator among them is that many were once colonies, protectorates, or overseas ‘possessions,’ albeit not necessarily during the same epoch.”⁴ The Latin American continent, like most of the global south, experienced colonization and exploitation by Western European nations, and later, the United States.

In her book, *Cultural Identity in Latin America*, Birgitta Leander explains that ever since their first encounter with the continent, Europeans took a special pleasure in projecting their fantasies onto Latin America.⁵ Leander argues that the north’s collective social dreams have been fleshed out in America and organized on the basis of images of the ideal into intellectually consistent designs for another type of society, in opposition to the existing order.⁶ In accordance with Leander’s argument, the Comaroffs propose that the south has acted as a laboratory for northern nations, “Sometimes, too, they were fertile staging grounds—even, as is often said nowadays, laboratories—for ways of doing things that were not possible elsewhere: experiments, for instance, in urban architecture and planning, in brutally profitable methods of labor discipline, in socially engineered public health regimes, and in untried practices of governance and extraction, bureaucracy and warfare, property and pedagogy.”⁷ Although the concept of the south is an “imagined community”, and a projection of northern ideas, the centuries of unequal power relations between north and south produced very *real* effects in the unfolding of history.⁸

Northern nations, specifically the United States, maintained active relationships with Latin America since the early 19th century. During the Cold War, the U.S. feared the spread of Soviet influence, and actively worked to halt the spread of the communism around the global south. According to the Comaroffs, the south has acted as a laboratory for northern socio-economic experiments, “... a ‘perfect petri dish of capitalism.’”⁹ Latin America played a major role in the North’s experiments with capitalism: there are multiple cases in which the United States overthrew democratically elected governments perceived as a threat to U.S. political and economic interests, and supported oppressive military regimes around the continent in a covert military operation called Operation Condor.^{10, 11} Latin Americans, from Santiago to San Salvador, are united by a history of violence and oppression imposed by the north, and this experience has been fixed into the collective Latin American identity. However, this situation is not limited to Latin America: the U.S. supported corrupt, violent governments around the globe, in order to fight off the supposed communist threat.¹² Continuous northern influence on the continent reinforces unequal power relations between north and south, and fixes the northern hegemonic narratives.

THEORY FROM THE SOUTH AS A FIXER/UNFIXER OF IDENTITY:

"You tell us that we should sit down, but ideas can only allow us to rise up!"
 - Ana Tijoux, "*Somos Sur (We are the South)*"

Theory from the south, illustrated by Latin American resistance music, is able to both fix and unfix representation, meaning, and power. It gives the south an opportunity to reclaim and retell their own narrative, while proclaiming the collective strength and resilience of historically disempowered people. However, theory from the south is troublesome because it confines people to think within the same hegemonic binary of north/south, which hinders societal change. Theory from the south, which appears to be an act of resistance, further entrenches unequal power relations between the north and south.

In his analysis of the Haitian earthquake, Anthony Oliver-Smith explains disasters as socially created, historically based phenomena: "In short, disasters are not accidents or acts of God. They are deeply rooted in the social, economic, and environmental history of the societies where they occur. Moreover, disasters are far more than catastrophic events; they are processes that unfold through time, and their causes are deeply embedded in societal history. As such, disasters have historical roots, unfolding presents, and potential futures according to the forms of reconstruction."¹³ I apply Oliver-Smith's theory about disasters as historically rooted and socially created phenomena to my discussion of identity as a mechanism of theory from the south, and argue that identity, like natural disasters, is not natural. On the contrary, identity is historically based and socially created, and *recreated*, through interactions with other actors. Analyzing identity "... reveals how deeply embedded it is in the historical processes that resulted in the unequal distribution of risk and vulnerability at the national, regional, and local levels in Latin America and the Caribbean."¹⁴ Furthermore, I argue that identity must be questioned and denaturalized. As Stuart Hall explains, "When we are immersed in something, surrounded by it the way we are by images from the media, we may come to accept them as just part of the real and natural world." Identity is far from natural: in the global south, identity continues to be shaped by centuries of colonization and exploitation at the hands of the global north.

One form of theory from the south is Latin American resistance music. In their song, "Latinoamérica," Calle 13, a Puerto Rican hip-hop band, explores what it means to be Latin American in the 21st century. This song reflects on historical and political themes, and acts as a criticism of northern force and influence in Latin America, while at the same time asserting the collective strength and resilience of Latin American people. Calle 13 attempts to unfix northern power by acting as a spokesperson for Latin America as a whole, and reclaiming the often-overlooked story of the continent. Through their creation of socially conscious music, Calle 13 is somewhat able to unfix, and denaturalize, the representation of north/south rela-

tions. They attempt to empower Latin Americans through sharing their theory from the south—resistance music.

Calle 13 directly addresses the idea of Latin American identity, and believes that Latin America is a product of both its past and present: “English translation: I am Latin America, a people without legs but who still walk, listen!”¹⁵ The artists strongly believe that an important part of Latin American identity is the continent’s collective history of oppression by the north, and the resilience of people to rise above the violence and hardship that they collectively endured over centuries. As Oliver-Smith explains, identity is “a historical product brought into being and maintained by identifiable forces.”¹⁶ Many of the lyrics in “Latinoamérica” reference historical events, such as slave-powered sugar cane plantations in Cuba, and Operation Condor—events that were actively instated or supported by northern governments. As the song title suggests, these events are a crucial part collective identity, they define Latin American people. Calle 13 tries to make the past a source of pride for Latin America; they are reclaiming history and retelling their story that was previously constructed by the north.

Emmanuelle Rimbot, a French historian, engages with the idea of collective identity in relation to music, and how the two are influenced by power. Rimbot argues that when identities are fixed by unequal power relations, as is seen throughout the global south, they have the power to unite and strengthen a particular group, giving it body, consistency, and legitimacy, which leads to mobilization.¹⁷ He explains that in this situation, the singer assumes the role of a mediator, and, s/he converts into a proclaimer of identity, through asserting that there is a group with a history and character of its own that needs to defend itself.¹⁸ The lyrics in “Latinoamérica” explicitly speak out against unequal power relations and northern hegemony, while empowering Latin American people to tell their own story. Calle 13 attempts to unfix the naturalized narrative of Latin America as a passive, disempowered continent. Through their assumed role as a proclaimer of identity, Calle 13 attempts to unite and empower all of Latin America, from Puerto Rico to Patagonia.

Through their music, Calle 13 tries to unfix the hegemonic narrative created by the north, but this does not mean that Latin American identity is inherently anti-modernity, or anti-globalization. As Angelique Haugerud explains in her critique of Thomas Friedman, “Missing the subtleties and complex capabilities of tradition (and culture), Friedman misrepresents resistance to some forms of economic globalization simply as a stark refusal of ‘modernity.’ Anthropologists, by contrast, recognize that resistance may very well signal rejection not of modernity per se but of the social injustices, environmental destruction, and brutal economic inequality that can accompany industrialization and economic neoliberalism.”¹⁹ Pride in tradition and identity is not a rejection of modernity or globalization—on the contrary, Haugerud argues that this pride stems from history of oppression, and entrenched unequal power relations between north and south.

Haugerud defines globalization to refer to the “accelerated flows or intensi-

fied connections—across national and other boundaries—of commodities, people, symbols, technology, images, information, and capital.”²⁰ By rejecting northern hegemony, the south is demanding to be heard, to tell the own story, and to bring justice to a people who were historically oppressed by the north. The narrative of Latin American identity described by Calle 13 is constructed in contrast to the entrenched and hegemonic forms of globalization that benefit people in the north and disempower those in the south. Haugerud sees positive potential for globalization in the future: “...it could also signify an increasing capacity for political alliances and declarations that transcend the nation-state.”²¹ The lyrics of Calle 13’s powerful anthem do indeed transcend the nation-state, unifying Latin America under a shared identity, and creating the potential to reclaim the southern narrative.

Although theory from the south, in this case rooted in identity and embodied by Latin American resistance music, allows the south to reclaim and reconstruct their story, it actually upholds the hegemonic narrative constructed by the north, and is fixed within the troublesome binary of north/south. To combat these problematic and limiting global hegemonies, global resistance and a denaturalization of power relations is necessary. Communication, whether received from news sources or art, is always linked with power, and those groups who wield power in a society influence representation and fix the meaning of these images. Stuart Hall argues that whoever holds power controls representation and meaning, “...So what we’re looking at is a practice, which is always going to be subverted; and, you know, the purpose of power, when it intervenes in language, is precisely to absolutely fix. That is what we used to call ‘ideology’ tries to do.”²² Hall explains that although meaning is never truly fixed, it takes a great deal of power to fix it, because, “The meaning can never be fixed... But meaning depends on a certain kind of fixing. On the other hand, meaning can never be finally fixed. Meaning can be changed. It can only be changed if it cannot finally be fixed, because you bet your life that the attempt to fix it is why power intervenes in representation at all.”²³ Theory from the south, embodied in socially conscious music, tries to unfix the narrative created by the north, but cannot fully do so because the south is constantly in a position of *disempowerment* in relation to the global north.

In her song, “Somos Sur” (We are the South), Ana Tijoux, a Chilean rapper talks about what it means to be from the global south. Ana Tijoux is the daughter of Chilean exiles who fled to France after the military coup d’état in Chile in September 1973. She began her career in the 1990s as a rapper in a popular Chilean hip-hop group, has since started her solo career, and continues to produce hip-hop music with a political message. She has written songs criticizing covert transnational agreements, speaking out against neoliberalism and its effects in Chile, and standing in solidarity with the Chilean student protests of 2011.

“Somos Sur” recognizes the many grassroots social movements taking place around the world.²⁴ Tijoux created this track in collaboration with Shadia Mansour, a Palestinian rapper, and when asked about this partnership, Tijoux responded, “... we decided to make a song that basically talks about the resistance in the south and to

make a parallel between act of resistances in Chile and Palestine” (Democracy Now!). In this song, Tijoux emphasizes defiance against the northern system of oppression, and explains that resistance is a struggle shared by many people across nations. Tijoux’s lyrics clearly criticize the north for exploiting and subjecting the South: “English translation: Nigeria, Bolivia, Chile, Angola, Puerto Rico, and Tunisia/ Algeria, Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mozambique, and Costa Rica/ Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Somalia, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Tanzania/ Yankees, leave Latin America, French, English, and Dutch/ I love you free Palestine.”²⁵ Through her lyrics, Tijoux unites people in all countries that have been disempowered and taken advantage of by the north. She acts as a spokesperson for the historically disempowered people of the south, and unites these people under a unified collective identity. “Somos Sur” boldly resists the northern system of oppression (“Yankees, leave Latin America”), and Tijoux aims to empower the south, and unfixed the hegemonic narrative created by the north.

Although Tijoux, and other socially conscious musicians, try to unfix global relations of power, they are actually reinforcing, and fixing the same binary narrative constructed by the north. The name of Tijoux’s song, “We are the South,” immediately fortifies the north/south binary. She creates a black and white divide between the concept of a unified southern people, and the ‘other’: the global north. The name of the song implies that Tijoux speaks not only for Latin America: she speaks for all historically marginalized people around the south, “English translation: Neither Africa nor Latin America are for auction... All the silenced/All the forgotten/ all the invisible/ everyone.”²⁶ Tijoux explicitly calls on areas of the world that have been exploited by the north, uniting them under a shared history; however, her thinking is confined to the hegemonic narrative of a weak, disempowered south, that was created by the global north. The language used throughout the song concretizes this divide and reinforces the north/south binary: Tijoux uses both familiar and unfamiliar words like ‘you’, ‘us’, and ‘we’. By empowering the south to rise up, and reclaim its own story, she is *reinforcing* the hegemonic narrative, and is trapped within the limiting binary of north/south. As Stuart Hall explains, whoever holds power is able to tell the story, and fix representation and meaning.²⁷ Therefore, because the north is still in a position of power and the south is confined within the hegemonic narrative created by the north, theory from the south, in this case, music, is not fully able to change the narrative... it engrains the narrative even deeper. Even though the south is somewhat able to reclaim their own story through creating music—their own theory—they are not able to escape the binary of north/south because they are still not in a position of power. Furthermore, music from the south reinforces the north’s hegemonic narrative through encouraging people from the south to define themselves in opposition to the global north. The south plays into the north’s system of representation (Hall)—the binary narrative—which reinforces inequality between the north and south.

The binary of north/south needs to be unfixed, and denaturalized, for any progress to occur. As the Comaroffs explain, “Modernity in the south... demands to

be apprehended and addressed in its own right”, not in the hegemonic binary constructed by the north.²⁸ While people are stuck thinking within the hegemonic binary narrative constructed by the north, the south will continue to stay in a position of *disempowerment*.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE VISION:

*“You can’t buy my happiness
 You can’t buy my pain
 You can’t buy my life”
 - Calle 13, “Latinoamérica”*

Theory from the south, exemplified in resistance music, is able to both fix and unfix representation, meaning, and power. Stuart Hall argues that although meaning is never actually fixed, it takes a great amount of power to change representation and the grand narrative. As Hall explains in his analysis of representation in the media, “We must always interrogate what seems to be natural.” The narrative of north/south binary must be questioned for any change to occur. As Hall says, “...When we are immersed in something, surrounded by it the way we are by images from the media, we may come to accept them as just part of the real and natural world.”²⁹ Northern hegemony, and the north/south binary are not natural, and we must question the unequal power relations between the north and south. Perhaps, if this binary is questioned, and denaturalized, we can create a different future.

Manfred B. Steger argues that at its core, globalization is about *shifting ways of thinking*, and altering forms of human contact.³⁰ Steger theorizes about a future condition that he terms ‘globality’, “... We adopt the term globality to signify a social condition characterized by tight global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interconnections and flows that make most of the currently existing borders and boundaries irrelevant... This concept signifies a future social condition that, like all conditions, is destined to give way to new constellations.”³¹ Steger explains that this age has not come about yet, but we are slowly moving towards this condition. Perhaps globality, with its focus on the cultural and environmental, as well as the economic, will prompt people to question the problematic binary between north/south.

In an interview with *Democracy Now!*, an independent news channel, Ana Tijoux speaks about her socially conscious music, including “Somos Sur.” When prompted to speak about the meaning behind the creation of the song, Tijoux said, “It’s about to be the proud without entering in chauvinism, you know? It’s got to do with identity and about very similar history sometimes that repeat in an act of resistance. And so, for us, it was very important to make a song that talk about this identity and this act of union and *altermundialista*³² also, in the beautiful fight of rebellion, beautiful rebellion.”³³ Tijoux recognizes that there needs to be a shift in the way that humans interact with one another across the globe, and believes that music, acting as

a theory from the south, can be a uniting force around the world. Haugerud would agree with Ana Tijoux and argues that today's challenges demand attention to more humane forms of globalization.³⁴

The power of theory from the south, embodied in socially conscious music, lies in its ability to tell a different narrative, while transcending borders. In the site of Latin America, theory from the south acts as a transnational form of storytelling, and is able to promote a narrative different than that of northern hegemony. In time, this traveling story may unravel and destroy the grand narrative and destructive binary of north/south. This theory travels beyond time and space to unite people from the global south, and empowers these people to promote a different, untold, and empowering narrative. It serves as an outlet not only for political expression, but also for hopes of creating change in the world, and allowing questioning of societal norms that have been naturalized over centuries of unequal power relationships. To combat problematic global hegemonies, we need global resistance. There is no revolution without song (*no hay revolución sin canciones*).

APPENDIX

"LATINOAMÉRICA" BY CALLE 13:

Soy lo que dejaron,
 soy toda la sobra de lo que se robaron.
 Un pueblo escondido en la cima,
 mi piel es de cuero por eso aguanta cualquier clima.
 Soy una fábrica de humo,
 mano de obra campesina para tu consumo
 Frente de frío en el medio del verano,
 el amor en los tiempos del cólera, mi hermano.
 El sol que nace y el día que muere,
 con los mejores atardeceres.
 Soy el desarrollo en carne viva,
 un discurso político sin saliva.
 Las caras más bonitas que he conocido,
 soy la fotografía de un desaparecido.
 Soy la sangre dentro de tus venas,
 soy un pedazo de tierra que vale la pena.
 soy una canasta con frijoles ,
 soy Maradona contra Inglaterra anotándote dos goles.
 Soy lo que sostiene mi bandera,
 la espina dorsal del planeta es mi cordillera.
 Soy lo que me enseñó mi padre,
 el que no quiere a su patria no quiere a su madre.
 Soy América latina,
 un pueblo sin piernas pero que camina.

Tú no puedes comprar al viento.
 Tú no puedes comprar al sol.
 Tú no puedes comprar la lluvia.
 Tú no puedes comprar el calor.
 Tú no puedes comprar las nubes.
 Tú no puedes comprar los colores.
 Tú no puedes comprar mi alegría.
 Tú no puedes comprar mis dolores.

Tengo los lagos, tengo los ríos.
 Tengo mis dientes pa` cuando me sonrío.
 La nieve que maquilla mis montañas.
 Tengo el sol que me seca y la lluvia que me baña.

Un desierto embriagado con bellos de un trago de pulque.
 Para cantar con los coyotes, todo lo que necesito.
 Tengo mis pulmones respirando azul clarito.
 La altura que sofoca.
 Soy las muelas de mi boca mascando coca.
 El otoño con sus hojas desmalladas.
 Los versos escritos bajo la noche estrellada.
 Una viña repleta de uvas.
 Un cañaveral bajo el sol en cuba.
 Soy el mar Caribe que vigila las casitas,
 Haciendo rituales de agua bendita.
 El viento que peina mi cabello.
 Soy todos los santos que cuelgan de mi cuello.
 El jugo de mi lucha no es artificial,
 Porque el abono de mi tierra es natural.

Tú no puedes comprar al viento.
 Tú no puedes comprar al sol.
 Tú no puedes comprar la lluvia.
 Tú no puedes comprar el calor.
 Tú no puedes comprar las nubes.
 Tú no puedes comprar los colores.
 Tú no puedes comprar mi alegría.
 Tú no puedes comprar mis dolores.

Você não pode comprar o vento
 Você não pode comprar o sol
 Você não pode comprar chuva
 Você não pode comprar o calor
 Você não pode comprar as nuvens
 Você não pode comprar as cores
 Você não pode comprar minha felicidade
 Você não pode comprar minha tristeza

 Tú no puedes comprar al sol.
 Tú no puedes comprar la lluvia.
 (Vamos dibujando el camino,
 vamos caminando)
 No puedes comprar mi vida.
 MI TIERRA NO SE VENDE.

Trabajo en bruto pero con orgullo,
Aquí se comparte, lo mío es tuyo.
Este pueblo no se ahoga con marullos,
Y si se derrumba yo lo reconstruyo.
Tampoco pestañeo cuando te miro,
Para q te acuerdes de mi apellido.
La operación cóndor invadiendo mi nido,
¡Perdono pero nunca olvido!

(Vamos caminando)
Aquí se respira lucha.
(Vamos caminando)
Yo canto porque se escucha.

Aquí estamos de pie
¡Que viva Latinoamérica!

No puedes comprar mi vida.

“SOMOS SUR” BY ANA TIJOUX:

Tu nos dices que debemos sentarnos,
 pero las ideas solo pueden levantarnos
 caminar, recorrer, no rendirse ni retroceder,
 ver, aprender como esponja absorbe
 nadie sobra, todos faltan, todos suman
 todos para todos, todo para nosotros.
 Soñamos en grande que se caiga el imperio,
 lo gritamos alto, no queda mas remedio
 esto no es utopía, es alegre rebeldía
 del baile de los que sobran, de la danza tuya y mía,
 levantarnos para decir “ya basta”
 Ni África, ni América Latina se subasta,
 con barro, con casco, con lápiz, zapatear el fiasco
 provocar un social terremoto en este charco.

CORO:

Todos los callados (todos),
 Todos los omitidos (todos),
 Todos los invisibles (todos),
 Todos, to, to, todos,
 Todos, to, to, todos
 [:2:]

Nigeria, Bolivia, Chile, Angola, Puerto Rico y Tunisia, Argelia,
 Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Costa Rica, Camerún, Congo,
 Cuba, Somalia, México, República Dominicana, Tanzania, fuera yanquis de América
 latina,
 franceses, ingleses y holandeses, yo te quiero libre Palestina.

(Parte Rapeada por Shadia Mansour)

CORO:

Todos los callados (todos),
 Todos los omitidos (todos),
 Todos los invisibles (todos),
 Todos, to, to, todos,
 Todos, to, to, todos
 [:2:]

Saqueo, pisoteo, colonización, Matías Catrileo, Gualmapu
Mil veces venceremos, del cielo al suelo, y del suelo al cielo
vamos, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, saltando.

Caballito Blanco, vuelve pa' tu pueblo, no te tenemos miedo
tenemos vida y fuego, fuego nuestras manos, fuego nuestros ojos,
tenemos tanta vida, y hasta fuerza color rojo.

La niña María no quiere tu castigo, se va a liberar con el suelo Palestino,
Somos Africanos, Latinoamericanos, somos este sur y juntamos nuestras manos.

CORO:

Todos los callados (todos),
Todos los omitidos (todos),
Todos los invisibles (todos),
Todos, to, to, todos,
Todos, to, to, todos

NOTES

1. Maribel Egizabal Suárez. 2003. "Interrelación entre la identidad de barrio y la identidad personal. Un estudio a través de la memoria." *Zainak* 24 : 788.
2. Stuart Hall 1997. "Representation & the media [electronic resource]."
3. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff. 2012. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm. 47.
4. *Ibid.*, 45.
5. Birgitta Leander. 1986. *Cultural Identity in Latin America*. Paris: Unesco. 45.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Jean Comaroff. 2012. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. 5.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Operation Condor was a secret intelligence and operations system created in the 1970s through which the South American military states shared intelligence, tortured, and executed political opponents. The program was intended to eradicate communist or Soviet influence in the Southern Hemisphere, and suppress active or potential opposition movements. Operation Condor's key members were the military governments in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, as well as the U.S. Operation Condor was a secret component of a larger, U.S. counterinsurgency strategy to reverse social movements demanding progressive political and socioeconomic change (McSherry 1).
11. Partice J. McSherry. 2005. *Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor*. Lanham, MA: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1.
12. James Henry. 2014. "The Other September 11." *Forbes Magazine*, September 9. **INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. 2014.**
13. Anthony Oliver-Smith. 2010. "Haiti and the Historical Construction of Disasters." *NACLA Report on the Americas*: 32-33.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Calle 13. "Latinoamerica." *Entren los Que Quieran (Deluxe Version)*. Sony Music Entertainment US, 2010. MP3.
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17. Emmanuelle Rimbot. 2008. "Luchas interpretativas en torno a la definición de lo nacional: La canción urbana de raíz folklórica en Chile." *Voz y Escritura. Revista de Estudios Literarios* 16: 83.
18. *Ibid.*, 84.
19. Angélique Haugerud. 2005. "Globalization and Thomas Friedman." In *Why America's Top Pundits Are Wrong: Anthropologists Talk Back*, 100.
20. *Ibid.*, 104.
21. *Ibid.*, 114.
22. Hall. "Representation & the media [electronic resource]."
23. *Ibid.*
24. Nick MacWilliam. "What is it to be South American Today: An Interview with Ana Tijoux." *Sounds and Colours*, March 24 2014.
25. Ana Tijoux. 2014. "Chilean Musician Ana Tijoux on Politics, Feminism, Motherhood & Hip-Hop as a 'Land for the Landless.'" *Democracy Now! A Daily Independent Global News Hour*.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Hall. "Representation & the media [electronic resource]."
28. Jean Comaroff. 2012. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. 7.
29. Hall. "Representation & the media [electronic resource]."
30. Manfred B. Steger. 2009. *Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press. 9.
31. *Ibid.*, 8.
32. The *altermundialista*, or alter-globalization, movement is the name of social movement whose proponents support global cooperation and interaction, but oppose what they describe as the negative effects of economic globalization, feeling that it often works to the detriment of human values such as environmental and climate protection, economic justice, labor protection, protection of indigenous cultures, peace, and civil liberties (Pleyers and Touraine).

33. Ana Tijoux. "Chilean Musician Ana Tijoux on Politics, Feminism, Motherhood & Hip-Hop as a 'Land for the Landless.'" *Democracy Now! A Daily Independent Global News Hour*.
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