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Musicians in Transit

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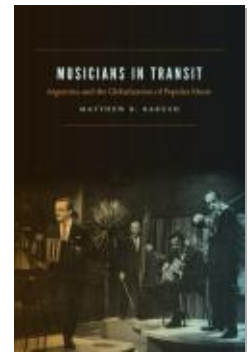
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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 *El País* (July 10, 1994), http://elpais.com/diario/1994/07/10/cultura/773791206_850215.html. All translations in this book are mine, unless otherwise noted.
- 2 Sosa's relationship with Parra and other Latin American folk singers is discussed in chapter 5.
- 3 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 3.
- 4 Ortiz, "Mundialization/Globalization," 401–3. The fuller statement of Ortiz's conception is in Ortiz, *Mundialización y cultura*. For a similar perspective, see Erlmann, "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination."
- 5 García Canclini, *Imagined Globalization*, 28.
- 6 Corona and Madrid, "Introduction," 5.
- 7 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, xiii.
- 8 For an account of this cultural exchange focused on Latin American dance history, see Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*.
- 9 Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 269.
- 10 Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 170–74. On the role of local intermediaries, see, for example, McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 137–45.
- 11 Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 167–80.
- 12 *Desfile Musical Odeón Columbia* 9:91 (May 1942).
- 13 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 48–59.
- 14 Yúdice, "La industria de la música en la integración América Latina-Estados Unidos"; Ochoa Gauthier and Yúdice, "The Latin American Music Industry in an Era of Crisis."
- 15 García Canclini, *Imagined Globalization*, 133. On Miami pop, see also Party, "The Miamization of Latin American Pop Music"; Cepeda, *Musical ImagiNation*, 35–60.
- 16 On the circulation of tango in the United States, see Matallana, *El tango entre dos Américas*. On tango exoticism in Paris and New York, see Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*.
- 17 Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 135–37.
- 18 Poppe, "Made in Joinville," 491–92.

- 19 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 137, 110–12.
- 20 Falicov, “Hollywood’s Rogue Neighbor,” 245–60.
- 21 Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*, 148–92. The quote is from 151.
- 22 Elena, “Argentina in Black and White.”
- 23 Milanese, “Peronists and *Cabecitas*.”
- 24 Garguin, “‘Los argentinos descendemos de los barcos.’”
- 25 See, for example, Frith, “Music and Identity.” For an excellent summary of the scholarship on music and identity as well as a provocative proposal for resolving some of its most vexing challenges, see Vila, “Narrative Identities and Popular Music.”
- 26 Tucker, “Mediating Sentiment and Shaping Publics.”
- 27 The most useful statement of the relationship between structure and agency for historians is Sewell, *Logics of History*, 124–51.

1. BLACK IN BUENOS AIRES

- 1 Andrews, *Afro-Argentines*, esp. 77–92.
- 2 Thompson, “Argentina,” 80.
- 3 See Quijada, Bernard, and Schneider, *Homogeneidad y nación*.
- 4 Frigerio, “‘Negros’ y ‘Blancos,’” 88–93.
- 5 Information on Alemán’s early years comes from several interviews that he granted after he was rediscovered by the Argentine media in the early 1970s. See “Oscar Alemán,” in Ardiles Gray, *Historias de artistas*, 287–92; Sopeña, “Oscar Alemán.” Other useful sources are Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 91–101; and the documentary film by Hernán Gaffet, *Oscar Alemán: Vida con swing* (2002). Unfortunately, Sergio Pujol’s exhaustive biography of the guitarist was published after I had already completed this chapter. See Pujol, *Oscar Alemán*.
- 6 Prieto, *El discurso criollista*.
- 7 On the role of Afro-Argentines in criollismo, see Solomianski, *Identidades secretas*; Castro, *Afro-Argentine*; Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 51–70.
- 8 On Bueno Lobo, see Mello, “Gastão Bueno Lobo.”
- 9 The Les Louns records appeared in Victor’s local advertisements. See *Caras y Caretas* (March 3, 1928); (April 7, 1928); (November 10, 1928); (January 19, 1929); and (April 6, 1929).
- 10 *La Canción Moderna* 1:6 (April 30, 1928).
- 11 Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation*, 165–202.
- 12 For a good selection of Hawaiian steel guitar across a range of musical genres in the late 1920s and early 1930s, see the CD, *Slidin’ on the Frets*.
- 13 For this and all recording information in this chapter, I am entirely dependent on the online Oscar Alemán discography meticulously assembled by Hans Koert: <http://people.zeelandnet.nl/koerthchkz/tuneo.htm>. This discography was maintained by the Dutch collector Hans Koert until his death in 2014. It has now been updated by Argentine collector Andrés Liber: <http://hotclubdeboedo.blogspot.dk/p/blog-page.html>.
- 14 Koert, “Les Louns, ‘Criollita.’” <http://oscar-aleman.blogspot.com/2011/09/les-louns-criollita.html>. “La criollita” is the only Les Louns song on which Lobo plays the cavaquinho instead of the Hawaiian guitar.

- 15 See, for example, Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 88.
- 16 The World's Music Charts: Songs from the Year 1927. <http://tsort.info/music/yr1927.htm>.
- 17 Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 105; Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 107–12.
- 18 On tango's associations with blackness, see Karush, "Blackness in Argentina."
- 19 Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 103–16. The quotation is on 107. On the impact of James Reese Europe, the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, and Louis Mitchell in England, see Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz*.
- 20 Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, 123–35.
- 21 Jules-Rosette, *Josephine Baker*, 144–79; Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia*, 113–33; Wood, *Josephine Baker Story*. On Colin and Baker, see Dalton and Gates, Jr., "Josephine Baker and Paul Colin."
- 22 Micol Seigel has revealed and examined the Brazilian dimension of this multilateral exchange. See Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 95–135.
- 23 Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, 132–33.
- 24 Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 97–107; Davis, *White Face, Black Mask*, 20–28; Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 103–13.
- 25 Rye, "Southern Syncopated Orchestra," 66.
- 26 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 24–27 and 36–39; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 127.
- 27 See, for example, *La Voz* [Madrid], November 9, 1929, 6.
- 28 Koert, "Oscar Alemán 1930–1931."
- 29 Thompson, "Globetrotting Romeo Silva." See also, Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 125–26.
- 30 Ardiles Gray, *Historias de artistas*, 292–94; Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 91–96; Bergmeier and Lotz, "James Arthur Briggs," 141. The photo of Alemán dressed as Baker appeared in *Crisis* (January 1975), 31.
- 31 Quoted in Dregni, *Django*, 101.
- 32 *Sintonía* (November 25, 1942).
- 33 Coleman, *Trumpet Story*, 99.
- 34 On African American jazz musicians in Paris, see Stovall, *Paris Noir*.
- 35 Ardiles Gray, *Historias de artistas*, 297. For other versions of the story, see *Crisis* (January 1975), 30; *La Nación Revista* (May 27, 1979), 30.
- 36 Koert, "Oscar Alemán: Star."
- 37 Quoted in Dexter Johnson, liner notes to *Oscar Alemán*.
- 38 Dregni, *Django*, 102–3.
- 39 On the complex racial politics of Lang's work, see Mike O'Malley, "Blind Imitation."
- 40 The historian Sergio Pujol discusses Brazilian influence on Alemán's guitar style in Gaffet, *Oscar Alemán*.
- 41 Coleman, *Trumpet Story*, 99–100.
- 42 Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, 191–93.
- 43 *Síncopa y Ritmo* (April 1941), 4.
- 44 *Sintonía* (June 25, 1941): 33.
- 45 *Síncopa y Ritmo* (May–June 1941), 2.
- 46 *Síncopa y Ritmo* (October–November 1941), 16.

- 47 See Seibel, “La presencia afroargentina,” 202.
- 48 Matallana, “Locos por la radio,” 95.
- 49 *Sintonía* (May 1, 1943): 13.
- 50 This anecdote is related in Gaffet, *Oscar Alemán*, DVD.
- 51 On the treatment of race in Argentine jazz criticism of this period, see Borge, “Dark Pursuits.”
- 52 See, for example, *Sintonía* (September 2, 1933): 7. *Canción Moderna* 1:17 (July 16, 1928).
- 53 *Sintonía* (March 9, 1935).
- 54 *Síncopa y Ritmo* (April 1941), 26. For another example of this sort of racial determinism in Argentine jazz criticism, see *Síncopa y Ritmo* (December 1941–February 1942), 4–5.
- 55 *Sintonía* (March 1946): 40.
- 56 For a biography of Salgán, see Ursini, *La supervivencia*. Although Ursini does not mention his race, more recent accounts describe him as Afro-Argentine. See Frigerio, “‘Negros’ y ‘Blancos,’” 88–93; Thompson, *Tango*, 194–99.
- 57 *Antena* (December 2, 1952).
- 58 *Crisis* (January 1975), 32.
- 59 Karush, “Blackness in Argentina.”
- 60 *Síncopa y Ritmo* (February–May 1944), 10–11.
- 61 *Jazz Magazine* (August–September 1953), 6.
- 62 *Jazz Magazine* (April–May 1956), 16–17.
- 63 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 120–32. On this controversy as it played out in France and the United States, see Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, 196–97; Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 180–245.
- 64 *Jazz Magazine* (March 1954), 29.
- 65 *Jazz Magazine* (June–August 1956), 22.
- 66 *Jazz Magazine* (December 1951), 7.
- 67 *Jazz Magazine* (May 1951), 5–6.
- 68 Mysteriously, Alemán’s sextet was always known as his “Quinteto de swing.”
- 69 *El Disco* (October 1951), 5.
- 70 *Sintonía* (November 1947).
- 71 *Sintonía* (April 1, 1945), 22B; See also *Sintonía* (April 1948), 23.
- 72 *Jazz Magazine* (July–August 1952), 19.
- 73 *Jazz Magazine* (March–April 1953), 20.
- 74 *Jazz Magazine* (January–February 1952), 10; (October 1952), 18–19; (December 1953), 24.
- 75 *Jazz Magazine* (November 1951), 20.
- 76 See Karush, *Culture of Class*, 200–201.
- 77 Ursini, *La supervivencia*, 67–89.
- 78 *Mundo Argentino* (February 29, 1956), 7–9.
- 79 *Primera Plana* (December 15, 1970), 8.
- 80 *Primera Plana* (September 21, 1971), 45.
- 81 *Crisis* (January 1975), 30.
- 82 Thompson, “Argentina,” 80.

2. ARGENTINES INTO LATIN

- 1 *Jazz Magazine* (March–April 1951), 23.
- 2 For a critique of the emphasis on canon building in jazz studies, see Gabbard, “Introduction.”
- 3 See, for example, Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation*, 48–82; Fernández, *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz*. The term *Latin tinge* is John Storm Roberts’s elaboration of “Spanish tinge,” the phrase with which the early jazz pianist Jelly Roll Morton referred to the Latin American influence on his music. See Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*.
- 4 For their part, scholars of mambo, salsa and other Latin genres have been more likely to take Latin jazz as a serious object of analysis, but they have tended to situate it within the genealogy of Latin music rather than that of jazz. For an insightful example, see Loza, *Tito Puente*.
- 5 Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 82.
- 6 Pérez Firmat, “Latunes,” 187.
- 7 Roberts, *Latin Jazz*; Washburne, “The Clave of Jazz”; Austerlitz, *Jazz Consciousness*, 42–97.
- 8 The association of jazz with harmony and melody, as opposed to rhythm, was an ironic one, given the blackness of the genre and its earlier association with syncopation and primitive beats. See Moreno, “Bauza-Gillespie-Latin/Jazz,” 93–94.
- 9 Cited in Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 71. For an illuminating analysis of the racial aspect of this dualism, see Moreno, “Bauza-Gillespie-Latin/Jazz.”
- 10 For one slice of this vast history, see Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 67–135.
- 11 *Jazz Magazine* (December 1951), 23.
- 12 *Jazz Magazine* (December 1951), 8.
- 13 *Jazz Magazine* (October 1952), 12. For Schifrin’s opposition to mixing jazz with classical music, see *Jazz Magazine* (June–August 1956), 21–22.
- 14 *Jazz Magazine* (June–August 1956), 18; *Mundo Argentino* (May 16, 1956), 30. See also Schifrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*.
- 15 *Mundo Argentino* (May 16, 1956), 30.
- 16 Schifrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 23.
- 17 Schifrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 24.
- 18 See Orquera, “From the Andes to Paris,” 105–18.
- 19 On Los Incas, see Rios, “La Flûte Indienne.”
- 20 Schifrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 28–29. On Yma Sumac, see Leydon, “Utopias of the Tropics,” 45–71.
- 21 Cited in Orquera, “From the Andes to Paris,” 113.
- 22 *Jazz Magazine* (September–December 1956), 26; *Jazzlandia* (June 1957). Sergio Pujol cites Carlos Ugartamendía who remembers that the Schifrin band in this period incorporated some Latin rhythms in the style of Stan Kenton. See Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 164. But reports from the period do not mention this aspect, and there does not seem to have been any Cuban percussion in the band. Moreover, Schifrin’s own accounts of this period confirm that “we were not playing Latin music.” Quoted in Gillespie with Fraser, *To Be, or Not . . . to Bop*, 432. See also Schifrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 43.

- 23 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 132–35; 165. Schiffrin described his intention to move to New York in *Jazz Magazine* (June–August 1956), 22.
- 24 Gene Lees, “The Making of a Film Composer,” *High Fidelity* (June 1972), 16. Schiffrin was featured playing “Spanish tunes” in Cugat’s band on the *Voice of Firestone* television program. See *Los Angeles Times* (April 19, 1959), sec. VII, 14. On this period, see also Schiffrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 44, 51–52.
- 25 Giddins, *Visions of Jazz*, 292–94.
- 26 Bob Dawbarn, “Lalo Schiffrin’s Gillespiana Has Latin Flavour,” *Melody Maker* (November 25, 1961), 13.
- 27 Ralph Gleason, “Some Jazz Collaborations Produce Historic Music: Gillespie-Schiffrin Team Will Produce Major Jazz Works,” *Boston Globe* (June 17, 1962), 73.
- 28 Schiffrin and Palmer, *Mission Impossible*, 32.
- 29 For one set list, see Mimi Clar, “Gillespie’s Quintet in Concert at UCLA: JAZZ EVENT,” *Los Angeles Times* (November 6, 1962), D7. One British critic described Dizzy as “one of the originators of the music we now call bossa nova” and reported that the quintet had been playing it as early as its European tour of 1961. See *Gramophone* (June 1963), 80.
- 30 The live Gillespie Quintet album is *Dizzy on the French Riviera* (Phillips, 1962). The studio album is *New Wave!! (Jazz Bossa Nova)* (Philips, 1963). Gillespie actually claimed that his group was “the first in the United States to play that music, samba, in the context of jazz,” having gotten there before Stan Getz. See Gillespie with Fraser, *To Be, or Not . . . to Bop*, 431. For a complete Lalo Schiffrin discography, see <http://www.dougpayne.com/lsdindex.htm>.
- 31 “Dizzy, Mary Lou Swing At New Culture Center,” *The Chicago Defender* (November 17, 1962), 10.
- 32 Goldschmitt, “Doing the Bossa Nova,” 68.
- 33 Leonard Feather, “Blindfold Test,” *Down Beat* (December 20, 1962), 38.
- 34 On the symbolism of the Gillespie/Pozo collaboration, see Moreno, “Bauza-Gillespie-Latin/Jazz,” 94–99.
- 35 Gene Lees, quoted in liner notes to Lalo Schiffrin, *Bossa Nova: New Brazilian Jazz* (Audio Fidelity, 1962).
- 36 Whitney Balliett, “Bossa Nova, Go Home,” *New Yorker* (December 1, 1962), 197–99. On the invention of a bossa nova dance in the United States, see Goldschmitt, “Doing the Bossa Nova.”
- 37 *Gramophone* (February 1963), 80.
- 38 Gene Lees, liner notes to Schiffrin, *Bossa Nova*.
- 39 Feather, “Blindfold Test,” *Down Beat* (December 20, 1962), 38.
- 40 *Jazz Magazine* (December 1951), 8. On the Jobim’s and Gilberto’s debt to Mulligan, see Gene Lees, “Bossa Nova: Anatomy of a Travesty,” *Down Beat* (February 14, 1963), 22–4.
- 41 Robert Riley, “Schiffrin’s Own Third-stream Jazz,” *Christian Science Monitor* (October 19, 1964), 4. “Jazz Mass,” *Down Beat* (February 11, 1965), 17–19. Art Seidenbaum, “Neophonic: The Pluses and Minuses,” *Los Angeles Times* (March 28, 1965), B16.
- 42 Butler, *Jazz Noir*, 105–9.

- 43 Marc Myers, "Sounds of Suspense," *Wall Street Journal* (November 12, 2012), <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203347104578102952956343468>.
- 44 Spencer, *Film and Television Scores, 1950–1979*, 16.
- 45 For Schiffrin's own thoughts on these compositions, see Miguel Angel Ordóñez, "Lalo Schiffrin: El músico ilusionista," *Score Magazine* (May 20, 2005), http://www.scoremagazine.com/Entrevistas_det.php?Codigo=12.
- 46 "The Jazz Composers in Hollywood," *Down Beat*, 1972, 12–15.
- 47 B. Houston, "Schiffrin: Instinct Alone Is Not Enough," *Melody Maker* (October 1965), 6.
- 48 *Jazz Magazine* (July 1954), 28.
- 49 Gene Lees, "Leandro Barbieri, Club Mogador, Buenos Aires," *Down Beat* (1962), 38. Lees mistakenly refers to the famous 676 as the 767.
- 50 Cited in Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago," 163.
- 51 Leonard Feather, "Gato Tangos to Beat of a Diverse Drum," *Los Angeles Times* (April 29, 1973), B45. On Tucumán 676, see Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 83–84.
- 52 Strega, *Bossanova y nuevo tango*, 125–40.
- 53 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 153.
- 54 Ernesto Martelli, "El regreso de Billy Cafaro," *Clarín* (January 8, 1999), <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/1999/08/01/c-00801d.htm>. Barbieri is visible playing behind Cafaro in a scene in the film *La Patota* (dir. Daniel Tinayre, 1960). See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6id1C3SDWWI>. Cafaro's biggest hits in Argentina were Spanish-language versions of Paul Anka's "Pity, Pity" and Lloyd Price's "Mr. Personality."
- 55 Fischerman, "El nacimiento del cool argentino."
- 56 On *Jóvenes viejos*, see Labra, "La duda y la ironía," 100–103.
- 57 Bob Palmer, "'When I Scream With My Horn . . .,'" *New York Times* (July 2, 1972), D9.
- 58 Mike Hennessey, "Cherry's Catholicity," *Down Beat* (1966), 14–15. This article implies that Cherry's decision to relocate to Europe may also have reflected a desire to avoid the political turmoil associated with free jazz in the United States. On Cherry's self-image as "an improviser," see Jost, *Free Jazz*, 162.
- 59 Jost, *Free Jazz*, 144.
- 60 Jost, *Free Jazz*, 148–62.
- 61 Much has been written about Coltrane's evolution between *Giant Steps* (1960) and *A Love Supreme* (1965). A good place to start is Ratliff, *Coltrane*, 50–91.
- 62 Elisabeth van der Mei, "Caught in the Act. Don Cherry. Town Hall, New York City," *Down Beat* (November 3, 1966), 26.
- 63 Michael Cuscuna, "Charlie Haden's Protest Jazz," *Down Beat* (November 13, 1969), 13.
- 64 See Beal, *Carla Bley*, 71.
- 65 Piekut, "Race, Community, and Conflict in the Jazz Composers Guild"; Lewis, *A Power Stronger than Itself*, 92–95, 113.
- 66 Quoted in Piekut, "Race, Community, and Conflict in the Jazz Composers Guild," 225.

- 67 *Panorama* (January 6–12, 1970), 58.
- 68 Quoted in Hentoff, *Jazz Is*, 246–47.
- 69 Bob Palmer, “When I Scream With My Horn . . .,” *New York Times* (July 2, 1972).
- 70 Analía H. Testa, “Leda Valladares, tras las raíces del folklore,” *La Nación* (February 27, 1999), <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/198755-leda-valladares-tras-las-raices-del-folklore>.
- 71 For a fascinating analysis of fusion that nevertheless entirely ignores the role of Latin music in this genre, see Fellezs, *Birds of Fire*.
- 72 For an account of the “Latin-jazz-funk” of the 1970s, a story that overlaps significantly with the history of fusion, see Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 156–93.
- 73 For descriptions of the Afro-Cuban use of ostinatos and repeating rhythmic vamps, see Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 82, 159, 539.
- 74 William Russell, “Don Cherry—‘Complete Communion,’” *Down Beat* (July 28, 1966), 27.
- 75 John S. Wilson, “Barbieri Offers an Exciting Jazz,” *New York Times* (November 6, 1971), 22.
- 76 Nat Hentoff, “Original Liner Notes,” Gato Barbieri, *The Third World* (Sony, 2009).
- 77 W. Smith, “Gato Barbieri—‘El Pampero,’” *Down Beat* (March 1, 1973), 21.
- 78 Bob Palmer, “Music for a Moroccan Pan,” *New York Times* (December 19, 1971), D40.
- 79 Michael Cuscuna, “Original Liner Notes,” Gato Barbieri, *Fenix* (RCA Victor, 2001).
- 80 Robert Palmer, “The Specific Art of Gato Barbieri,” *Rolling Stone* (December 21, 1972), 14.
- 81 Michael Bourne, “Gato Barbieri—‘Fenix,’” *Down Beat* (March 30, 1972), 21.
- 82 *Clarín* (April 11, 1973).
- 83 Thompson, “Unraveling the Gnattali-Barbieri Mystery.”
- 84 Kahn, *The House that Trane Built*, 246–51.
- 85 For some examples of these stereotypes, see Smith, “Gato Barbieri—‘El Pampero,’” *Down Beat* (March 1, 1973), 21; Mike Bourne, “Gato Barbieri—‘Last Tango in Paris,’” *Down Beat* (August 16, 1973), 22.
- 86 Ray Townley, “Gato Barbieri—‘Gato Chapter One: Latin America,’” *Down Beat* (December 6, 1973), 18.
- 87 Chuck Mitchell, “Gato Barbieri—‘Chapter Two,’” *Down Beat* (June 6, 1974), 19.
- 88 Bill Adler, “Gato Barbieri—‘Chapter Three: Viva Emiliano Zapata,’” *Down Beat* (February 27, 1975), 22.
- 89 For one account of his political proclamations during a U.S. performance, see David Fenton, “Gato Barbieri: Third World Jazz,” *Ann Arbor Sun* (November 16, 1973), <http://oldnews.aadl.org/node/196089>. On his chanting the line from “El arriero” in Buenos Aires, see Bob Palmer, “When I Scream With My Horn . . .,” *New York Times* (July 2, 1972).
- 90 *Panorama* (January 6–12, 1970), 58. For a similar, positive assessment, see Jorge H. Anders, “Gato Barbieri interpreta al Tercer Mundo con un sentimiento angustiado y rebelde,” *La Opinión* (January 3, 1973), 21.
- 91 Ricardo Finkel, “Genio trabajando,” *Gente* (November 2, 1967), 22–23.
- 92 *Primera Plana* (February 23, 1971), 47.
- 93 *Panorama* (April 19, 1973), 56.

- 94 *Primera Plana* (August 24, 1971), 49.
- 95 Walter Thiers, “El ‘Gato’ Leandro Barbieri en recitales populares de jazz,” *Mayoría* (April 17, 1973), 15.
- 96 Napoleón Cabrera, “Folklore en Licuadora,” *Clarín* (April 16, 1973).
- 97 Pablo Alonso, “Yo no soy argentino, soy internacional,” *Clarín* (January 21, 2011), http://www.clarin.com/extrashow/musica/argentino-internacional_o_412758852.html.
- 98 Larry Birnbaum, “Gato Barbieri: The Argentine Eclectic,” *Down Beat* (April 21, 1977), 15–16.
- 99 Leonard Feather, “Golden Feathers to 70s Notables,” *Los Angeles Times* (January 6, 1980), 74; Stephen Holden, “Tenor Saxophone: Gato Barbieri,” *New York Times* (June 12, 1981), C12; Robert Palmer, “The Musical Life of Gato Barbieri,” *New York Times* (July 1, 1980), C5.

3. COSMOPOLITAN TANGO

- 1 For articles celebrating Schiffrin in this way, see *Para Ti* (May 12, 1969), 70–71; *Gente* (March 1, 1973), 28–29. The classical pianist Martha Argerich and the conductor Daniel Barenboim are two other examples. The achievements of these artists are occasions for unproblematic nationalist pride, in a way that those of tango musicians or, for that matter, soccer players cannot be. Like Piazzolla, Diego Maradona is a hero to many Argentines, but his performances are scrutinized for what they say about Argentina.
- 2 On Piazzolla’s childhood see Speratti, *Con Piazzolla*, 26–47; Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 3–17; Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 23–41; Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 29–38; Piazzolla, *Astor*, 35–98.
- 3 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 136–51.
- 4 *Sintonía* (December 13, 1939).
- 5 Sierra, *Historia de la orquesta típica*, 136–43. According to Sierra, it was Orlando Goñi, Troilo’s pianist, who broke most decisively from the D’Arienzo style. See also Villarroel, *Tango, Folklore de Buenos Aires*.
- 6 Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 22–35; Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 53–76.
- 7 Cited in Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 39; the translation is theirs.
- 8 Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 47. For other references to Kenton’s influence on Piazzolla, see Speratti, *Con Piazzolla*, 64; Jon Pareles, “A New Tango with a Boogie-Woogie Bass?” *New York Times* (May 23, 1986), C22. Kenton’s experiments with Cuban rhythms and percussion began with his 1947 recording of “The Peanut Vendor.”
- 9 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 143–44.
- 10 Cited in Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 99.
- 11 Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 50–52.
- 12 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 124–29.
- 13 Readers will recall from chapter 2 that Lalo Schiffrin praised Miles Davis’s “Israel” in a porteño jazz magazine in 1951. “Israel” was recorded in the legendary “Birth of the Cool” sessions, in which Mulligan had also participated.

- 14 Cited and translated by Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 53.
- 15 César Seveso, "Political Emotions and the Origins of the Peronist Resistance," in Karush and Chamosa, eds., *The New Cultural History of Peronism*, 239–69.
- 16 Cited in, and translated by, Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 59.
- 17 Tulio Carella, *El Tango. Mito y Esencia*.
- 18 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 137–38.
- 19 *Mundo Argentino* (May 16, 1956), 50.
- 20 Villarroel, *Tango, Folklore de Buenos Aires*, 138, 157.
- 21 *Mundo Argentino* (February 29, 1956), 7–10.
- 22 On Frigerio, developmentalism and *Qué*, see Szusterman, *Fronzidi and the Politics of Developmentalism*; Spinelli, *Los vencedores vencidos*, 249–60.
- 23 For the letter and response, see *Qué* (June 4, 1957), 30. For subsequent articles on tango, see (July 2, 1957), 27; (July 16, 1957), 26–27; (July 23, 1957), 26–27; (August 6, 1957), 21.
- 24 *Qué* (October 10, 1956), 30–31.
- 25 *Qué* (August 13, 1957), 22–23.
- 26 *Qué* (December 17, 1957), 22.
- 27 *Qué* (August 13, 1957), 23.
- 28 *Qué* (October 9, 1956), 36.
- 29 Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 64.
- 30 Cited in Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 71.
- 31 Speratti, *Con Piazzolla*, 77; Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 77.
- 32 Fernando González, liner notes to Pablo Aslan Quintet, *Piazzolla in Brooklyn*.
- 33 "Take Me Dancing," *Billboard* (December 14, 1959).
- 34 *La Razón* (July 11, 1960), 12.
- 35 On this history, see Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 135–37; Miller, "African Rhythms in Brazilian Popular Music," 7–10. The precise nature of the tresillo—its status as an example of a distinctively African approach to rhythm—has been the source of much musicological debate. See Agawu, *Representing African Music*, esp. 86–89.
- 36 Mauriño, "Raíces tangueras de la obra de Astor Piazzolla."
- 37 For a thorough discussion of Piazzolla's use of the yeites and of arrastre, see Drago, "Instrumental Tango Idioms in the Symphonic Works and Orchestral Arrangements of Astor Piazzolla."
- 38 Kutnowski, "Instrumental Rubato and Phrase Structure in Astor Piazzolla's Music."
- 39 On Piazzolla's use of the walking bass and ostinati, see Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 181, 187; Pelinski, "Astor Piazzolla," 46.
- 40 Two different versions of this argument are Kuri, *Piazzolla, la música límite*; and Pelinski, "Astor Piazzolla."
- 41 McCann, "Blues and Samba."
- 42 Speratti, *Con Piazzolla*, 114; Jorge Madrazzo, "¿Qué Hay de Nuevo, Astor Piazzolla?," *Siete Días Ilustrados* (March 27, 1972), 38.
- 43 *Clarín* (July 3, 1975), 2.
- 44 John M. Goshko, "The Dance," *The Washington Post* (April 13, 1969), E6.

- 45 *Panorama* (September 1966), 9.
- 46 *La Opinión* (September 3, 1974), 29.
- 47 *Clarín* (July 3, 1975).
- 48 Speratti, *Con Piazzolla*, 97.
- 49 Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 47.
- 50 Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 58.
- 51 Malvicino, *El tano y yo*, 26.
- 52 *Clarín* (September 26, 1976), 2.
- 53 *La Razón* (April 8, 1986).
- 54 López Ruiz, *Piazzolla loco loco loco*, 40–43.
- 55 López Ruiz, *Piazzolla loco loco loco*, 34–36.
- 56 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 224.
- 57 On Piazzolla's disdain for the suits tango musicians wore, see López Ruiz, *Piazzolla loco loco loco*, 204.
- 58 Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 79.
- 59 On the conservative gender politics of the Argentine middle class in this period, see Cosse, *Pareja, sexualidad y familia en los años sesenta*.
- 60 *La Razón* (April 22, 1962), 8.
- 61 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 333; Bernardo Neustadt, "Ref.: La clase media," *Todo* 1:22 (March 1965), http://www.bernardoneustadt.org/contenido_238.htm.
- 62 *Gente* (April 28, 1966), 22; Bernardo Neustadt, "Entrevista a Astor Piazzola [sic] y Aníbal Troilo," *Extra* 1:5 (November 1965), http://www.bernardoneustadt.org/contenido_86.htm.
- 63 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 286.
- 64 Terán, *Nuestros años sesentas*, 81–85; Podalsky, *Specular City*, 148–75.
- 65 *Primera Plana* (May 25, 1965), 50. For other pieces on Piazzolla, see (August 13, 1963), 37; (August 18, 1964), 43.
- 66 *Gente* (April 28, 1966), 22.
- 67 *Primera Plana* (June 22, 1965), 80. For other letters, see (June 8, 1965), 76; (June 15, 1965), 94; (June 29, 1965), 80.
- 68 Bernardo Neustadt, "Entrevista a Astor Piazzola [sic] y Aníbal Troilo," *Extra* 1:5 (November 1965), http://www.bernardoneustadt.org/contenido_86.htm; *Siete Días* (May 16, 1967), 50–51.
- 69 *Primera Plana* (May 25, 1965), 52.
- 70 Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics*.
- 71 *Siete Días Ilustrados* 5:254 (March 27, 1972), 39.
- 72 *Siete Días Ilustrados* 5:254 (March 27, 1972), 39; *Primera Plana* (May 25, 1965), 51.
- 73 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 251.
- 74 *New York Times* (May 27, 1965), 28.
- 75 *La Nación* (April 28, 1970), 4.
- 76 *La Prensa* (May 10, 1968).
- 77 *Expreso Imaginario* (January 1977), 12.
- 78 *Expreso Imaginario* (August 1976), 11.

- 79 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 331. Within the world of jazz, his current model was the bandleader and composer Quincy Jones, who by the early 1970s, was making soul-inflected jazz aimed at a large, mainstream audience. See Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 52.
- 80 See, for example, *Gente* (December 5, 1970), 66–70.
- 81 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 340–55.
- 82 This recording can be heard at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WMoOyao8e8U>.
- 83 *La Opinión* (December 18, 1976).
- 84 *La Razón* (April 8, 1986).
- 85 Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 83. The translation is from this edition. Other sources confirm that Piazzolla was responding to suggestions from European fans when he decided to abandon the jazz fusion experiment. See Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 203–4.
- 86 *La Nación* (April 9, 1978), 14.
- 87 Turino, “The Mbira, Worldbeat, and the International Imagination,” esp. 96–98.
- 88 Quoted in *Clarín* (July 15, 1984), E2.
- 89 Burton, *Learning to Listen*, 322.
- 90 Pacini Hernández, *Oye como va*, 143–47.
- 91 Quoted in <http://www.americanclave.com/1-records-pages/1009-desire.html>.
- 92 Interview with Kip Hanrahan (February 19, 2014). American Clavé released a third Piazzolla album in 1987, *Rough Dancer and the Cyclical Night*, which is more experimental and features several guest musicians.
- 93 García Brunelli, “De Woodstock a B.A.” Hanrahan recalled that Piazzolla wrote the suite in response to his challenge “to write something that would summarize the whole history of tango.” Interview with Kip Hanrahan (February 19, 2014).
- 94 *Gente* (December 5, 1974), 69.
- 95 Cannata, “Making It There,” 65–67.
- 96 The “kitsch” quote is from *Washington Post* (May 11, 1981), C11; for criticisms highlighting the sameness of Piazzolla’s music, see Cannata, “Making It There,” 66, 76.
- 97 Cruz, “A Year in the Life of Salsa Meets Jazz.”
- 98 *Washington Post* (June 8, 1988), C1.
- 99 *New York Times* (May 23, 1986), C22.
- 100 *La Opinión* (September 23, 1979). *La Opinión* had been under the control of the military after the detention of its outspoken editor, Jacobo Timerman, in 1977. Timerman was released from prison on September 20 just three days before Grinberg’s article was published and the very day that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights completed its investigation in Argentina.
- 101 Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales, “Síntesis de prensa de la visita de la CIDH a la Argentina en 1979.”
- 102 On the bridge image, see Misemer, *Secular Saints*, 80.
- 103 Piazzolla was occasionally accused of sympathy with the military dictatorship. See Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 95–96.
- 104 Fusco, “The Tango of Esthetics and Politics,” *Cinéaste*, 57.

- 105 Tomás Canosa, “Pino Solanas íntimo: ‘Me casé por primera vez a los 19 años, vivíamos a arroz y tallarines,’” *Clarín* (June 24, 2011), http://www.clarin.com/elecciones/Pino-Solanas-primera-viviamos-tallarines_o_505149689.html.
- 106 “Interview with Pino Solanas,” available at <http://www.piazzolla.org/centro/solanas/>. By describing having seen the octeto in Tucumán 676 when he was in his early twenties, Solanas seems to conflate two memories: 676 did not open until 1962, by which time the Quinteto Nuevo Tango had long since replaced the Octeto Buenos Aires and Solanas was twenty-six.
- 107 Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 207.
- 108 *Clarín* (July 10, 1983).
- 109 *La Nación* (April 5, 1986).

4. THE SOUND OF LATIN AMERICA

- 1 For a nuanced version of the cultural imperialism thesis, see Wallis and Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*, 269–303. For examples of the vast literature qualifying or rejecting this thesis, see Garofalo, “Introduction,” in *Rockin’ the Boat*, 1–14; Kun, *Audiotopia*, 184–218; Zolov, *Refried Elvis*.
- 2 Regev, *Pop-Rock Music*, esp. 3–9.
- 3 Regev, *Pop-Rock Music*, 4.
- 4 White, “Congolese Rumba and Other Cosmopolitanisms”; Fernández L’Hoeste and Vila, eds., *Cumbia!*
- 5 Quoted and translated by Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 71.
- 6 *Mundo Argentino* (May 9, 1956), 8; *Mundo Argentino* (February 6, 1967), 20–21.
- 7 *Qué* (February 12, 1957), 24.
- 8 *Mundo Argentino* (February 6, 1957), 20–21.
- 9 *Mundo Argentino* (February 6, 1957), 20–21.
- 10 Peterson, “Why 1955?”
- 11 The classic account is Gillett, *The Sound of the City*.
- 12 On the new attention that U.S. music executives were paying to foreign tastes, see *Billboard* (March 23, 1959), 4.
- 13 Gronow, “The Record Industry”; Laing, “The Recording Industry in the Twentieth Century,” 40–43.
- 14 Bakker, “Adopting the Rights-Based Model,” 330.
- 15 *Billboard* (February 3, 1945), 53; CBS, *Annual Report* (1955), 40.
- 16 CBS, *Annual Report* (1961), 9.
- 17 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 76.
- 18 *Billboard* (November 24, 1956), 17.
- 19 *Billboard* (July 13, 1959), 4.
- 20 *Variety* (April 25, 1962), 45. Similarly, RCA Victor described its intention “to develop foreign sources of repertoire for the U.S. Business, as well as for the other countries,” *Billboard* (December 22, 1956), 20.
- 21 Jaramillo Agudelo, *Poesía en la canción popular latinoamericana*, 205.
- 22 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 73–74.

- 23 María Moreno, “Big Ben, según pasan los años,” *Página 12* (December 31, 2006).
On Molar’s translations of hits by Paul Anka, Neil Sedaka, and Pat Boone, see *Gente* (September 17, 1965), 23.
- 24 CBS, *Annual Statement* (1959).
- 25 Ibarra, *Los Bracho*, 85.
- 26 *Billboard* (November 16, 1959), 14.
- 27 *Billboard* (June 2, 1962), 8.
- 28 *Gente* (August 19, 1965), 29.
- 29 *Variety* (October 26, 1960), 57.
- 30 Moreno, *Yankee Don’t Go Home*, 172–206.
- 31 On agglomeration effects, see Bakker, “Adopting the Rights-Based Model,” 315–18.
- 32 On Prieto’s massive hit, “La novia,” see *Billboard* (July 3, 1961), 14. On Capó, see *Billboard* (June 26, 1961), 41; Santiago, *Nueva Ola portoricensis*, 46. Santiago provides a good summary of the Nueva Ola throughout Latin America and Europe; see 217–55.
- 33 On Guzmán and Los Teen Tops, see Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 64–66, 76–77.
- 34 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 81. See also Pujol, *La década rebelde*, 251–53.
- 35 *Gente* (August 19, 1965), 29.
- 36 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 81–82.
- 37 *Billboard* (October 20, 1962), 14.
- 38 Jiménez, “La Nueva Ola y la explosion del mercado discográfico,” 9.
- 39 Jiménez, “La Nueva Ola y la explosion del mercado discográfico,” 12.
- 40 On Guzmán’s popularity in Argentina, see *Antena tv* (March 5, 1963). Guzmán starred alongside Los TNT and Violeta Rivas in the 1965 film *Nacidos para cantar* (dir. Emilio Gómez Muriel).
- 41 *Billboard* (June 8, 1963), 31.
- 42 Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 13–37.
- 43 *Antena tv* (September 15, 1964).
- 44 *Antena tv* (December 22, 1964).
- 45 *Gente* (August 12, 1965), 10.
- 46 *Antena tv* (July 19, 1966).
- 47 *Atlántida* (August 1969), 44.
- 48 See, for example, *Antena* (September 2, 1969), np. Elsewhere, he claimed that “Gitano” was a childhood nickname given to him because of the way he danced. *Siete Día* (June 16–22, 1969), 72.
- 49 *Antena tv* (December 22, 1964); *Antena tv* (July 19, 1966).
- 50 Maronese, ed., *Patrimonio cultural gitano*.
- 51 Claudio Kleiman, “Todo empezó con Sandro,” *Página 12* (June 30, 2001), 25, <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-06/01-06-30/pag25.htm>.
- 52 Spanish “translation” had a comparable effect on Mexican rock and roll. See Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 81–82.
- 53 For an analysis of Sandro’s erotic appeal, see Alabarces, *Peronistas, populistas y plebeyos*, 103–24.
- 54 *Billboard* (March 20, 1965), 22; (August 28, 1965), 30.
- 55 Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 38–39; *Siete Días* (March 27, 1976), 49.

- 56 *La Opinión Cultural* (March 2, 1980), 7.
- 57 Sedaka, who often recorded Spanish-language versions of his hits, had two songs on the Argentine top ten in late 1963. See *Billboard* (October 26, 1963), 47.
- 58 On the Beatles' debt to the Brill Building songwriters, see Scheurer, "The Beatles, the Brill Building, and the Persistence of Tin Pan Alley in the Age of Rock."
- 59 For the Brazilian roots of the Brill Building beat, see Emerson, *Always Magic in the Air*. For a contrary interpretation that stresses the influence of Cuban rhythms, see Sublette, "The Kingsmen and the Cha-Cha-Chá."
- 60 Agostini, "Sanremo Effects."
- 61 See, for example, the Argentine top ten in *Billboard* (June 9, 1962), 14, in which both Tony Dallara and Adriano Celentano had records.
- 62 *Antena tv* (September 15, 1964).
- 63 Gary Burns, "DVD Review," 418.
- 64 *Antena* (September 2, 1969); *Siete Días* (June 16–22, 1969), 72.
- 65 Party, "Raphael Is Different."
- 66 *Billboard* (July 1, 1967), 55.
- 67 For a video of this routine from a performance in Colombia in 1978, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gww4KT1CC1E>.
- 68 See "Palito, Sandro, Favio dominan el mundo de la canción," *Radiolandia* (July 4, 1969), np.
- 69 *Billboard* (December 7, 1968), 66; *Billboard* (December 27, 1969), T76.
- 70 Party, "The Miamization of Latin American Pop Music," 68.
- 71 Manuel, "Salsa and the Music Industry," 168–71.
- 72 For accounts that qualify Manuel's emphasis on manipulation by the recording industry, see Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, 137–39; Miller, "Crossover Schemes: New York Salsa as Politics, Culture, and Commerce."
- 73 The literature on melodrama in Latin America is voluminous, but one place to start is Oroz, *Melodrama*.
- 74 These tours were covered in *Billboard* as well as in the Argentine fan magazines. See, for example, *Antena* (September 2, 1969); *Radiolandia* (June 29, 1973), 42. See also Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 57–63.
- 75 Anchou, "El sueño industrial en emergencia," 449–50.
- 76 Moira Soto, "El rey del bizarro," *Página 12* (April 30, 2005), <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/radar/9-2198-2005-04-30.html>.
- 77 *Quiero llenarme de ti* opened in Buenos Aires on May 8, 1969. See Manrupe and Portela, *Un diccionario de films argentinos*, 492. The film had already opened in New York on April 1. See *El Diario La Prensa* (April 1, 1969), 25.
- 78 *El Mercurio* (February 4, 1968), 33.
- 79 *Gente* (March 13, 1969), 59.
- 80 *Gente* (September 2, 1971), 92–94; *Radiolandia* (September 3, 1971).
- 81 *Radiolandia* (November 20, 1970), 76–77.
- 82 *Gente* (March 26, 1970), 18.
- 83 *El Diario La Prensa* (April 1, 1969), 25; (April 2, 1969), 33.
- 84 *El Mundo* (San Juan) (April 14, 1969), 9b.

- 85 *El Diario La Prensa* (September 17, 1969), 33; (September 18, 1969), 31; *El Mundo* (October 25, 1969), 15b.
- 86 *Billboard* (November 15, 1969), 92.
- 87 *El Mundo* (October 3, 1971), 6c.
- 88 See, for example, *Billboard* (June 23, 1973), 26. On Sandro's performance in 1971 at the annual salsa festival in Cali, Colombia, see Waxer, *The City of Musical Memory*, 266.
- 89 Santiago, *Nueva Ola portoricensis*.
- 90 *Billboard* (January 3, 1970), 1; (March 11, 1973), 34–35. On the history of Caytronics, see the interview with Ken Cayre at: <http://www.disco-disco.com/labels/salsoul.shtml>.
- 91 *Gente* (April 16, 1970), 12–13.
- 92 De los Ríos was one of the major architects of the influential “Torrelaguna sound” that characterized most balada recorded in Spain in the 1970s. See Party, “Miamiization,” 68.
- 93 Moira Soto, “El rey del bizarre,” *Página 12* (April 30, 2005), <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/radar/9-2198-2005-04-30.html>.
- 94 *Boricua* 32 (July 1969).
- 95 *El Diario La Prensa* (September 2, 1969), 15.
- 96 *El Mundo* (October 1, 1971), 18-A.
- 97 For a good guide to racial identification in Puerto Rico, see Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move*, 236–60.
- 98 See *Para Ti* (August 25, 1969), 72–73; *Antena* (September 2, 1969).
- 99 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 92–105.
- 100 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 81–82.
- 101 Alabarces, *Entre gatos y violadores*, 41.
- 102 *Gente* (January 29, 1970), 32–33.
- 103 *Gente* (December 18, 1980), np; *Gente* (March 7, 1974), 14–15.
- 104 *Antena* (October 19, 1971).
- 105 Quoted in, and translated by, Eduardo Elena, “Argentina in Black and White,” 201.
- 106 *Siete Días* (June 16–22, 1969), 70–71. A similarly mocking tone was apparent in this profile, *Atlántida* (August 1969) 42–43.
- 107 *La Prensa* (September 20, 1970).
- 108 *Gente* (April 9, 1970), 28–29.
- 109 *La Bella Gente* (November 1972), 48–49.
- 110 *Gente* (October 28, 1976), 48–49.
- 111 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 123–57.
- 112 Araújo, “Brega.”
- 113 *Siete Días* (April 12, 1971), 72–73.
- 114 *Billboard* (January 25, 1975), cbs57, cbs62.
- 115 Party, “Miamiization.”
- 116 Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 64.
- 117 *Así en Crónica* (February 17, 1980), 16–17; *Flash* (June 10, 1980), 15; *Billboard* (October 24, 1981), LA-26.

- 118 Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 73–77.
- 119 Alabarces, *Entre gatos y violadores*, 72–85; Pujol, *Rock y dictadura*.
- 120 *Crónica* (March 13, 1980), 21; *Diario Popular* (March 13, 1980), 18.
- 121 *Así 3ra* (September 26, 1970), 6–7.
- 122 Party, “Raphael Is Different”; Party, “Placer Culpable.”
- 123 On Sandro as *mersa*, see Alabarces, *Peronistas, populistas y plebeyos*, 103–24.
- 124 This deepening appears to have begun before the democratic transition. Andrea Matallana, who lived in a suburb in greater Buenos Aires during the late 1970s, recalled having to hide her enthusiasm for Sandro to avoid ridicule from her teenage friends. Personal communication, October 2, 2014.
- 125 Del Mazo, *Sandro*, 92–104.
- 126 Caparrós, “El mejor argentino.” See also Alabarces, *Peronistas, populistas y plebeyos*, 118–20.
- 127 Party, “Placer culpable.”
- 128 *La Nación* (October 18, 1998).

5. INDIGENOUS ARGENTINA AND REVOLUTIONARY LATIN AMERICA

- 1 *Claudia* (September 1972), 65.
- 2 *Antena* (September 7, 1971).
- 3 Víctor Pintos, “Mercedes Sosa, S.A.” *Humor* (ca. 1990), 64.
- 4 Accounts of Sosa’s early life can be found in Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 25–63; Marchini, *No toquen*, 277–81; Brizuela, *Cantar la vida*, 77–82.
- 5 Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 46.
- 6 Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*, 26–63.
- 7 Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*, 132. On the importance of isolation and the antipathy to commercial culture within North American folklore studies, see Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 85–120.
- 8 Díaz, *Variaciones sobre el “ser nacional,”* 120–21.
- 9 *Antena* (February 10, 1953).
- 10 Chamosa, “El Movimiento Folklórico,” 258. See also Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 51.
- 11 Díaz, *Variaciones*,” 128–29.
- 12 Díaz, *Variaciones*, 123–27.
- 13 Chamosa, *Breve historia del folclore argentino (1920–1970)*, 145–46.
- 14 Gravano, *El silencio y la porfía*, 120–22.
- 15 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 200–201.
- 16 *Billboard* (June 19, 1961), 20. Capitol released the two-sided single “Tom Dooley/Ruby Red” in Argentina, while Odeon released the Weavers’ “Goodnight Irene/Tzena, Tzena, Tzena.” For images of these 45-RPM records, see <http://www.schallplattenwelt.de/USL-Odeon.htm>; <http://www.musicstack.com/item/167192591>.
- 17 Gravano, *El silencio*, 98–113; Chamosa, *Breve historia*, 160–63.
- 18 Díaz, *Variaciones*,” 145–90; Vila, “Música popular y auge del folklore.”
- 19 *Qué* (March 25, 1958), 22.

- 20 Vila, "Música popular y auge del folklore."
- 21 Ahead of the curve, the Abalos Brothers saw their Buenos Aires *peña*, Achalay, as a place to listen to folk music rather than dance. See *Panorama* (September 3, 1974), 44–45.
- 22 Chamosa, *Breve historia*, 160–65.
- 23 *Folklore* 9 (January 1962), 26.
- 24 *Folklore* 18 (May 1962), 26.
- 25 See also García, *Tito Francia y la música en Mendoza, de la radio al Nuevo Cancionero*.
- 26 García, "Música y radio," 259–60.
- 27 García, *Tito Francia*, 78. A profile of Matus in the magazine *Folklore* also reported that he learned "harmonization" from Francia. See *Folklore* 39 (1963), 12.
- 28 Quoted in Molinero, *Militancia de la canción*, 186.
- 29 Quoted in García, *Tito Francia*, 32, 78–79.
- 30 Carrillo Rodríguez, "Latinoamericana de Tucumán," 245.
- 31 *Folklore* 23 (August 1962) 22–23. See also Portorrico, *Diccionario biográfico de la música argentina de raíz folklórica*, 113.
- 32 See the image of Galarza on the cover of *Folklore* 25 (September 1962). Sosa, herself, suggested that Ramona Galarza's popularity accounted for the presence of Littoral styles on the album. See *Crisis* (May 1975), 30.
- 33 Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 184–87.
- 34 *Primera Plana* (March 19, 1963), 32.
- 35 *Crisis* (May 1975), 30.
- 36 On this history, see Terán, *Nuestros años sesentas*; Szusterman, *Fronidzi and the Politics of Developmentalism*; Spinelli, *Los vencedores vencidos*.
- 37 Marchini, *No toquen*, 281. Sosa later claimed that Oscar Matus only joined the Communist Party in the hopes of getting gigs and selling records, but that her own political awakening was sincere. See Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 86.
- 38 The manifesto, originally published in the newspaper *Los Andes*, is available online at <http://www.tejadagomez.com.ar/adhesiones/manifiesto.html>. For an analysis, see Díaz, *Variaciones*, 191–98.
- 39 Molinero, *Militancia*, 191–94; Díaz, *Variaciones*, 199–205.
- 40 Brizuela, *Cantar la vida*, 86.
- 41 *Crisis* (May 1975), 30.
- 42 Clipping (*Córdoba*, September 7, 1965), Mercedes Sosa Collection, Museo del Cine, Buenos Aires.
- 43 Portorrico, *Diccionario biográfico*, 253–54.
- 44 Chamosa, *Breve historia*, 180–81. On Márbiz, see *La Voz del Interior* (September 5, 2013), <http://vos.lavoz.com.ar/folcllore/julio-maharbiz-querido-polemico>.
- 45 According to an oft-repeated story, the organizing commission refused to allow Sosa to play because she was a communist, but this account seems implausible given that Horacio Guarany, a well-known member of the party, had been a fixture at the festival since its inception.
- 46 This story was reported by Marcelo Simón, a writer for *Folklore*. See *Página 12* (January 24, 2008), <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/espectaculos/3-9012-2008-01-24.html>.

- 47 Alma García, “De mujer a mujer,” *Folklore Extra: Vida y éxito de Mercedes Sosa* (circa 1967).
- 48 Chamosa, “Indigenous or Criollo”; Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*, 95–106.
- 49 On the image of the Indian in Argentine folk music, see Molinero and Vila, “Raza y canción.”
- 50 *Panorama* (September 3, 1974), 44–45.
- 51 Yupanqui’s vision was quite close to the indigenismo of the Peruvian writer José María Arguedas. See Kaliman, *Alhajita es tu canto*; Orquera, “Marxismo, peronismo, indocriollismo.”
- 52 Quoted and translated by Orquera, “From the Andes to Paris,” 113.
- 53 *Folklore* 29 (October 1962), 6.
- 54 Brizuela, *Cantar la vida*, 51.
- 55 *Folklore* 9 (January 1962), 51.
- 56 *Folklore* 114 (February 22, 1966).
- 57 *Gente* (February 3, 1966), 3.
- 58 *Así* (September 23, 1967).
- 59 *Folklore Extra: Vida y éxito de Mercedes Sosa* (circa 1967).
- 60 *Primera Plana* (January 31, 1967), 68.
- 61 Alma García, “De mujer a mujer,” *Folklore Extra: Vida y éxito de Mercedes Sosa* (circa 1967).
- 62 *Gente* (January 30, 1969), 9.
- 63 *Panorama* (August 24, 1972), 4.
- 64 *Para Ti* (February 19, 1968), 50.
- 65 Carrillo Rodríguez, “Latinoamerican de Tucumán,” 249–52. On the “illusion of autobiography” in Sosa’s performance identity, see Fischerman, “Mucho más que folklore.”
- 66 Verba, “To Paris and Back.”
- 67 On the idea of Chile as a mestizo nation, see Barr-Melej, *Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*.
- 68 *Confirmado* (June 23, 1966), 57.
- 69 For an article describing the novel phenomenon of hippies, see *Gente* (October 12, 1967), 34–39.
- 70 Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 102.
- 71 *Time* (November 23, 1962), 54.
- 72 *Confirmado* (May 7, 1965). Available at <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/argentina/falu-sabato-lavalle.htm>.
- 73 *Confirmado* (June 23, 1966), 57. On Philips’s business strategy, see Díaz, *Variaciones*, 145–87. In between *La voz de la zafra* and *Yo no canto por cantar*, Sosa recorded *Canciones con fundamento*, released to little fanfare on an independent label formed by Matus.
- 74 *La Prensa* (January 29, 1967).
- 75 *Confirmado* (May 2, 1968), 44.
- 76 *Antena tv* (July 19, 1966); *Así* (September 23, 1967).
- 77 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uQmZussa6Tk>.

- 78 Mamani, "Réquiem para un cóndor ciego."
- 79 Sábato had initially hoped that Piazzolla would compose the music. See Fischerman and Gilbert, *Piazzolla el mal entendido*, 214–18.
- 80 Félix Luna, "Mis encuentros con el folklore," *Todo es historia*. By 1964, Luna had taken over as editor of *Folklore* magazine.
- 81 Quoted in Rodolfo Ortega Peña and Eduardo Luis Duhalde, *Folklore argentino y revisionismo histórico*, 76.
- 82 *La Unión* (July 4, 1970).
- 83 Paladino and Maranghello, "San Martín en el cine"; del Valle, "Independencia y cine histórico en Argentina, Cuba y Chile (1968–1976)."
- 84 For Figueredo Iramain's nationality, see Molinero and Vila, "Raza y canción," 8.
- 85 Ríos, "La Flûte Indienne."
- 86 Ríos, "La Flûte Indienne."
- 87 Pérez Flores, "La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana en su forma y contenido," 146–49. According to one account, the Cubans originally invited Sosa, Matus, and Tejada Gómez, but only Matus agreed to attend. See García, Greco, and Bravo, "Testimonial del Nuevo Cancionero," 96.
- 88 *Confirmado* (January 18, 1972), 32. In this interview, Sosa states that she had not heard of Parra until she read of her death in 1967.
- 89 Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 298.
- 90 *El Universal* (March 12, 1972), 16.
- 91 *Excelsior* (March 9, 1972), 23-A.
- 92 *El Día* (March 3, 1973), 18.
- 93 *Panorama* (October 26, 1971), 48. On Sosa's deepening politicization in this period, see Molinero and Vila, "A Brief History of the Militant Song Movement in Argentina," 208–10.
- 94 Seoane and Ruiz Núñez, *La noche de los lápices*, 29.
- 95 Marchini, *No toquen*, 284.
- 96 *Siete Días* (December 21, 1970). Available online at <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/argentina/mercedes-sosa.htm>. In this interview, she also mentions her difficulty getting work in 1968.
- 97 *Confirmado* (June 23, 1966), 57.
- 98 Ortega Peña and Duhalde, *Folklore argentino y revisionismo histórico*, 73. Similarly, the Montoneros criticized her for not supporting revolutionary violence. See Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 200.
- 99 *La Nación* (April 22, 1972), 10. See also *La Nación* (October 10, 1970), np; *La Prensa* (October 4, 1970), 14.
- 100 *Panorama* (October 26, 1971), 48.
- 101 *Primera Plana* (June 20, 1972), 46.
- 102 Maranghello, "Cine y política," 356. On the *Argentinísima* radio shows and LP, see *Siete Días* (December 6, 1971), 101.
- 103 On *Hasta la victoria*, see Carrillo Rodríguez, "Latinoamericana de Tucumán," 254–59.
- 104 *Confirmado* (August 29, 1972), 42–43.
- 105 Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 150; Marchini, *No toquen*, 286.

- 106 *Confirmado* (December 19, 1972), 44. In the same interview, Luna praised the leftist military regime in Peru.
- 107 *Billboard* (January 13, 1973), 44.
- 108 Carassai, *The Argentine Silent Majority*.
- 109 Franco, *Un enemigo para la nación*, 59–128.
- 110 *Crisis* (April 1974), 26–27.
- 111 Carrillo Rodríguez, “The Revolutionary Patria and Its New (Wo)Men,” 240.
- 112 Marchini, *No toquen*, 288.
- 113 Catty Ruiz, “Será el fúsil y no el rosal: nos dice Mercedes Sosa,” *Revolución y Cultura* 29 (January 1975), 60–63.
- 114 *Ultima Hora* (June 1975), 3. Clipping collection. Specific date obscured. *Radiolandia* (June 13, 1975), 40. Earlier articles in this same magazine had avoided the nickname. See *Radiolandia* (March 1, 1974); *Radiolandia* (January 1975).
- 115 Elena, “Argentina in Black and White.”
- 116 Marchini, *No toquen*, 289–96.
- 117 *Clarín* (October 13, 1985), 2.
- 118 Marchini, *No toquen*, 301–5; Brizuela, *Cantar la vida*, 108–11; Carrillo Rodríguez, “Popular Music and the Work of Recollection.”
- 119 *Diario Popular* (February 20, 1982), 16; *Flash* (February 23, 1982), 33.
- 120 Carrillo Rodríguez, “Popular Music and the Work of Recollection,” 11.
- 121 Carrillo Rodríguez, “Popular Music and the Work of Recollection,” 16–19.
- 122 *La Razón* (July 1, 1985), 22.
- 123 Berti, *Rockología*, 62.
- 124 *Clarín* (January 5, 1983), 34; *Revista La Nación* (January 23, 1983).
- 125 *Clarín* (April 2, 1984), np; *Radiolandia 2000* (October 25, 1985), 66.
- 126 *Clarín* (October 19, 1985), 30.
- 127 On Sosa’s maternal image in this period, See Carrillo Rodríguez, “Popular Music and the Work of Recollection,” 22.
- 128 *Clarín* (April 2, 1984).
- 129 Guzmán Bouvard, *Revolutionizing Motherhood*, 132–55.
- 130 Pedro Noel Romero, “La Negra Sosa y Raúl Alfonsín,” *JunínYa.com* (October 7, 2009), <http://www.brandal.com.ar/~juninya/notaopinion.php?id=1254961647&page=89>. Her support for him continued into the 1990s. See *Clarín* (April 13, 1997), 16.
- 131 Víctor Pintos, “Mercedes Sosa, S.A.,” *Humor* (ca. 1990), 64.
- 132 *Página 12* (June 24, 2009), <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/espectaculos/7-14325-2009-06-24.html>.

6. THE MUSIC OF GLOBALIZATION

- 1 Avant-Mier, *Rock the Nation*, 169. For another account that stresses Santaolalla’s role, see Lechner, *Rock en Español*, esp. 189–99.
- 2 The most thorough accounts of Santaolalla’s early years are in a pair of extended interviews he gave in the late 1970s: Kleiman, “Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta sus quince años de rock”; Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 130–49.

- 3 Kleiman, "Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta," 28–30; Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 140.
- 4 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 123–27.
- 5 Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina*, 132–38. On "La balsa," see also Alabarces, *Entre gatos y violadores*, 42–47; Pujol, *Canciones argentinas*, 198–99.
- 6 *Gente* (October 12, 1967), 36.
- 7 *Gente* (November 30, 1967), 44.
- 8 Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 137–38; Kleiman, "Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta," 29.
- 9 Miguel Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 99.
- 10 Sponsored by his father's clothing business, Kleinman's show was the most popular night-time program on Buenos Aires radio. See *Periscopio* (December 23, 1969), 50–51. For the contrasting case of Mexico, where rock groups continued to sing in English, see Zolov, *Refried Elvis*.
- 11 *Pelo 2* (March 1970), 22.
- 12 *Gente* (August 26, 1971), 72–73; *Pelo 11* (December 1970), np. On the "housewives of rock" insult, see Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 141.
- 13 *Pelo 6* (July 1970), 8. For a musical analysis of Arco Iris, see Carnicer, "Arco Iris."
- 14 Berti, *Rockología*, 64–65.
- 15 The band had signaled this new direction on "Zamba," one of the last singles it recorded before leaving RCA. See Carnicer, "Arco Iris," 5. Other Latin American bands, including Chile's Los Jaivas and Colombia's Columna de Fuego, pursued similar strategies. See Cepeda Sánchez, "Apropiaciones de la modernidad cultural."
- 16 For "Indo-pop," see *La Nación* (April 6, 1973), 12; on the various folk rhythms included on *Sudamérica*, see Carnicer, "Arco Iris," 10.
- 17 Pistocchi, "Gustavo Santaolalla," 13; Kleiman, "Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta," 32.
- 18 Kleiman, "Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta," 32.
- 19 *Primera Plana* (September 21, 1971), 45; *La Bella Gente* (January 1973), 8.
- 20 *Panorama* (May 24, 1972), 51.
- 21 *Panorama* (November 23, 1971), 39.
- 22 *Noticias* (January 28, 1974), 22.
- 23 Vila, "Argentina's 'Rock Nacional,'" 11–12; Alabarces, *Entre gatos y violadores*, 49–50.
- 24 *Pelo 49* (May 1974), 18–19.
- 25 *Pelo* (1973). <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revrocko77.htm>.
- 26 Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 144.
- 27 On authenticity in rock nacional, see Vila, "Argentina's 'Rock Nacional.'"
- 28 *Pelo 12* (January 1971), 11.
- 29 On the romantic nationalist roots of folklore studies, see Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*, 16–22.
- 30 *Pelo* (February 1975), 16–17. On the North American influences on *Agitor Lucens V*, see also *Pelo 63* (July 1975), np; Kleiman, "Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta," 33; Grinberg, *Como vino la mano*, 146. Working with choreographer Oscar Araiz, Arco Iris turned *Agitor* into a sort of rock ballet, which it performed successfully in Paris and Buenos Aires.
- 31 Pistocchi, "Gustavo Santaolalla," 13.

- 32 “Conversations with Ilan Stavans: Gustavo Santaolalla,” *La Plaza*, <http://www.wgbh.org/programs/La-Plaza-661/episodes/Conversations-with-Ilan-Stavans-Gustavo-Santaolalla-9434>.
- 33 Kleiman, “Gustavo Santaolalla cuenta,” 35.
- 34 This account of his early years in Los Angeles is based on two interviews he gave during a 1981 visit to Argentina: *Expreso Imaginario* 64 (November 1981), 8–9; *Humor* 69 (October 1981), 91–93.
- 35 See, for example, the advertisements in *Los Angeles Times* (December 28, 1980), 076; (March 15, 1981), M82; (January 25, 1983), G4.
- 36 On the influence of *The Motels*, see *Humor* 69 (October 1981), 92. For Santaolalla’s comments on *The Police*, see *Pelo* 141 (February 1981).
- 37 *Los Angeles Times* (July 25, 1982), K83.
- 38 *Los Angeles Times* (January 28, 1983), G7.
- 39 Pacini Hernández, *Oye como va*, 43–50.
- 40 Party, “Miamiization”; Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 192–213.
- 41 Pacini Hernández, *Oye como va*, 34–43. On Chicano rock music, see also Lipsitz, “Land of a Thousand Dances,” 267–83.
- 42 On the Los Angeles Chicano punk scene and Los Lobos, see Avant-Mier, *Rock the Nation*, 152–59. For a contemporaneous account, see Stuart Goldman, “New Wave Rides High on a Latin Beat,” *Los Angeles Times* (October 12, 1980), M6.
- 43 Santaolalla talked about how much he liked *The Plugz* in *Expreso Imaginario* 64 (November 1981), 9.
- 44 *The Plugz* were often pigeonholed as a Chicano punk band from East L.A., even though Larriva lived in Hollywood, and the band always included non-Latino musicians. Playing saxophone on *Better Luck* was Steve Berlin, who would soon join Los Lobos. See Nevarez, “Tito Larriva.”
- 45 On the O.N. Klub and Los Angeles ska, see Long, “Epicenter of a Scene.” For the *Plugz* performing with ska band *The Skanksters*, see *Los Angeles Times* (April 25, 1982), M68. For shared bills with *X*, see *Variety* (July 21, 1982), 58; *Los Angeles Times* (August 10, 1980), R70.
- 46 Santaolalla’s influence on *The Plugz* was not perceived in the press. One positive review attributed *The Plugz* new style to Larriva’s desire “to let his Texas R&B roots mix it up with his punker’s instinct for directness.” *New Musical Express* (August 7, 1982), 16.
- 47 This account of “El clavo y la cruz” and of Santaolalla’s early exposure to Mexican films comes from an interview with Santaolalla conducted by the author (June 30, 2015).
- 48 “Conversations with Ilan Stavans: Gustavo Santaolalla,” *La Plaza*, <http://www.wgbh.org/programs/La-Plaza-661/episodes/Conversations-with-Ilan-Stavans-Gustavo-Santaolalla-9434>.
- 49 Mora, *Making Hispanics*.
- 50 *Expreso Imaginario* 21 (April 1978), 41–42.
- 51 Pujol, *Canciones*, 324–26.
- 52 *Humor* 69 (October 1981), 92–93.

- 53 Santaolalla's understanding of which contemporary musical influences might appeal to Argentine rock fans was astute: even Charly García, who had little patience for new wave music, mentioned The Police as his favorite new band. *Expreso Imaginario* 65 (December 1981), 20.
- 54 Fernández Bitar, *Historia del rock en Argentina*, 101.
- 55 Berti, *Rockología*, 70–71.
- 56 On G.I.T., see *Clarín* (February 14, 1986), Suplemento Sí, 4–5.
- 57 One exception was Fito Páez, whose 1985 album, *Giros*, contained elements of tango, chacarera, and baguala.
- 58 The last advertisement for a Wet Picnic concert in the *Los Angeles Times* is on March 27, 1983. Santaolalla may have had something of a personal crisis in these years. In subsequent interviews, he described a period of intense drug use in the early 1980s as well as something of an emotional breakdown in New York City. See Claudio Kleiman, "Operación Triunfo," *Rolling Stone Argentina* (January 4, 2006).
- 59 Quoted in Berti, *Rockología*, 10.
- 60 Gieco, *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca*, 4.
- 61 The name "De Ushuaia a La Quiaca" was first coined by Gieco's producer to describe his tour of the Argentine Interior.
- 62 A fourth album of material was released in 1999. The project also yielded some nine thousand photographs and forty hours of video. Whether as a result of Music Hall's limited budget or the limits of Santaolalla's and Gieco's knowledge of Argentine folk cultures, the project left huge swaths of the country undocumented, including Cuyo and Patagonia. See Guerrero, "De Ushuaia a La Quiaca."
- 63 The project also involved an engagement with Latin American Nueva Canción: Gieco recorded a song on the banks of the Beagle Channel with Chilean singer Isabel Parra, Violeta's daughter. Santaolalla and Gieco also took time out from the project to appear in concert with Mercedes Sosa in December 1984. On the live album recorded at this concert, *Corazón Americano* (1985), Sosa, Gieco, and Santaolalla performed Santaolalla's song, "Río de las penas."
- 64 Gieco, *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca*, 4.
- 65 *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca* (documentary film), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhFE3II7g2c>.
- 66 Florine, "'Cuarteto,'" 34–35.
- 67 Gieco, *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca*, 27. On Gieco's reaction, see Gloria Guerrero and Claudio Kleiman, "León Gieco," *Rolling Stone Argentina* (January 2, 2002).
- 68 Gieco, *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca*, 28–29.
- 69 Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 249–51.
- 70 Paredes Pacho and Blanc, "Rock Mexicano, Breve Recuento Del Siglo XX," 395–485.
- 71 Berti, *Rockología*, 70–71. See also *Billboard* (August 5, 1989), 72.
- 72 Blanc, *Flashback*, 296–97; Paredes Pacho and Blanc, "Rock Mexicano," 440–43.
- 73 Among the first to do so was Botellita de Jerez, who specialized in what it called "guacarock," a parodic blend that punned on local culture and slang. See Paredes Pacho and Blanc, "Rock Mexicano," 421–23.
- 74 Blanc, *Flashback*, 271–72.

- 75 Santaolalla, Interview with Author, June 30, 2015.
- 76 On López, see *Billboard* (November 24, 1990), 37.
- 77 Roco, lead singer of Maldita Vecindad, quoted in Mandalit del Barco, “Latin Alternative’s Big Cheese: Gustavo Santaolalla,” *NPR News* (March 9, 2006), <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5253997>. See also Martínez, “Corazón del Rocanrol,” 373–86.
- 78 *Billboard* (October 17, 1992), 58.
- 79 Solórzano-Thompson, “Performative Masculinities.”
- 80 Calderón, “The Mexico City–Los Angeles Cultural Mosh Pits.”
- 81 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 558–62.
- 82 Paredes Pacho and Blanco, “Rock Mexicano,” 421–22.
- 83 Traber, “Pick It Up! Pick It Up!”
- 84 Quoted in Luis Jhon, “El ska según Roco,” <http://nasdat.com/index.php?topic=4815.o>. See also Carmen de la Peza, “Panteón Rococó: Mexican Ska and Collective Memory,” *Intercultural Communication Studies* 19:3 (2010), 112–23.
- 85 Quoted in Durán and Barrios, *El grito del rock mexicano*, 64–65. Cuban bandleader Dámaso Pérez Prado, one of the key figures in the history of mambo, had his first commercial success in Mexico in the 1950s.
- 86 Flores, *La manera correcta de gritar*, 25–46.
- 87 *Clarín* (March 6, 1992), Suplemento Sí-3.
- 88 *Clarín* (August 19, 1996), 9. Many Latin American bands testified to the influence of *Mano Negra*. See *La Nación* (February 2, 2000), np, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/3858-la-mano-que-mecio-el-rock-latino>; *La Nación* (September 27, 1998), np, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/112093-el-tifon-latino-arrasa-estados-unidos>.
- 89 Kun, *Audiotopia*, 214–17.
- 90 Quoted in Rubén Martínez, “Land of 1,000 bands,” *Spin* (December 1, 1997), 112. The classic statement of the collision of different temporalities in Latin America is García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*.
- 91 *Clarín* (January 1, 1994), 8.
- 92 As he put it, the band had decided to explore “our thing [*lo nuestro*].” Santaolalla, Interview with Author, June 30, 2015.
- 93 *Clarín* (January 16, 1994), 8.
- 94 When Polygram was absorbed by Universal in 1999, the “big six” majors became the “big five.”
- 95 The information in this paragraph is drawn from Yúdice, “La industria de la música en la integración América Latina–Estados Unidos.” The quote is from 220.
- 96 Hanke, “‘Yo Quiero Mi MTV!’” The quote is from 320. For the gradual increase in Latin American acts, see Rodríguez Marino, “MTV Latino,” 156.
- 97 Verdesio, “Cultural Connections,” 643–45.
- 98 Rodríguez Marino, “MTV Latino,” 166–69.
- 99 *Billboard* (February 24, 1996), 6.
- 100 *Variety* (August 11, 1997), 18, 69.
- 101 Paredes Pacho and Blanco, “Rock Mexicano,” 449.
- 102 Party, “Miamization.”

- 103 Ochoa Gauthier, *Músicas Locales En Tiempos de Globalización*.
- 104 *Cooperativa.cl* (9/19/13), <http://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/entretencion/musica/caf%C3%A9-tacuba/gustavo-santaolalla-caf%C3%A9-tacuba-no-tiene-nada-que-envi%C3%A1r-a-radiohead/2013-09-19/111611.html>.
- 105 Corona, "The Politics of Language, Class, and Nation in Mexico's Rock En Español Movement."
- 106 *Clarín* (January 16, 1994), 8.
- 107 Santaolalla, Interview with Author, June 30, 2015.
- 108 For a consideration of Santaolalla's impact as a producer, see Madoery, "Gustavo Santaolalla." On his meticulous approach to recording vocals, see Lechner, *Rock en español*, 193.
- 109 These examples are drawn from Madoery, "Gustavo Santaolalla," 9–10.
- 110 Santaolalla, Interview with Author, June 30, 2015.
- 111 *New York Times* (May 27, 1993), C16. Maldita Vecindad were often labeled a "world beat" band in the U.S. press. See, for example, *Los Angeles Times* (November 17, 1991), H59. For a critical appraisal that celebrated rock latino while denying its similarity to world music, see Eddy, "City of Dreams," 69–78.
- 112 *Variety* (March 28, 1994), 67.
- 113 Fernández L'Hoeste, "On How Bloque de Búsqueda Lost Part of Its Name," 194, 195.
- 114 *La Nación* (October 2, 1998), np, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/195714-con-acento-latino>.
- 115 *La Nación* (October 2, 1998), np, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/112678-el-amplio-terreno-del-rock-latino>. Rockers Gustavo Cerati and Fito Páez also questioned the term *rock latino*. For Cerati's comments, see Berti, *Rockología*, 129; for Páez's, see Rodríguez Marino, "MTV Latino," 165.
- 116 Semán, Vila, and Benedetti, "Neoliberalism and Rock in the Popular Sectors of Contemporary Argentina"; Semán and Vila, "Rock Chabón." See also Lunardelli, *Alternatividad, divino tesoro*.
- 117 Marchi, *El rock perdido*.
- 118 *Billboard* (October 12, 1963), 42.
- 119 Alabarces and Silba, "Las manos de todos los negros, arriba," 52–74; Pujol, *Historia del baile*, 289–310; Fernández L'Hoeste and Vila, eds., *Cumbia!* 4–9.
- 120 Martín, "Cumbia Villera and the End of the Culture of Work in Argentina in the 90s." Many scholars have identified a pronounced misogyny in cumbia villera lyrics, while others have argued that the genre is one of the first to treat female sexual desire frankly. See Semán and Vila, "Cumbia Villera or the Complex Construction of Masculinity and Femininity in Contemporary Argentina."
- 121 Garriga Zucal, "Rockers' Moral Limits in the Construction of Musical Communities," 49–53.
- 122 *Clarín* (June 3, 1988), Sí 4. On the episode of the television program *Elepé* dedicated to the making of *El León*, Esteban Cavanna comments that before Fabulosos Cadillacs, the "Latinoso" instrumental lineup of percussion and horns was considered "grasa" in Argentina. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=92ZnC1J44ww>.

- 123 The band finally did record a cumbia—“Padre Nuestro,” with Pablo Lescano of Damas Gratis as a guest artist—on its 2008 album *La luz del ritmo*, but this was some two decades after the band’s commercial breakthrough.
- 124 Marchi, *El rock perdido*, 71–72.
- 125 *Rolling Stone Argentina* (January 9, 1998), np.
- 126 Citro, “Ritual Transgression and Grotesque Realism in 1990s Rock Music.”
- 127 *Clarín* (August 28, 1998). http://edant.clarin.com/suplementos/si/98-08-28/nota_1.htm.
- 128 *Página 12* (July 7, 2002). <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/espectaculos/16-7371-2002-07-07.html>.
- 129 *Clarín* (February 16, 2001), np, <http://edant.clarin.com/suplementos/si/01-02-16/nota2.htm>.
- 130 *Rolling Stone Argentina* (September 1, 2000), <http://www.rollingstone.com.ar/585355>.
- 131 For a general account of this history, see Gordillo, *Piquetes y cacerolas*.
- 132 Svampa and Pereyra, *Entre la ruta y el barrio*, 50–54.
- 133 Citro, “Ritual Transgression,” 38–39.
- 134 Torrón, “Bajofondo,” 41.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Alberto Consiglio, “La figura intacta,” *Jazzband* 1:3 (1972), 15–25.
- 2 On the problem of piracy, the retreat of the major labels from Latin America, and the rise of independent labels and do-it-yourself musicians, see *Billboard* (July 3, 2010), 19; Erica E. Phillips, “Record Company Carves Niche in ‘Latin Alternative,’” *Wall Street Journal* (September 18, 2012). On music sales in Latin America and the return of the majors, see Richard Smirke, “Seven Takeaways from IFFPI’s Study of the Global Music Market Last Year,” *Billboard* (April 20, 2015); Laura Barton, “Latin America: The Music Industry’s New Frontier,” *The Guardian* (June 19, 2014).

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