Cutumay Camones

Popular Music in El Salvador's National Liberation Movement

by
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Between 1975 and 1992 El Salvador witnessed one of the largest Latin American revolutionary mobilizations in recent memory. While interpretations of the outcome of the Salvadoran national liberation struggle range from "failed revolution" (Wickham-Crowley, 1989; Foran, 1993) to "democratic revolution" (Villalobos, 1989), few have accounted for how the Salvadoran insurgents sustained mobilization for so long. This question becomes more puzzling when we consider that the revolutionary movement was made up of ordinary people (e.g., students, peasants, schoolteachers, and urban workers). With ostensibly few resources they resisted a well-entrenched military and agro-export elite backed annually by millions of U.S. dollars, military aid, and technical assistance.

We argue here that the use of indigenous cultural resources in the form of popular music enhanced the process of revolutionary mobilization. In our ongoing fieldwork we have documented 50 popular musical groups that worked with the national liberation movement between 1975 and 1992. The sheer number of protest musical groups in a small nation suggests that music was important to the revolutionary organizations. We explore the function of one of these groups, Cutumay Camones, in the mobilization and tactical education of movement supporters and potential sympathizers. We would hope that future research on Latin American revolutions and popular movements

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would pay closer attention to the way in which the appropriation of cultural resources facilitates the mobilization process, heightening the subjective conditions for movement participation and resistance.

OPPOSITIONAL POLITICAL CULTURES AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

In recent years there has been a marked shift from structural explanations of revolutionary processes to explanations integrating more cultural concerns. A major contributor to this change in emphasis is the work of John Foran (1993, 1997), which places the concept of political cultures of resistance and opposition in a central theoretical position in explaining revolutionary outcomes. In particular, he contends that oppositional political cultures vary historically and from place to place in their ability to shape the kinds of class alliances necessary for a revolutionary transfer of power. By "political cultures of resistance and opposition," Foran (1997: 208-209) means

> the plurivocal and potentially radical ways of understanding one's circumstances that various groups within a society sometimes articulate to make sense of the political and economic changes they are living through.... Such cultures tap everything from historical memories of past conflicts to inchoate sentiments about injustice, to long-standing religious idioms and practices, to more formal elaborated political ideologies.

Foran's emphasis on oppositional political culture informs the broader context of this study. The focus here is on how El Salvador's oppositional culture (in the form of popular music) contributed to the maintenance of sustained mobilization and resistance in its support base—a daunting task under conditions of extreme military repression and substantial foreign political intervention.

This study analyzes the ideational and communicative dimensions of popular protest music in relation to revolutionary mobilization. More specifically, the analysis concentrates on the oppositional culture of Salvadoran popular music through the concept of *collective action frames*. A collective action frame is an interpretive schema that "simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137). Drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci and Erving Goffman (Snow et al., 1986), the concept involves the construction and shaping of the social world in a manner consonant with

encouraging and sustaining movement participation. In order for a movement to be potent it must have a viable collective action frame (Snow et al., 1986; Snow and Benford, 1988). Revolutionary movements proffer ideas that emphasize shared injustices and underscore experiences of oppression in a fashion consistent with widespread cultural beliefs (Tarrow, 1994) in an attempt to engender and maintain active resistance. This active interpretation reinforces beliefs, collective identity, and solidarity among already committed movement members, evokes sympathy from potential supporters, and calls the attention of a broader population to a situation that is unjust and in need of change (Klandermans, 1988; Moore, 1991). Examples of collective action frames include the "return to democracy" frame that emerged in Chile in 1983 during the Days of Protest against the Pinochet regime (Noonan, 1995) and "autonomy" and "workerism" in the wave of student and worker militancy that shook Italy between 1965 and 1975 (Tarrow, 1989). In El Salvador, insurgents framed their much larger revolutionary mobilization in terms of national liberation.

In developing a collective action frame, a movement conjures up historically significant events, shared experiences, and martyrs (Camacho, 1989: 19) and vilifies oppressive target groups and social structures (e.g., the agro-export elite, the security forces, and dependent capitalism/imperialism). Collective action frames need some kind of institutional support to subsist and reproduce. In El Salvador the church played a pivotal role during the 1970s, providing resources, moral sanction, and an autonomous public sphere in which to denounce the military and oligarchy. For example, the Catholic Radio YSAX played popular music throughout the late 1970s (Erdozaín, 1981; interview with Piquín, September 1996).

Without the church's assistance, popular protest music would have commanded a much smaller audience, since it was banned from other radio stations (Díaz, 1976). Researchers tend to consider movement documents and press, public demonstrations, statements by leaders, and mass media presentation as ways in which the collective action frame is conveyed to a broader population (Babb, 1996; Diani, 1996). Most of the literature on framing, however, is theoretically driven, with few empirical investigations (Klandermans, 1988; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996: 6). It is our contention that oppositional political culture in the form of popular protest music played a central role in elaborating and disseminating the collective action frame of the insurgent movement in El Salvador between 1975 and 1992, in effect contributing to the movement's mobilization potential.

Snow and Benford (1988: 199), drawing from Wilson (1973) and Klandermans (1988), have further specified the framing process by delineating three core framing tasks—diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational:

> 1. a diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration; 2. a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done; and 3. a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action. The diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks are directed toward achieving consensus mobilization. The latter task, which concerns action mobilization, provides the motivational impetus for participation.

This scheme offers a concise means for analyzing the multiple and interrelated ideational dimensions of revolutionary movements. In this theoretical framework, injustices are defined, solutions proposed, and mechanisms for activating potential participants employed. Snow and Benford argue that movements need to pay adequate attention to each of the three core framing tasks. The more energy is expended by movements on each of these tasks, the stronger the mobilization effort. Diagnostic and prognostic framing—what Klandermans (1988) calls "consensus mobilization"—identify problems, assign them causes, and offer strategies for their resolution. Motivational framing seizes on the mobilization potential they create through direct moral appeals and inducements (moral, solidary, and material) that encourage movement participation. Klandermans (1988) hypothesizes that motivational framing more likely targets committed supporters, and over time movements should focus increasing energy on this third core framing task.

Popular music in El Salvador performs all three core framing tasks, seeking to mobilize the popular classes of El Salvador (i.e., peasantry, urban working class, day laborers, unemployed, and lower-middle class) through music. The musical rhythms favored by the popular classes, such as boleros, corridos, huapangos, cumbias, and rancheras (Echeverría and Echeverría, 1976), serve as a backdrop to the framing lyrics. By drawing on these widely enjoyed rhythms, musical groups increase the probability that particular songs and lyrics will resonate with their intended audience. As one founding musician of Cutumay Camones put it (interview with Teresa, September 1996),

> The war was also ideological, and it was also necessary to win this war. It was there that music was very important; because a song you remember, you repeat it over and over. Consciously or unconsciously you become involved with it. Consequently, one gains consciousness that we too are human beings.

Testimonial literature from El Salvador suggests that protest music played a critical role in arousing emotions and lifting morale for individual participants in the liberation movement in a variety of contexts, such as in religious ceremonies, union meetings, prison cells, street protests, and liberated zones (see, e.g., Martínez, 1980: 200-201; Armstrong and Shenk, 1982: 151, 203-

204; Díaz, 1992: 109; Galdámez, 1986: 50-52; Harnecker, 1993: 41; Trabanino, 1993; González, 1994; Tula, 1994: 60).

In this article, the focus is on the efforts of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—FMLN) to mobilize segments of the popular classes through protest music. Below, we examine the three core framing tasks over time to observe the relationship between framing and the political context in which the music was recorded and distributed. First, however, we need to consider another dimension of music and collective action—the dissemination of a movement's repertoire of contention.

REPERTOIRES OF CONTENTION

Once people come to a consensus on shared grievances and general paths for their resolution and decide to participate in insurgent movements, leaders and revolutionary organizations often provide specific strategic and tactical advice. Popular protest music itself may be used to communicate this tactical or contentious repertoire of a movement. For instance, the lyrical content of songs may emphasize the importance of labor strikes or building neighborhood barricades. In Third World rural regions and shantytowns with high rates of illiteracy and semiliteracy, popular music (and oral communication in general) may serve as a more powerful educator of movement strategy than written material (Rowe and Schelling, 1991: 116). The expression of contentious repertoires in popular protest music indicates that lyrics serve more than framing purposes—they reflect concrete strategic and political needs. Indeed, as Tilly (1978: 143) notes,

> Real people do not get together and Act Collectively. They meet to petition Parliament, organize telephone campaigns, demonstrate outside of city hall, attack power looms, go on strike. . . . People do not ordinarily act to influence abstract structures such as polities and markets; they try to get particular other people to do particular things.

Cutumay Camones attempted to persuade supporters to use particular tactics in order to force factions of the military back into substantive peace talks with the FMLN. Thus, the inclusion of contentious repertoires in protest music complements the abstract framing process of general problems, solutions, and motivational appeals with precise tactical advice when the moment arises for participants and supporters to engage in collective protest and insurgency.

Tilly finds that collective action is best carried out under conditions of culturally familiar repertoires. In El Salvador, protest musicians invoke contentious repertoires that date back to at least Aquino's indigenous peasant rebellion of 1833 and the 1932 uprising (e.g., the barricade) (Anderson, 1971). The work of Sidney Tarrow (1989, 1994) on cycles or waves of protest adds to the literature on contentious repertoires by suggesting that collective actors innovate new forms of contention at the height of protest waves that become culturally inscribed for future insurgents to tap. Salvadoran insurgents not only drew on past repertoires but had to develop new ones in the context of political escalation to modern guerrilla and counterinsurgent warfare (Wickham-Crowley, 1992). Thus, we find references to strikes, street marches, and the more rudimentary tactics of the past alongside the repertoire of guerrilla war.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The concepts of framing and communication of tactics fit into a broader theory in which music is seen as anchored in a political environment (Lewis, 1983). The political environment or context is defined in terms of the correlation of political forces at any one point in time (Ellacuría, 1991; Benítez Manuat, 1989). Therefore, the themes, framing strategies, and tactics in the lyrics should reflect the prevailing political situation or terrain (Foweraker, 1995) that the insurgent movement confronts in the period in which the music is recorded and distributed (Rodríguez Herrera, 1988: 103). Below, the lyrics are analyzed in relation to the political contexts of 1981-1982, 1983-1984, 1985-1987, and 1988-1989.

MUSIC AND POPULAR CONTENTION

Popular music has been studied in other contemporary political movements. In the California farm worker movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, popular Chicano theater, in the form of El Teatro Campesino, influenced the mobilization process for union contracts. The traveling actors sang corridos during live skits dramatizing the plight of farm workers (Broyles-Gonzalez, 1993). In Hawaii during the 1960s and 1970s, the anti-colonial Renaissance movement challenged U.S. cultural hegemony on the islands through musical artists' invocation of traditional rhythms and dress (Lewis, 1987). In Grenada, revolutionary renditions of calypso in the 1970s played a role in ousting the Gairy dictatorship by providing a public place for the opposition to

congregate (e.g., the "We Tent") and denounce authorities (McLean, 1986). In the Zimbabwean national liberation struggle, insurgents used popular protest music (e.g., Chimurenga songs) to incorporate sympathizers into the movement by making direct pleas for integration or motivational framing (Moore, 1991).

In an insightful participant-observer study of protest music during the student occupation of Tiananmen Square in spring 1989, Samson (1991) contends that singing (especially of the *Internationale*) and chanting by movement participants and supporters were vital to the formation of a collective consciousness and raised the level of group solidarity. An additional consequence of the singing, she argues, was the confidence it provided students to risk nonviolent protest—especially during the army crackdown in early June. The anti-Duvalierist movement in Haiti garnered strength through the production of protest music by the Haitian diaspora in the United States, which it sent clandestinely into Haiti during the early 1980s (Averill, 1997). Also, most important for El Salvador because of its shared cultural and historical ties with the rest of Latin America, the democratically elected Unidad Popular government in Chile came to power in 1970 with the full support of nueva canción musicians (Morris, 1986; Taffet, 1997). A few years later, musicians in Nicaragua were broadcasting protest songs against the Somoza regime over the clandestine Radio Sandino (Pring-Mill, 1987). Kirk (1984), in the only published academic article on Salvadoran protest music, focuses on the prominent musical group Yolocamba I Ta, which was forced into exile by the military junta in 1980. Kirk combines interviews with musicians and interpretive content analysis to demonstrate how protest music was used by the popular classes as an "ideological weapon" against state-sponsored repression in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In most of these studies, musicians as oppositional cultural producers come to the aid of the movement by actively interpreting and clarifying the grievances of potential supporters. From the working-class movements of the nineteenth century to the new social movements of the late twentieth century, thinkers have grappled with the questions of class consciousness, subjective capacity, cognitive liberation, and group identity. What is it that brings people to consensus and motivates them to engage in sustained collective action? People live in an institutional environment, and only by articulating grievances that resonate with movement supporters and potential supporters—within the boundaries and traditions of the cultural system—can a movement aspire to gain adherents and legitimate itself. Music and singing have been found to provide participants a sense of common purpose and collective identity, confidence, means of expressing dissent to target groups, and even an ideational weapon against state violence. Few studies, however, have

attempted to specify music's unique contribution to mobilization beyond a sense of "spirit maintenance" between participants (Rosenthal, 1997) or acting as a kind of "glue" for the various nodes of interpersonal and organizational networks constituting the movement (see Moore, 1991, as an exception). The idea of collective action frames and repertoires of contention helps us to identify the mobilization dimensions of music in popular and revolutionary movements.

From our fieldwork in Los Angeles and El Salvador we have collected more than 700 protest songs. This study concentrates on one musical group, Cutumay Camones, for which we have all 39 songs formally recorded with dates of recording and distribution and invaluable background information from the musicians. This alone was not a simple task. Protest music was recorded clandestinely in El Salvador as well as in Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, the United States, Canada, and Europe with the aid of international solidarity groups. Internally, under conditions of civil war, it was extremely difficult to preserve the recorded music over a seventeen-year period. Internationally, the music spreads across several countries, which makes it quite difficult to find a central location for collection.

Below, 39 songs are analyzed from four separate formal recordings in 1982, 1984, 1987, and 1988.[1] For Cutumay Camones, then, we are well placed to examine the recordings within the changing political context of the insurgency. The music was played live in zones of popular control (and in Santa Ana, San Salvador, and San Miguel in 1988), broadcast nationally over the two rebel radio stations, and disseminated clandestinely by cassette tape and mini-songbooks within the revolutionary and popular organizations. Cutumay Camones was one of the most prominent protest musical groups in El Salvador during the 1980s, and many other influential musical groups—such as the all-campesino ensemble Los Torogoces de Morazán—shared songs with Cutumay and performed in FMLN territorial strongholds.

Since textual content analysis of lyrics is the central technique in determining the role of popular protest music in mobilization, we first locate the lyrics in the historical contexts in which the music was recorded and distributed and then examine how the group balances its framing and tactical emphases over time.

Cutumay Camones takes its Nahuatl name from a canton in Santa Ana, western El Salvador, in which the FMLN initiated one of its first uprisings in January 1981 and lost 97 of 101 combatants in an army ambush (Mena Sandoval, 1992). In May 1982, in the context of massive state-sponsored violence against the civilian population, the musical group officially formed with the support of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's

Revolutionary Army—ERP), one of the five revolutionary organizations that constituted the FMLN. Apparently, the ERP leaders "Atilio" and "Jonas" felt that they needed another musical group besides Los Torogoces (interview with Paco, September 1996).[2] In 1981, one of the founding members, Eduardo, witnessed the performance of Yolocamba I Ta in the National Municipal Theater in Lima, Peru, and was inspired by it to form a similar musical group. The ERP was in need of cultural ambassadors to represent the national liberation movement at home as well as in the international community. Paco, Cutumay's percussionist, explained the rationale for the group's formation: "Cutumay was formed as another structural unit within the political party. It had an international solidarity strategy as one fundamental element. At the domestic level, the role of the group was to lift morale and motivate party militants" (interview, September 1996). Other parties in the FMLN/FDR already had such cultural ambassadors such as Yolocamba I Ta with the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (Revolutionary Popular Block—BPR) and Banda Tepeuani with the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (Revolutionary Democratic Front—FDR).[3]

STATE VIOLENCE AND THE TRANSITION TO ARMED REBELLION, 1981-1982

Cutumay's first musical work, *Vamos ganando la paz* (We Are Winning the Peace), was recorded at the end of 1982 in Mexico. The Radio Venceremos Collective began distributing it in spring 1983. Many of the recordings, ten songs, display prognostic framing—justifying the transition from a movement of masses to armed resistance.[4] The title song was an important guiding slogan for the FMLN throughout the war. In 1982, when Cutumay recorded this piece, the FMLN had already spent two years in the countryside as a united military force. It contended that the agro-export elite had denied the popular classes a democratic space for too long and war was the only way to lasting peace. The title of the recording was also a political position of the FMLN/FDR, whose requests for dialogue with the Salvadoran government and the United States and, later, for a negotiated peace fell on deaf ears (Diskin and Sharpe, 1986).[5]

Another important song on *Vamos ganando la paz* is "Cuando" (When). Each new stanza describes some of the political and social conditions (diagnostic framing) that have caused the organized left in El Salvador to take up arms (prognostic framing):

When the history of the homeland
is made with the blood of thousands
of massacred brothers and sisters. . .

When prison bars and torture are given
for the crime of aspiring for freedom
hile the assassins walk freely through
the streets.
The fist of all the people in arms
is the only alternative
for justice and freedom.

Cuando la historia de la patria
hecha con sangre de miles
de hermanos masacrados. . .

Cuando tras las rejas y tortura
por el único delito de aspirar la libertad
ientras los asesinos andan sueltos por
las calles.
El puño de todo un pueblo en armas
es la única alternativa
de justicia y libertad. . .

The lyrics describe the effort to create democratic space and dialogue with the agro-export elite/military and the response to it in the form of prison, torture, massacre, and the formation of death squads to eliminate popular resistance. Between 1980 and 1982, the Salvadoran elite and its closely linked military and paramilitary bodies killed an estimated 500 to 1,000 persons a month—nearly 1 percent of the population (Armstrong and Shenk, 1982; Americas Watch, 1982; Stanley, 1996). Also, the notorious army massacres of hundreds of unarmed civilians in the Sumpul and Lempa rivers and in the village of El Mozote were committed in this period (United Nations, 1993; Danner, 1994).

Cutumay offers an autobiographical sketch in the song "Santa Ana." The song is both an homage to the 97 combatants who fell January 17, 1981, in the canton of Cutumay Camones in the department of Santa Ana and a motivational call for the people of Santa Ana to became part of the national liberation struggle. Santa Ana is one of the major coffee-growing departments in El Salvador in which the FMLN hoped to make strategic military advances and needed the collaboration of the local population.

Santa Ana, which butterfly
oppressed and exploited
today flies through your fields
searching for freedom
Santa Anan, our martyrs are calling you
to the struggle

Chorus:
Cutumay Camones lives
in the popular struggle
Cutumay Camones lives
in the popular struggle

In Santa Ana you already hear
the call for freedom
We are all advancing
feeling the insurrection. . .

Santa Ana cual mariposa
oprimida y explotada
hoy a vuela por sus campos
buscando la libertad
Santaneco, nuestros mártires
hoy te llaman a luchar

Coro:
Cutumay Camones vive
en el combate popular
Cutumay Camones vive
en el combate popular

En Santa Ana ya se escucha
el grito de la libertad
Avanzando vamos todos
se siente la insurrección. . .

Other notable songs on *Vamos ganando la paz* include "La guerra," "Radio Venceremos," and "El machete encachimbado." The message of "La guerra" centers on attributing the cause of the civil war to the agro-export elite. "Radio Venceremos" is a kind of advertisement (including hours of operation) for one of the two FMLN clandestine radio stations. "El machete encachimbado" (The Angry Machete) describes the plight of a proletarianized campesino who has just lost his job on the hacienda. "I have my machete," he sings, "as sharp as I am hungry." The machete is the indispensable tool of the Salvadoran campesino in everyday life and has been part of the tactical repertoire of popular peasant uprisings (interview with Cutumay Camones, Managua, September 6, 1983).

Cutumay's first recording, then, marks a particular historical juncture in the Salvadoran struggle. By the early 1980s, the unarmed popular opposition had ceased to protest openly against the regime. Individuals in the popular organizations had to decide whether to risk the return to private life, collaborate with the military junta, flee into exile, or join the guerrillas. In this political context, *Vamos ganando la paz* justifies the need for armed struggle at a time when the military junta had systematically suppressed all legal and nonviolent channels of opposition.

FMLN TERRITORIAL GAINS AND THE BEGINNING OF MODERN COUNTERINSURGENCY, 1983-1984

In Cutumay's second album, *Por eso luchamos* (This Is Why We Fight), recorded in 1984 and distributed in 1985, the conditions causing the war share space in the messages conveyed with new political developments. The title of the album again offers insight into the purpose of the recording and the lyrical content. Sympathizers are informed of the history of the struggle while homage is paid to those who have given their lives for the movement. Recent military victories are publicized in an attempt to strengthen morale of participants and supporters.[6]

By early 1984, the FMLN had established sizable zones of popular control in the countryside—perhaps up to one-third of the national territory (Byrne, 1996). It controlled much of Morazán and Chalatenango departments in northern and eastern El Salvador, which served as a strategic rearguard for the insurgents throughout the war (Department of Social Sciences, University of El Salvador, 1987; Lungo Uclés, 1996).[7] In 1985, however, it reorganized its forces in response to the increase in U.S. funding of counterinsurgency operations. The U.S.-backed military escalation included enlarging the Salvadoran army and security forces between 1980 and 1985 from 12,000 to

40,000 troops and issuing a considerable number of air vessels (e.g., UH-1H helicopters, A37B Dragonfly and AC-47 aircraft) for use in counterinsurgency campaigns (Barry and Castro, 1991; Lungo Uclés, 1996).

Given these new developments, Cutumay's second album links recent victories to the earlier struggle and eulogize's the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for these achievements. Cutumay describes the origin of the title song in the record jacket insert: "The words of this song are based on a solemn oath issued by the General Command of the FMLN in the Eastern Front Francisco Sanchez at the end of a meeting in which the historic document of July 1983, 'Why is the FMLN fighting?' was proclaimed." Cutumay arranged the message of this document into a song.

We do not forget	No olvidamos
the children who die every day	a los niños que mueren a diario
throughout the length	a lo largo
and breadth of our land	y ancho del país
We do not forget the suffering	No olvidamos la aflicción
in the burned-out slums	por el sustento diario
of working-class families	de las familias obreras
in search for their daily bread	en las zonas marginales
We do not forget	No olvidamos
the sadness of our beloved people,	la tristeza de nuestro pueblo, tan amado
illiterate and barefoot,	analfabeto, y descalzo
thirsty for liberty	sediento de libertad
Chorus:	Coro:
Raise the banners	Levantemos las banderas
it is time to struggle	ya es hora de luchar
There is no force that can hold back	No habrá fuerza que detenga
the peace of tomorrow	el mañana de la paz
The homeland is aflame,	La patria ya encendida
resplendent like a new sun	fulgor de un nuevo sol
From the weapons in your hands	Del fusil entre tus manos
liberty will arise	surgirá la libertad
We do not forget	No olvidamos
the agony of our peasants,	la agonia de nuestros campesinos,
landless and eating tortillas with salt	sin tierra y comiendo torilla y sal
We do not forget	No olvidamos
the crushing of women's dignity	el atroppello a la dignidad de las mujeres
in the factories or as maids	en las fábricas o sirviendo
in the houses of the rich	en la casa de los ricos
We do not forget	No olvidamos
those assassinated in the streets	a los masacrados en las calles
and in the countryside,	y en el campo,
the disappeared and tortured	desaparecidos y torturados
forgers of peace	forjadores de la paz

Chorus (spoken):
In the name of this homeland,
bloody but insurgent and dignified.
We will not accept
the imperialist blackmail.
Our weapons
a guarantee for a future of peace.
Liberty and democracy
will never be laid down, never!

Coro (Hablado):
En nombre de esta patria,
sangrada pero alzada y digna.
No ceptaremos
el chantaje imperialista.
Nuestras armas
garantiá para un futuro de paz.
Libertad y democracia
no serán depuestas jamás, ¡Jamás!

The revolutionary leadership deliberately used Cutumay to spread the 1983 oath through music to a much larger audience of rank-and-file supporters and potential sympathizers. Injustice is highlighted, identity is stressed, and the future direction of the struggle is outlined. In other words, Cutumay practices diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing together in this piece. Economic, social, and political injustices—dying children, hunger, landlessness, torture, and assassination—are tersely synthesized. The chorus starkly conveys that armed struggle is the only means to achieve national liberation.

The juxtaposing of the everyday injustices (e.g., hunger and landlessness) with the more specific and contemporaneous political repression (e.g., torture and assassination) strikes a particularly powerful chord in this ballad. The line "We do not forget the agony of our peasants, landless and eating tortillas with salt" points to the crisis of a semiproletarianized peasantry struggling to reproduce itself (Samaniego, 1980) in a situation in which an agro-export elite (1.5 percent of the population) owns 50 percent of the cultivable land (Cabarrús, 1983: 57-58). The references to the "tortured," "disappeared," and "assassinated," bring to the foreground those who suffered and died at the hands of death squads and security forces.

Cutumay also strives to generalize the sense of outrage in that each new stanza introducing a particular injustice begins with "*We* do not forget." The song commences quietly and terminates much louder. "Por eso luchamos" also represents the multiclass nature of the struggle, which includes allusions to slum dwellers, the working class, and displaced peasantry (i.e., the popular classes).

Of the nine songs in this second album, three are "martyr" songs, recounting popular legends about important figures in Salvadoran history. One of these, "Feliciano Ama," tells of an indigenous cacique who helped lead the 1932 uprising in western El Salvador. The national guard captured Ama and incarcerated him in Izalco after he and his rebels had occupied the town for three days, but a mob of local landlords and their supporters broke into the jail and dragged Ama into the town square to be hanged as a warning to others (Anderson, 1971; Armstrong and Shenk, 1982). A portion of the song follows:

Why did they kill you	¿Porque te mataron
comrade Ama, Feliciano?	Ama Feliciano camarada?
Despite that all is said	Al fin de cuentas te digo
they never killed you	que no te mataron nada
Just like they never shot	Como nunca fusilaron
comrade Anastasio	Anastasio camarada
Nor did the bullets ever hit	Ni a mi taita Farabundo
my papa Farabundo	Las balas atravezaron
For if you glance over there	pues si volvés la mirada
at the mountain,	ahi nomás a la montaña,
you'll see they've been growing	vas ha ver que han germinado
Aquinos in the canefields	Los Aquinos en los cañales
Amas in the cornfields. Martís in the	Los Amas en los maizales
coffee groves	Los Martí en los cafetales
And through their lives,	Y otra vuelta por la vida,
the dawn has set itself afire	se ha incendiado la pradera

Feliciano Ama is immortalized in this song (along with Anastasio Aquino and Farabundo Martí) in a way that connects his death in 1932 to the contemporary movement. (In fact, the FMLN had named its western front after Feliciano Ama.) Besides making this historical connection, it identifies the national liberation struggle with the indigenous population—which has not been a clearly defined cultural group in El Salvador since La Matanza, the notorious army massacre of 30,000 indigenous peasants in January 1932. We interpret the invocation of martyrs as an example of prognostic framing. The martyrs have all been driven to armed rebellion as a strategy for resolving long-brewing economic and political grievances. Aquino led an uprising in San Vicente in 1833 against forced army recruitment and coerced labor on the indigo plantations (White, 1973). Ama's followers were responding to expropriations of communal land for coffee cultivation between 1870 and 1900, while in late 1931 the newly installed Martínez dictatorship had deprived Martí's supporters of electoral gains in municipalities throughout western El Salvador. The other two martyr songs on the album, "Comandante Clelia" and "Brigada Rafael Arce Zablah," eulogize combatants who fell in battle in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Another significant song, "Las milicias populares" (Popular Militias), explains the tactics employed by the FMLN-linked militias to protect civilian populations from army incursions. It also celebrates and pays tribute to the work of the popular militias (interview with Paco, September 1996). The last stanza mentions that the popular militias are active throughout the country. The increasing organizational strength of these militias became a vital asset

in supporting smaller FMLN units in the mid-1980s against U.S.-sponsored counterinsurgency operations (interview with Paco, September 1996). Especially noteworthy militias (e.g., that of Chalatenango) are given special recognition in the song.

Nowadays, the streets of my town
are controlled
by the battle-steeled compañeros
who have formed the militias
María, Chepe, and Sebastian
have gone off to join them. . . .
Let's go, popular militia,
to prepare the ambush
The convoy of military cargo
is nearing
All the compañeros are ready
to set up the barricades

Chorus:
That's us, the popular militias
In the countryside and in the city
Thousands of men and women
who've gone to join
We come from everywhere
from the popular masses,
defending the victories
of the Revolution

The militias from San Miguel
from La Unión and Usulután
orchestrate their blows decisively
with those from Cabañas and Morazán
Let's go, militia to organize
those at Ahuachapán
Santa Ana is ready to fight

With its own type of fierceness
Izalco and its 32 will set off
Sonsonate Chalatenango
You don't even have to say it,
always present in the fight
San Vicente and La Libertad
San Salvador, La Paz and Cuscatlán.
United we will march with the
FMLN!

Hoy, las calles de mi pueblo
están tomadas todititas
por los aguerridos compas
que han formado las milicias
La María, Chepe y Sebastián
ya se fueron a integrar. . . .
Vamos ahora milicianos
la emboscada a preparar
Ya se acerca ese convoy
con cargamento militar
Listos todos los campañeros
la barricada a levantar

Coro:
Estos somos las milicias
En el campo y en la ciudad
Miles de hombres y mujeres
ya nos fuimos a integrar
Surgimos en todas partes
de la masa popular,
defendiendo las victorias
de la revolución

Las milicias Migueleñas
de La Unión y Usulatán
accionan muy decididas
con Cabañas y Morazán
Vamonos ya milicianos
a organizar los de Ahuachapán
Que Santa Ana ya está lista

Con su bravura peculiar
Izalco y su 32 encenderá a
Sonsonate, Chalatenango
Ya no se diga,
siempre presente en el combate
San Vicente y La Libertad
San Salvador, La Paz y Cuscatlán
¡Todos juntos marcharemos con el
FMLN!

MILITARY STALEMATE, PROSPECTS FOR PEACE, AND THE REVIVAL OF LEGAL OPPOSITION, 1985-1987

Cutumay's third work, *Patria chiquita mia* (My Sweet Little Homeland), was recorded in Holland in 1987. The emphasis on reconciliation in this recording is relevant to the peace talks that were initiated throughout Central America at this time. El Salvador's government allowed political refugees to return home for the first time since the war began as a direct result of the Esquipulas II accord, but Christian Democratic president José Napoleón Duarte refused to negotiate the social reforms that the FMLN deemed necessary for peace (Barry and Castro, 1991). This recording includes seven songs with lyrics and one instrumental featuring the traditional *marimba del arco.* Two of the songs on this album are about peace.[8] The civil war had been raging for seven years, with well over 63,000 dead and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes (Department of Social Sciences, University of El Salvador, 1987) when the album was recorded. In the songs "La paz no es un regalo" (Peace Is Not a Gift) and "Cumbia de la paz" (Peace Cumbia), the message is directed at the tripartite power structure that Salvadoran insurgents viewed as shaping and maintaining El Salvador's dependent-capitalist society: the military-civilian government, the agro-export elite, and the United States. Both songs clearly convey that there can be no peace without negotiating substantive socioeconomic and political reforms. "Peace Cumbia" has particular significance because of its tactical appeals.

Like melted lava,
thousands of fists raised in rebellion
spread to every corner
and the shouts are not silenced
Strikes, demonstrations,
chants are raised
because if the issue is peace,
the people become gigantic

Chorus:
Let's go to the street, my brother
Let us fight united
All of us hand in hand and strong
Let's go to raise our voices with the front

What we want is social justice
All of the people wait for peace with dignity
Dialogue is necessary
when there is much to discuss
For we have a war that we want to end

Como lava derretida,
miles de puños se alzan
se esparcen por todos lados
y los gritos no se callan
Huelgas, manifestaciones,
consignas que levantan
porque si de paz se trata
todo el pueblo se agiganta

Coro:
Vamos a la calle, mi hermano
Vamos a luchar consecuentes
Todos de la mano y fuerte
Vamos a gritar con el Frente

Qué es lo que queremos justicia social
Todo el pueblo espera Paz con dignidad El diálogo es necesario
cuando hay mucho que tratar
ues tenemos una guerra que queremos terminar

But one thing, my brother,
you won't forget
that this war is the product
of social inequality

Pero de una cosa, mi hermano,
no te vayas a olvidar
que esta guerra es el producto
de la desigualidad social

In relation to the peace talks of 1987, the FMLN encouraged the blossoming popular movement in the cities, which had been systematically repressed since the early 1980s, to take to the streets and demand a negotiated settlement to the war (Zamora, 1991). International human rights organizations placed enough pressure on the U.S. and Salvadoran governments to prevent massacres such as those of the early 1980s and open political space for a legal opposition including trade unions (e.g., Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños [National Unity of Salvadoran Workers—UNTS]), students (e.g., Asociación General de Estudiantes Universitarios Salvadoreños [General Association of Salvadoran University Students—AGEUS]), mothers of the disappeared (e.g., CO-MADRES), and social democratic political parties (e.g., Convergencia Democrática [Democratic Convergence—CD]). The "Peace Cumbia" encourages the legal opposition to engage in nonviolent tactics in the cities to pressure the Duarte government back into serious peace negotiations with the FMLN.

Patria chiquita mia has many themes in addition to a negotiated peace and dialogue. In "Obreros y campesinos" (Workers and Peasants), Cutumay combines nature imagery with elements of the everyday lives of its support base, urban workers, and campesinos. Diagnostic frames in the regular stanzas alternate with motivational frames in the chorus. The use of diagnostic frames at this particular juncture reminds potential supporters and sympathizers of the conditions causing the war (i.e., inequitable distribution of national resources) that the FMLN wanted included in any peace negotiations with the state.

There is where my brother
the poorest peasant lives
He that sows the seeds
of coffee and cotton
He that delivers the earth
of corn and beans
with the strength he gives
to the plow and hoe

Ahi donde vive mi hermano
el más pobre campesino
El que siembra los plantillos
de café y algodón
El que hace parir la tierra
de maiz y de frijol
con la fuerza que le imprime
al arado y azadón

Chorus:
Workers and peasants,
untiring fighters
Builders of my homeland,
forgers of peace

Coro:
Obreros y campesinos,
luchadores incansables
Constructores de mi patria,
forjadores de la paz

United we form
the invincible vanguard
of this people so valient
that is called El Salvador. . .

There are the fragile little houses
of tin and cardboard
That if the wind respects them
it is because it has a heart
There lives the worker
marginal and exploited
He takes in his mind the journey
that makes him remember
the thousands and thousands
of threads that the machine chews
and converts into beautiful cloth
that his children will never wear

Unidos conformamos
la vanguardia invencible
de este pueblo tan valiente
que se llama El Salvador. . .

Son las frágiles casitas
de latas y de cartón.
Que si el viento las respeta
es porque tiene corazón
Ahi donde vive el obrero
marginado y explotado
Lleva en su mente la jornada
que le hace recordar
los miles y miles de hilos
que la máquina al mascar
los convierte en linda tela
que sus hijos no vestirán

STRATEGIZING POPULAR UPRISING AND PRESSURING THE STATE BACK INTO NEGOTIATIONS, 1988-1989

The lyrical content of the final recording, recorded at the end of 1988, reflects the military exigencies of the plans for the November 1989 insurrection.[9] All but one of the 13 songs on this recording makes frequent references to the need to strengthen the guerrilla army and prepare for popular uprising. An analysis of three songs from this recording, titled *Llegó la hora* (The Time Has Arrived), demonstrates this. The lyrics of the title track, using a cumbia rhythm, are as follows:

Rise up, working class,
the time has arrived
to take this thing seriously
and liberate El Salvador
The homeland needs you
with your fist and with your voice
Let's fire the guns
and shout revolution

Chorus:
Look, the time has come
and you cannot be a spectator
It's the people's struggle and unending
until popular triumph is achieved

It is the people's obligation
to prepare the material
and to learn how to make

Levantate, clase pobre,
que la hora ya llegó
de tomar la cosa en serio
y liberar El Salvador
La patria te necesita
con tu puño y con tu voz
Disparemos los fusiles
y gritemos revolución

Coro:
Y mira que la hora ya llegó
y no se puede estar de espectador
La lucha es del pueblo y sin parar
hasta lograr el triunfo popular

Es deber de todo el pueblo
preparar el material
y aprender a fabricar

popular armaments	el armamento popular
Let everyone who can shoot	Integrense a la guerrilla
join the guerrillas	los que pueden disparar
and we will be ready	y asi poder estar listos
for the final blow	para el penqueio final
Chorus	Coro

The title of the recording alone relays a powerful message: the time has finally come, and supporters of the insurgency need to know how to act appropriately. In the title song there is much less aesthetic work than direct appeals to the Salvadoran populace to join the insurgent forces. The chorus appears aimed at potential participants, urging them not to remain "spectators." It is also clear that this is a national liberation struggle with its emphasis on identity with the Salvadoran territory ("The homeland needs you"). Cutumay expresses confidence that the guerrillas will continue the struggle until popular triumph, recognizing that they now have sufficient firepower and will take the offensive, as they had been unable to do in their January 1981 "final offensive." Thus, the group clearly combines motivational framing with tactical advice in this piece.

Another song on *Llegó la hora* expresses similar themes in more detail. The title of this song, "La patria te necesita" (The Homeland Needs You), again repeats the appeal to nationalist sentiment and insists on people's participation in the insurrection with the preparation and fabrication of instruments of war and storage of arms, food, and medicine.

Chorus:	Coro:
The dictatorship is falling apart	La dictadura se despedaza
Its time has come	Le esta llegando la hora
All the people united are	Es que todo el pueblo unido
preparing the victory	ya prepara la victoria
Today the homeland needs	Hoy la patria necesita
your combative fervor	de tu fervor combatiente
and this song invites you	y esta canción hoy te invita
to say "present"	a que vos digás "presente"
We have to plan how to defend	Habrá que planificar como se defenderá
each neighborhood and block	cada barrio y colonia
with the best procedure	con el mejor proceder
We ought to strengthen	Los comités populares
the popular committees	debemos fortalecer
and by singing these popular songs	y cantando estas coplitas
something will be learned	algo se podrá aprender
If we choose a good place	Si hubicamos el buen lugar
for building	por donde se constuirán
trenches and barricades,	las zanjas y barricadas,

the national guard will not pass	la guardia no pasará
Meanwhile, we have to gather	Mientras tanto hay que juntar
construction tools	los instrumentos de construcción
With crowbars, hammers, and shovels,	Con barras, piochas y palas
we will begin the operation	comenzaremos la función.
It is necessary to determine	Hay que determinar
who will make the contact bombs	quienes fabricarán las bombas de contacto
and the popular armaments	y el armamento popular
In nice camouflaged holes,	En hoyos bien camuflados
these arms will be hidden	estas armas se guardarán
until the moment arrives	hasta que llegue el momento
to use them	que las vayamos a usar
The first aid kits	Los botiquines populares
have to be assembled	deberán estar completos
with the most experienced compañeras	con los compas mas expertos
will attend to the injured	y atenderán a los heridos
Basic grains, dried milk,	Granos básicos, leche en polvo,
water, and other foods	agua y otros alimentos
need to be stored	se tendrán que almacenar
wherever you can find space	en cualquier compartimiento
Passageways through the blocks	Corredores en las manzanas
is a very important tactic	es una táctica bien importante
A hole between house and house	entre casa y casa un hueco
There's no enemy that can stand it	No habrá enemigo que aguante

The song provides motivational framing by implying that a consensus already exists among the Salvadoran popular classes—"all the people are united." The question at this historical moment, then, is where one fits in the struggle. What emerges is a division of labor within the insurgent movement. "The dictatorship is falling apart" and the popular classes must be in a position to take advantage of this political opportunity. People with varying skills can find places for themselves at this political juncture by collecting construction materials, storing food, digging trenches, or building barricades. As did songs from the Nicaraguan *Guitarra armada*,[10] music serves here as a key means to communicate the practical tactics of the insurgency.

In the sarcastic song "Don Simón," the high-pitched voice of an old man pokes fun at the physical characteristics of younger combatants and directs the construction of popular weapons while at the same time lifting morale. The lyrics portray Don Simón as a veteran of the liberation struggle who now passes down his experience to a new generation (note: the insurgency is now in its eighth year). The use of the formal "Don" is a sign of respect for a distinguished elder. Don Simón, ostensibly too old to fight, becomes a mentor to the younger combatants. The deliberate use of Central American and Salvadoran vernacular words (e.g., *cipote*, *penqueo*) and usage (e.g., the *vos* conju-

gation, the sprinkling of diminutives) reinforces the popular/conspiratorial appeal and mood of the music:

Listen closely to my lesson
you crazy kids.
Prepare the shovels and medical kits.
The fuses, carving tools, nails,
and cobblestones.
The ropes, sticks, buckshot, cudgels.
Open the trenches, but be careful,
and the barricades of rocks and tires.
Everyone should be involved
for the insurrection.

Miren cipotes locos, oiganme bien
pues aqui va la lección.
Alisten las palas y los botiquines.
Las mechas y tallas, clavos y adoquines.
Las piuchas, las parras, los palos y los balines.
Estacas labradas, los pechetrines
abramos las zanjas, pero cuidadito.
Y las barricadas con piedras, llantas
toda la majada
todo para la insurrección.

"Los helicópteros" provides directions on how to bring down a helicopter based on personal experiences in surviving counterinsurgent aerial attacks. The same military-type tactics are repeated in songs such as "Los fusilitos," "M-16" (e.g., lessons on how to arm, aim, fire, clean, and disarm this rifle), "Hoy nació el día del pueblo," "La mechuda" (which tells how to build and use a popular armament), and nearly all the songs on *Llegó la hora*. Radio Venceremos broadcast *Llegó la hora* throughout the winter, spring, and summer of 1989 as a way of preparing its supporters for the November 1989 offensive, and revolutionary organizations distributed cassette tapes to their members and supporters (interview with Paco, September 1996). Meanwhile, the FMLN was moving arms, food, and medicine into poor and working-class neighborhoods in northern and eastern San Salvador in preparation for the uprising (Montgomery, 1995; Stanley, 1996: 246-247).

After the recording of *Llegó la hora*, Cutumay was disbanded. Just as the ERP had organized the musical ensemble in 1982, it decided to terminate the group when military exigencies came to outweigh its cultural needs—a decision in which not all of the musicians concurred: "The party [ERP] made the decision to form the group and made the decision to disband the group. The formation [of Cutumay] was a correct decision. But the resolution to end the group was a mistake" (interview with Paco, September 1996). "The group dissolved in 1989. At this moment all of us were preparing for the November offensive. I was sent to work with Radio Venceremos. Eduardo was sent to United States, and the other members went to the war front. . . . Then they [ERP leadership] decided that Cutumay should end as a musical group" (interview with Teresa, September 1996). The individual members played different roles in the November 1989 insurrection, from working with the clandestine radio station to combat. One member of Cutumay (Israel) was killed, while two others sustained grave injuries during the offensive.

Although sporadic fighting between the FMLN and the Salvadoran armed forces continued through 1991, the November 1989 uprising is credited with reactivating the peace negotiations that led to the signing of the final accords in Mexico in January 1992, formally ending the civil war (Montgomery, 1995). A new wave of protest musical ensembles formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s specifically to address the transition to peace. Many of these musical groups were repatriated refugees such as Ciudad Segundo Montes, Grupo Sumpul, and Los Norteñitos. These groups not only kept alive collective memories of repression during the 1980s but also projected a vision of what a peacetime El Salvador should look like in terms of economic development and democratization of the country's security forces (Montoya, 1993).

This interpretive analysis of songs of Cutumay's four recordings demonstrates the relevance of the three theoretical dimensions outlined above: framing, tactics, and political context. Of special interest is the way in which the emphasis of the recordings varies with changes in the political context (see Table 1).

The interpretive content analysis places the music of Cutumay Camones in its historical context. It shows the group actively engaging in framing work (diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational) and dissemination of tactics in these changing political junctures. A quantitative analysis of the lyrics provides a more precise understanding of the changes in framing and tactics over time.

QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Table 2 provides the results of a content analysis based on the three types of framing and tactics. The unit of analysis was a word or phrase that reflected one of the three types of framing or tactics described above. The songs contained 1,040 references to a type of framing or tactic (including repeated ones). Each reference could be coded in only one category. Examples of diagnostic framing include allusions to exploitation, injustice, repression, assassination, and specific causes such as "Yankee" or "My boss fired me" on the hacienda. Prognostic framing was coded when a phrase referred to general strategies such as armed struggle, guerrilla war, insurrection, and revolution or to martyrs known for armed struggle in the past. Motivational frames were coded in the case of a moral appeal (e.g., "valiant people of El Salvador") or direct plea for integration (e.g., "our martyrs are calling you to the struggle"). We reserved coding of tactics for specific references to tactics used in the past or contemplated by the Salvadoran insurgents, such as constructing barricades or ambushing a military cargo truck.

TABLE 1
Shifting Political Context and Cutumay Camones Themes

Period	*1981-1982*	*1983-1984*	*1985-1987*	*1988-1989*
Political context	Massive military repression of the civilian population, FMLN launches insurgency, immense increase in FMLN guerrilla armies, FMLN/FDR call for negotiated peace	FMLN controls one-third of countryside, with units operating throughout the nation, peace talks break down	63,000 deaths caused by war, modern counterinsurgency implemented by Salvadoran Army with U.S. funding, peace talks in Central America (Esquipulas II)	Preparation for November 1989 insurgency to force government back into negotiations
Cutumay Camones themes	*Vamos ganando la paz* (1982), justification for armed resistance, pursuit of peace through popular war	*Por eso luchamos* (1984), martyrs, territorial gains, strength of popular militias	*Patria chiquita mia* (1987), peace and dialogue, legal opposition	*Llegó la hora* (1988-1989), mobilization into the popular militias and guerrilla army, tactics of insurgency

TABLE 2
Framing and Tactics in Cutumay Camones Recordings

	1982	*1984*	*1987*	*1988*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Diagnostic	88 (28.2%)	34 (16.0%)	25 (24.0%)	65 (16.0%)	212	20.4
Prognostic	80 (26.0%)	59 (27.3%)	19 (18.0%)	54 (13.3%)	212	20.4
Motivational	134 (43%)	114 (53%)	55 (52.0%)	154 (38%)	457	44.0
Tactics	10 (3.2%)	9 (4.2%)	7 (6.6%)	133 (33%)	159	15.3
Total	312 (100%)	216 (100%)	106 (100%)	406 (100%)	1,040	100

The mean number of references to tactics or framing per song was 26.6. The chi-square value ($\chi^2 = 177.9, p < .001, df = 9$) demonstrates that the framing and tactical emphases vary according to political context (see Table 2). Popular protest music is clearly multidimensional in relation to mobilization, oscillating between defining social injustices and their causes and providing precise tactical advice. All three types of framing appear salient. However, the group places more overall emphasis on motivational (44 percent) than on prognostic (20.4 percent) and diagnostic (20.4 percent) framing.

Diagnostic framing is especially important in the first and third recordings, detailing the conditions that have forced the opposition to take up arms. *Vamos ganando la paz* and *Por eso luchamos* contain the highest percentage of references to prognostic frames of armed struggle. Before the civil war's eruption in early 1981, the popular movement had sustained largely nonviolent protest for more than a decade. The diagnostic frame had not drastically altered in this period; political repression and economic deprivation had only increased. With the 1980s, however, the general strategy of the movement (e.g., prognostic framing) had shifted markedly from that of a popular mass movement to clandestine guerrilla warfare. Between late 1981 and mid-1984, the FMLN took the military offensive, securing a rearguard and overextending itself territorially. The military dimension of the struggle was emphasized over political work (Byrne, 1996; Lungo Uclés, 1996).

Motivational framing is the most prevalent type of reference in all four recordings. In the context of armed insurgency of the 1980s, the FMLN was pressed to invent ways to incorporate sympathizers and sustain confidence among rank-and-file militants in the most high-risk form of collective action. For example, a few times it relied on forced recruitment of combatants

(Montgomery, 1995; Byrne, 1996). The FMLN's new focus on political work after 1984 was part of its strategy to boost morale among sympathizers and combatants (Lungo Uclés, 1996). In the latter part of the decade, Cutumay may have been anticipating the need to encourage both the nascent legal opposition and supporters of the planned November 1989 offensive (Montgomery, 1995; Stanley, 1996).

The most striking finding is the reference to specific tactics. As interviews with former members of Cutumay revealed, *Llegó la hora* was intended to prepare the insurgents and potential supporters for the November 1989 offensive, and in it the group stresses tactical instructions and motivational appeals more than the other framing tasks.

CONCLUSION

Popular protest music performs multiple framing tasks for mobilization and tactical dissemination. The political context in which the music was recorded and distributed determines in part which types of framing and tactics will be emphasized. Cutumay's first work, *Vamos ganando la paz*, recorded in 1982, reflects the ideological exigencies of justifying armed insurgency as the only strategy remaining to achieve national liberation and political democratization. In the group's second recording, *Por eso luchamos*, the dominant themes include homage to martyrs involved in armed rebellion in the past and conveying recent territorial gains, mirroring the changing nature of the Salvadoran struggle in 1983 and 1984. The dominant theme in the third album, *Patria chiquita mia*, is peace; in 1987, the Organization of American States was mediating negotiations with warring political factions in Central America, and the Arias Peace Plan—Esquipulas II—allowed Salvadoran political refugees to return home. In this context, the group expressed the need for a lasting peace in El Salvador based on substantive political and economic reforms. Most of the songs in the final recording, *Llegó la hora*, contain militaristic themes regarding joining the FMLN and preparing for the November 1989 uprising. This complements and extends earlier insights that viewed Latin American protest music as an "ideological weapon" of the popular classes (Kirk, 1984). *Llegó la hora*'s emphasis on practical political activity provides evidence that popular protest music not only serves as a form of popular diversion but also performs a pedagogical function in communicating the movement's repertoire of contention via concrete tactical advice.

From what we know about other Salvadoran protest music it seems that the compositions of Cutumay Camones are consistent with those of other

musical ensembles aligned with the liberation movement (e.g., Los Torogoces, Grupo Indio, Los Salvacuacos, Banda Tepeuani, Mozote, Groupo Insurrecto, and Yolocamba I Ta, to name a few). These artists all drew on a political culture of opposition and resistance through the employment of Central American instruments and popular rhythms in a deliberate attempt to mobilize the popular classes against military repression and foreign political intervention. This use of indigenous cultural resources points to an important source of insight into revolutionary processes. It helps explain in part how popular classes, excluded from formal political participation and victimized by massive state-sponsored violence, can sometimes sustain a movement of national resistance. Between 1975 and 1992, sympathizers and participants in El Salvador's national liberation movement sang, danced, and listened to protest songs in a wide variety of contexts, including street marches, building and land occupations, prison cells, union meetings, funeral processions, university rallies, refugee camps, religious ceremonies, and liberated zones. The songs of Cutumay Camones and other groups contributed to the reinforcement of shared grievances, the development of strategies for their resolution, the motivation of people to participate or continue participating in the movement, and even tactical education.

NOTES

1. The first, second, and fourth recordings were all recorded at the end of the calendar year and therefore distributed in the following year.

2. A mass movement for political democratization and national liberation emerged in the 1970s in El Salvador against a military government that had been in power (with a few brief civilian interludes) since 1931. After repeated electoral fraud in 1972, 1974, and 1977, a largely nonviolent, extraparliamentary movement unleashed a wave of disruptive protests in the late 1970s. The ruling military junta violently decimated the popular movement in 1980 and 1981, but closely linked politico-military organizations transformed the movement into a guerrilla war in early 1981 under the auspices of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional—FMLN) and its political wing the Democratic Revolutionary Front (Frente Democrático Revolucionario—FDR). For a detailed account, see Armstrong and Shenk (1982) and Cabarrús (1983).

3. The history of the emergence of the Salvadoran protest song is beyond the scope of the present study. Beginning in the early 1970s, the protest music of Latin America (la nueva canción) began to penetrate Salvadoran political culture. Protest music from Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and Cuba was popular among students in El Salvador. By the mid-1970s several indigenous protest musical groups and cultural organizations had formed, and in the late 1970s cultural organizations such as the Popular Cultural Movement (Movimiento Cultural Popular—MCP) and Associated Popular Musicians and Singers (Músicos y Cantores Populares Asociados—MUCAPAS) were directly aligned with the popular movement (Trabanino, 1993). Both Yolocamba I Ta and Banda Tepeauni have roots in the popular cultural movement of the 1970s. Musical groups such as Los Torogoces, El Indio, and Cutumay Camones are part of a second wave of

protest bands that formed in the 1980s, contributing to the maintenance of the oppositional culture that emerged in the previous decade.

4. Indeed, the cassette case cover of this recording displays a marching guerrilla battalion.

5. An internal framing dispute erupted during the production of this song between musicians and the revolutionary leadership. Cutumay initially wrote the song as "Vamos ganando la paz" (We Are Winning the Peace), but the revolutionary organization felt that "Vamos ganando la guerra" (We Are Winning the War) would resonate more with sympathizers. The dispute went to a full debate within the party, and Cutumay's position prevailed in the end (interview with Paco, September 1996).

6. Again, the album cover offers insight into the meaning of the recording. Consistent with territorial gains in 1983 and early 1984, it displays a colorful painting of everyday life in a liberated village.

7. The FMLN's ability to consolidate a rearguard in the early 1980s, along with securing internal and external networks for arms and supplies, explains the prolongation of the armed insurgency in material terms. From this organizational base the national liberation movement launched its political and cultural campaigns to enhance morale via clandestine radios, political organizers, and oppositional cultural producers such as protest musicians.

8. The artwork on *Patria chiquita mia* portrays a rural village inside a stalk of corn. FMLN and FDR flowers grow on the ends of the corn while two doves carry the FMLN and FDR banners to the sun. The art style is taken from the paintings of Llort and the people of La Palma, Chalatenango.

9. The cassette cover of *Llegó la hora* has an FMLN banner depicting a combatant aiming an automatic rifle. The banner states, "The time has come, arm yourself and fight; join the army of victory."

10. *Guitarra armada* is a recording distributed by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture in the 1980s. The album contains songs composed by Carlos and Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy that were used by Sandinista militants to train movement supporters in the 1970s.

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