

The Power of United Voices: Songs of Protest in Andalusia

Pilar Ordóñez-López
Universitat Jaume I

Abstract

The concepts of memory and identity are closely related, as social and cultural identities are built upon history –which consists of individual and collective memory. In this sense, memory plays a significant role in the construction of the future. The Spanish Transition was based on an agreed silence, considered necessary to build up the new democratic system. This silence has been prolonged for decades until the recent appearance of the ‘Ley para la recuperación de la Memoria Histórica,’ which responded to an emerging interest within the Spanish population to recuperate their historical memory. In this work, I intend to contribute to the recovery of Andalusia’s past during the Dictatorship and early Transition periods through the analysis of some of the most representative songs which, at the time, constituted strong vehicles of dissent and pacifist rebellion against oppression. These songs reveal a wide range of aspects that shaped the lives of Andalusian people during this arduous chapter of Spain’s history.

1. Introduction

During previous decades, there has been a trend in Spain to forget the country’s recent past, probably a continuation of the tacit silence imposed -or even self-imposed in some cases- during the political transition. This trend is reflected in Aguilar-Fernández’s words, “A lo largo de la transición española tuvo lugar un tácito pacto entre las élites más visibles para silenciar las voces amargas del pasado que tanta inquietud suscitaban entre la población” (21). There are several factors which explain this tacit silence. Aguilar-Fernández refers to the Spaniards’ fear of the incipient reactivation of old conflicts from the Civil War, given that ‘la sociedad española no había sido formal y explícitamente “reconciliada”’ (21-22). This fear was also nourished by the introduction of democratic institutions that bore a certain resemblance to those of the previous Republican period:

La memoria del derrumbamiento del régimen republicano quedó [...] asociada a la experiencia de la Guerra Civil, por lo que en la transición, al resucitarse instituciones que habían estado vigentes en el período republicano (como los partidos, los sindicatos, el Parlamento, la Constitución), era lógico que los españoles evocaran tanto esta experiencia fallida como su funesto final. (Aguilar-Fernández 360)

In the analysis of this ‘agreed silence’ or ‘erasure of memory,’ Ferrán goes one step further:

Or course, this lack of memory of the past was particularly helpful to all the right-wing politicians who conveniently changed hats during the transition, [...] was also helpful to many members of the opposition

parties, such as the Partido Comunista Español, who, in exchange for being incorporated forgot many of the excesses of power committed by the party in its work against the regime. The great losers in this process were [...] the majority of Spanish people, who had had their past completely erased or rewritten for them by Franco and now saw it swept under the carpet of the ‘reconciliación nacional’ upon which the transition was supposedly being built. (Ferrán 195-196)

The influence of the recurrent and widespread attitude of ‘no abrir viejas heridas’, in order to achieve the so-called ‘reconciliación nacional’, could have led to a scenario of unjustified oblivion. Fortunately, in recent years, various initiatives have emerged both from institutions and citizens (1) and the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero drafted legislation, passed by Parliament on 7th July 2006 as Ley para la recuperación de la memoria histórica, (Law for the Recovery of the Historical Memory), in order to avoid such oblivion and reveal the truth. In Paul Preston’s words, “recuperar la memoria histórica no es recordar sino conocer la verdad, una verdad esencial para recuperar la memoria histórica, incómoda a corto plazo, pero necesaria a largo plazo” (1995).

Andalusian songs of protest recreate one of the most difficult periods of our recent history as they contain the stories of the lives of Andalusians who had to go through a post-war dictatorship. Furthermore, these songs played a political role and constituted a crucial part of an active protest culture in Andalusia. Considered as hymns, these songs were listened to clandestinely and courageously during the Franco regime and sung unanimously in every political event during the transition. In this sense, songs included in this article played a comparable role in Andalusia to that of the renowned *Nova Cançó* in Catalonia.

2. Songs of protest: peaceful resistance to oppression

During the final decade of the dictatorship and the subsequent transition to democracy, songs were used as instruments of protest and this made them become real symbols of the ardent fight for freedom. In this sense, Colmeiro claims, songs “constitute not only mass-media products but also cultural events in their own right and potentially at least, collective acts of identity formation and construction of historical memory” (Colmeiro, 2007: 32). In consequence, apart from their original objective of protesting and fighting for freedom, these songs of protest are also particularly relevant to the creation and strengthening of identities.

González-Lucini provides several definitions of songs of protest, one of which is as follows:

La canción social aparece en primer término como una expresión poética y musical que se encarna y se compromete radicalmente con la realidad cotidiana que el pueblo vive y experimenta [...] Por otra parte, [...] se autodefine a su vez como una realidad combativa, es decir, como un medio redención y presión capaz de ir operando [...] una toma de conciencia popular y un cambio positivo y esperanzador de las estructuras injustas u opresoras. (1984: 177)

Such songs gather a wide variety of emotions, ranging from the desolation provoked by the enormous tragedy of the Civil War, to the most firm determination to confront the hostility of external circumstances. Similarly, songs of protest reflect the social and economic situation of the corresponding period. According to González-Lucini, the period of the Franco dictatorship was characterised by the following features:

- Una forzada, absoluta y triunfalista uniformidad en lo político, en lo cultural y en lo religioso [...] Fue una etapa en la que la realidad original resultaba mediatizada y en gran medida castrada, y en la que se manifiesta una gran pobreza cultural [...]
- [...] un considerable vacío político a todos los niveles. [...] Cualquier intento de crítica y reivindicación, por mínimo que fuese, era perseguido y reprimido [...] El miedo por entonces era una de las más sutiles armas del sistema.
- [...] una situación de total aislamiento cultural con respecto a ideologías, corrientes o influencias exteriores que pudieran llegarnos poniendo en peligro los valores establecidos.
- [...] el establecimiento oficial de un orden duro e inamovible dirigido a mantener la uniformidad ideológica del sistema.
- [...] la castración o carencia de una seria reflexión humanística o toma de conciencia a niveles populares.
- Finalmente, y como contrapunto, [...] un sector de la juventud que se revela contra la injusticia y la opresión, que quiere expresar y reivindicar sus derechos y que decididamente va a luchar por la recuperación de su propia identidad y, en general, por un tipo de existencia más libre, más humana, más significativa. (González-Lucini, 1984: 169-171)

Songs of protest emerged within the above-described context. The phenomenon of the songs of protest has been labeled in various ways ‘canción protesta,’ ‘canción política,’ ‘canción testimonio,’ ‘nueva canción’ or even ‘canción popular’ or ‘el otro cantar’ (González-Lucini, 1984: 173). All of these terms contain, of course, some of the defining features of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, as stated by González-Lucini, these labels are all insufficient and incomplete. In this work, the term ‘canción protesta’ (songs of protest) has been selected as it conveys the element of protest which made music a potent vehicle against the oppression imposed by the dictatorship. The phenomenon of the songs of protest consists in expressing, in a creative and imperative manner, dissent and opposition towards the oppression and restrictions imposed on people’s freedom and rights. Regardless of the definition used, these songs, which arose in practically every region of Spain, are characterised by a strong social commitment, and have, according to González-Lucini, one or more of the following motivations:

- Desarrollar en el presente la propia identidad, perdida bajo el impacto del centralismo despersonalizante y colonizador [...]
- Denunciar las situaciones de injusticia y [...] todos aquellos problemas sociales que se detectan en el entorno: opresión, marginación, capitalismo, exilio, emigración, despersonalización, colonialismo, violencia, miedo, represión, etc. Denuncia que siempre se ve acompañada de una muy clara y directa reivindicación de los derechos humanos y de las libertades básicas.

- Hacer tomar conciencia al pueblo de la realidad en que vive, invitándole a interrogarse sobre ella y a revitalizar su humanismo [...]
- Despertar apasionadamente a la esperanza y a la ilusión en algo mejor y más hermoso que es posible y que es preciso construir.
- Finalmente, [...] acercar al pueblo la literatura, aproximarle al lenguaje de nuestros poetas, a la sensibilidad y al sentimiento. (González-Lucini, 1984: 176)

Furthermore, songs of protest contain defining characteristics of the different Spanish regions, thus contributing to the definition and strength of different cultural identities within Spain, which have been constrained and repressed. In this sense, these songs went beyond allowed folklore and regional songs and dances: they acknowledged and, in a certain way, promoted the idiosyncracies of the different regions through the use of distinctive elements such as language (i.e. Catalan in the *Nova Cançó* in Catalonia) and lyrics that focused on the particular situation and issues of each region (i.e. protest against the *latifundio* system in Andalusia).

3. Context for the rise of a protest culture: Andalusia in the post-civil war period

In order to carry out an analysis of the Andalusian context during the post-civil war period, Santos-López points out the need to take into consideration “el hecho de la dependencia cultural o mejor, el hecho de la cultura en la dependencia, como algo característico de la cultura andaluza así como el conjunto de las culturas de las zonas económicamente dependientes o subdesarrolladas” (56). According to him, dependent societies –such as Andalusia during the post-civil war period— are defined by three essential aspects:

[...] una cultura en la dependencia se caracteriza sobre todo por ser una cultura invadida, es decir, una cultura sometida constantemente a la influencia impositiva de sistemas culturales más poderosos [...]. Y una cultura invadida resulta ser inevitablemente una cultura manipulada, extrodeterminada, condicionada desde el exterior. Finalmente, una cultura en la dependencia se configura como una cultura marcada por el hecho mismo de la dependencia. (Santos-López 56)

Andalusia’s economy during the post-civil war and early transition was predominantly agricultural. According to the information provided by the Andalusian Statistics Institute (2), between 60 to 70% (depending on the province) of Andalusians worked on agriculture. This, together with the large landed estates and the backward economy of the region, made Andalusia, according to Santos-López, a dependent society which, from a sociological perspective, implies the rise of certain social attitudes which, according to Santos-López, generates cultural complexes, strongly rooted in the Andalusian society at the time:

Los diversos y heterogéneos fenómenos inherentes a las actitudes subculturales permean todo el tejido de las culturas dependientes, introduciendo en el correspondiente universo simbólico nuevos modelos, normas y valores. Más aún, las actitudes subculturales –la picaresca, el derrotismo, el misticismo o la subversión -- pueden generar complejos

culturales propios que aparecen yuxtapuestos a los elementos de las culturas tradicionales. (59)

Despite the circumstances of dependency and underdevelopment in Andalusia, this region did not suffer the imposition of strict restrictions on the regional culture, as was the case in other areas of the country. On the contrary, in the post-civil war period, there was “una expropiación de ella [la cultura andaluza] al pueblo andaluz por la vía de la identidad sobrante, para trivializarla en cuanto cultura oficial del Estado” (Santos-López 62). Notwithstanding, this strategy had similarly some devastating consequences: Andalusian ‘identity’ was trivialised in order to stimulate uniformity and fight against the undeniable pluralism of Spanish culture. Moreover, through such trivialisation, as Moreno-Navarro acknowledges (141-2), the concept of Andalusian culture became meaningless; this has constituted one of the major obstacles in the consolidation of Andalusian identity.

In the analysis of the post-civil war and early transition Andalusian context, it is impossible to ignore the phenomenon of emigration. At the time, there were two main factors explaining emigration: first, ideology (political emigration or exile) and second, financial and material needs (economic emigration). However, in many cases, these two factors overlapped.

La trayectoria sociopolítica del pueblo andaluz permite que sobre el problema de la emigración pueda aventurarse una hipótesis consistente: La salida masiva de los andaluces no respondió sólo a criterios o planteamientos de índole económica; respondió asimismo a la actitud de desesperanza de un pueblo cansado de reivindicar sus derechos, decepcionado por las faltas promesas de Reforma Agraria (3) y consciente de su derrota como clase en la guerra civil. (Santos López 82)

Andalusia has traditionally been a rural region, based on a *latifundio* system (vast plots of land in the hands of a few privileged owners). The Andalusian economy, based on a very basic and undeveloped agriculture, was situated considerably below the national rate of development, and consequently, emigration represented a way of life for a significant number of Andalusian families from the first half of the 20th century. From the 1950s, there was a substantial increase in emigration. There were two main destinations: on the one hand, there was external migration, to other European countries, particularly to France, Germany and Switzerland; and, on the other hand, there was a rural exodus, or internal migration, towards more industrialised and developed regions within Spain such as Catalonia and the Basque Country. Cuenca-Toribio analyses emigration from an economic perspective as follows:

La economía andaluza ofrecía rasgos comunes con las de otras regiones españolas después de la guerra [...] El principal problema que presentaba era la falta de capital que movilizara sus recursos naturales y humanos. Aún cuando los períodos de postguerra favorecen siempre el desarrollo [...] para ello se hacía indispensable que el Estado hubiera realizado las necesarias transferencias de capital [...] [Sin embargo] Andalucía quedó relegada a un papel satélite, de aprovisionadora de hombres y materias primas para el despegue de otras regiones. (974)

The mass emigration of Andalusians, as well as unlimited personal dramas, at first contributed to the spread of a defeatist culture amongst both the remaining and the emigrant population. However, from the 1970s, emigration also contributed to the creation of an awareness of how neglected Andalusia was becoming as a result of emigration:

Un interés [el del pueblo por su realidad social y cultural] que tenía su expresión en el modesto póster, en blanco y negro, existente en tantas casas de estudiantes y jóvenes profesionales andaluces en la última década del franquismo, en el que junto al rostro de un campesino con sombrero de paja, podía leerse: “Si el andaluz acomodado piensa en Madrid, y el andaluz pobre piensa en Barcelona, ¿quién piensa entonces en Andalucía?” (Moreno Navarro 143)

Despite the significant role placed by the protest songs in Andalusia during the periods of the post-Civil war and early transition, especially with regard to the creation of an Andalusian identity, this is a topic, which to date, has not been studied in-depth or in any systematic manner.

4. Songs of protest: The South also exists

Songs of protest are a dynamic and faithful reflection of the diverse idiosyncrasies of the different regions of Spain. In the Andalusian songs of protest four essential features or characteristics, that influenced both the content and the ways of expression as far as the use of language is concerned, can be identified: a strong connection between songs and poetry; a profound attachment to Andalusia as a region; a general awareness of the upheavals caused by emigration, which nourished Andalusians' fondness of their region; and an active fight for the improvement of working conditions. Furthermore, as was the case in other areas, these songs were instruments of a peaceful fight for freedom.

4.1. Singing poetry

Andalusian songs of protest are characterised by an enduring connection to poetry that, as González-Lucini points out (176), contributed to bringing literature to the population at large. Historically, Andalusia has been a land of poets, especially if we consider the Generation of 1927: Lorca, Alberti, Aleixandre, amongst others. These poets converted their verses into peaceful weapons against the dictatorship and sound testimonies of their dissenting view of the Andalusian social and political situation. In this period, Andalusian poetry consisted of intense and heart-rendering verses that reflect the suffering of the oppressed people, and an uncompromising will to defend freedom. Some of these poems were incorporated into songs by Andalusian singers and bands that made them popular and consequently accessible to a much broader audience. Good examples of this are the musical version of Lorca's poem 'Baladilla de los tres ríos' (1921) by the Andalusian band Aguaviva, entitled 'Ay, amor'; the song 'Poetas andaluces' also by Aguaviva, which contains Alberti's poem 'Poetas andaluces' (1953); a few years later Carlos Cano's musical interpretation of Alberti's 'Rota oriental' (1977), etc. The musical version of Lorca's poem 'La canción del Jinete' by Paco Ibáñez, is a notable example of close and harmonious connection between music and poetry which became in Paco Ibáñez's voice one of the most intense and emblematic

anthems of protest. Lorca, one of the most outstanding names of the Generation of 27, represents a majestic balance between avant-garde trends and traditional roots, between cultivated techniques and popular blood. Anxiety and tragic destiny are the main themes in his works and, at the same time, in the ‘Canción del jinete’ some relevant features of the Andalusian society can be discerned.

‘Canción del jinete’ (Paco Ibáñez, 1969)

En la luna negra
de los bandoleros
cantan las espuelas.
Caballito negro
¿Dónde llevas tu jinete muerto?
...Las duras espuelas
del bandido inmóvil
que perdió las riendas.
Caballito frío
¡Qué perfume de flor de cuchillo!
En la luna negra
sangraba el costado
de Sierra Morena.
Caballito negro
¿Dónde llevas tu jinete muerto?

La noche espolea
sus negros ijares
clavándose estrellas.
Caballito frío
¡Qué perfume de flor de cuchillo!
En la luna negra
¡un grito! Y el cuerno
largo de la hoguera.
Caballito frío
¡Qué perfume de flor de cuchillo!

‘Song of the Rider’ (Paco Ibáñez, 1969)

In the black moon
of the bandits
the spurs sing.
Little black horse
Where are you taking your dead
rider?
...The hard spurs
of the motionless bandit
who lost the reins.
Cold little horse
What a knife-blossom scent!
In the black moon
Sierra Morena’s side
was bleeding.
Little black horse
Where are you taking your dead
rider?
The night spurs
its black flanks
pricking itself with stars.
Cold little horse
What a knife-blossom scent!
In the black moon
a scream! And the long horn
of the bonfire.
Cold little horse
What a knife-blossom scent!

The presence of the moon, the dark and silent witness of brutal and grotesque events, is the only light in this cadaverous picture: a dead bandit is transported by his horse whilst nature seems shaken by his death, so giving it tragic overtones. The black moon, associated with mourning and death seems to be the fatal sign of bandits, the dark destiny of men on the wrong side of the law seeking to remain undiscovered under cloudy skies. Paco Ibáñez’s well known leftist ideology and his vehement voice recreates, dramatically, this tenebrous and deadly picture surrounded by a horizon of clamorous nature.

4.2. A rooted people

The second characteristic of Andalusian songs of protest is a deep feeling of attachment to Andalusia. Roots and native land played a profound role in the lives of

Andalusians. During the civil war and post-war periods, Andalusia became a hostile and inhospitable oppressed land for a considerable number of Andalusians, especially for those dependant on earning a living from working the land themselves, that is to say, agricultural workers. At the time, the adverse living conditions cast a persistent shadow over the Andalusians' fondness for their roots, however, despite the hardships, there was still some room for hope. This emotion is abundantly reflected in the protest of Andalusian musicians. The song 'Verde, blanca y verde' by Carlos Cano is a splendid illustration of his profound fondness for his native land. Carlos Cano describes bluntly a bittersweet mixture of misery and splendour. His land, Andalusia, a land of good working men, 'de espigas,' 'de amapolas,' 'tierra de flores y esperanza,' has nevertheless suffered 'las penas' and 'las hambres.' Despite these circumstances, it is a loved land, and it is worth while fighting for a 'tierra sin amos,' a [free] land without landowners and oppression. This attitude encouraged the emergence of an Andalusian nationalism connected and nourished to a certain extent by Blas Infante's nationalist ideas (4). Nevertheless, unlike Infante's doctrine, which remained within the intellectual class, during the transition, Andalusian nationalism spread widely amongst the population, the workers.

In this song, Carlos Cano exhorts the population to create an identity and fight for Andalusia in order to surmount the uniformity imposed by the dictatorship.

'Verde, blanca y verde' (Carlos Cano, 1975)

De Ronda vengo
 Lo mío buscando
 La flor del pueblo
 La flor de mayo
 Verde, blanca y verde
 Ay, qué bonita
 Verla en el aire
 Quitando penas
 Quitando hambres
 Verde, blanca y verde
 (Estribillo)
 Amo mi tierra
 Lucho por ella
 Mi esperanza
 Es su bandera
 Verde, blanca y verde
 Verde, blanca y verde
 Qué alegres cantan
 Las golondrinas
 Tierra sin amos
 Tierra de espigas
 Verde, blanca y verde
 Cómo relucen
 Las amapolas
 De Andalucía
 trabajadora
 Verde, blanca y verde

'Green, white and green' (Carlos Cano, 1975)

I come from Ronda
 Looking for what is mine
 Peoples' flower
 May flower
 Green, white and green
 Verde, blanca y verde.
 What a beauty
 when I see it in the air
 alleviating pain
 alleviating hunger
 Green, white and green
 (Chorus)
 I love my native land
 I fight for it
 My hope lies on
 its flag
 Green, white and green
 Green, white and green
 The cheerful singing
 of swallows
 Land without masters
 Land of ears
 Green, white and green
 The shinning
 poppies
 of working
 Andalusia
 Green, white and green

Other songs about Andalusians' attachment and self-identity are 'Un pueblo' (1975) by Aguaviva, 'Retratos de Andalucía' (1974) by Jarcha, and flamenco songs such as 'Otra Andalucía' (1977) by Gente del Pueblo, and 'Andalucía es la madre' (1978) by Manuel Gerena.

4.3. *Andalusian emigration*

Emigration had a great impact on the songs of protest. Images of black and white trains, stations that were still marked by the sordid grey of the post-war period, lonely men carrying huge suitcases heading north, to Barcelona, Bilbao, France and Germany are still vivid today in the memories of those who experienced the upheaval of emigration.

As previously mentioned, Andalusia experienced an intense migration during the course of the 20th century. According to figures from the Andalusian Institute of Statistics, until 1981, up to 2 million Andalusians were living outside this region; 1.6 million lived in other Spanish regions, and the rest were living abroad. Such figures indicate that approximately one fourth of Andalusian people lived outside of Andalusia.

The Andalusian singer Carlos Cano, who witnessed emigration first-hand, and was fully aware of the misery involved, used his poignant voice to sing the drama of helpless Andalusian workers. His song 'El Salustiano' (1975) contains a sharp and ironic critique of the political and economic situation of Andalusia, comprising of traditional Andalusian rhythms.

'El Salustiano' (Carlos Cano, 1975)

Hasta un pueblo d'Alemania
 ha llegao el Salustiano,
 con más de cuarenta años
 y de profesión el campo.
 Pa buscarse l'habichuela y
 ahorrar algunos marcos
 pa que pueda la parienta
 comprar algunos marranos.
 (Estribillo)
 Yo no creo que el sombrero
 les toque en la tómbola
 a esos gachós trajeaos que viven de ná.
 Que lo roban, lo roban
 con cuatro palabritas finas
 lo roban.
 En principio se hace dura
 sobre to la soleá
 esa gente chamullando
 no se le entiende ni atá.
 Menos mal que algunas veces
 la embajada cultural
 les manda al Julio Iglesias
 y a un tal Manolo Escobar.
 Y así s'acaba la historia

'El Salustiano' (Carlos Cano, 1975)

Salustiano has arrived
 to a German village
 he is over forty
 and works in agriculture.
 He is there to making a living
 and save up some marks
 so that his other half
 can buy some pigs.
 (Chorus)
 I don't think they won their hats
 in a raffle
 those dressed up guys who don't work.
 They steal it, they steal it
 with a few good words
 they steal it.
 It is hard in the beginning
 especially the loneliness
 and those people gabbling
 he can't understand a thing.
 Thanks God that, sometimes,
 the cultural embassy
 sends them Julio Iglesias
 and a certain Manolo Escobar.
 And this is how the story

del güeno del Salustiano
de tanto apencar los huesos
otro gallo l'ha cantao.
Gallo dice que l'obrero
de cahondeo está jarto
si no hubiera ido a Alemania
no hubiera aprendío tanto.

of good Salustiano ends
he has exhausted himself working
and things are now quite different.
He is now aware that workers
are fed up with being messed about
had he not gone to Germany
he would not had learned so much.

Carlos Cano is probably the singer who presents most accurately the tragedy and complexity of emigration, by incorporating social, political, economic and generational factors into his songs. In other songs, such as 'Pasodoble p'Almería' (1977), Carlos Cano describes the phenomenon of internal emigration, reflecting the situation of Andalusians who emigrated to Catalonia or to any other more developed and industrialised area.

4.4. *The Fight for Workers*

Another characteristic of Andalusian songs of protest is the expression of strong dissent with regard to working conditions at the time. Those who did not emigrate suffered unjust working conditions, especially those working in agriculture, that is to say, the vast majority of the Andalusian population. Andalusian farmers had to endure extremely difficult circumstances, at the total mercy of the powerful *latifundistas*. Southern Spain, and especially Andalusia, has traditionally been handicapped by an unfair and uneven distribution of land. Historically an agricultural region, for centuries Andalusia has endured several delaying factors due to both technical deficiencies, i.e. the lack of irrigation systems- which are essential given Andalusia's dry climate-, as well as an unfair distribution of land –the majority being in the hands of a few privileged *latifundistas* who exercised their freedom to impose oppressive conditions on their farmers.

La estructura de la propiedad de la tierra, [...] continuaba siendo el principal problema y la causa más importante del dualismo social imperante, expresado en la fuerte oposición de clases y el reducido volumen de los estratos sociales medios [...]. (Moreno-Navarro 2004)

This situation has been described in many songs where Andalusian musicians express their disaccord with rural working conditions. The famous Andalusian band Jarcha, made a hit with their song 'Los segadores' (1974), a song that undoubtedly represents one of the most outstanding icons of the peaceful fight against hostile working conditions. The lyrics of this song are replete with images that convey to us the misery of the Andalusian countryside: farmers who had to work in the fields from sunrise to sunset, working a land that did not belong to them. 'Sólo tienes hoz y penas.' At the same time, this song brings hope: 'Un caballo loco que llega del mar, a quien los señores no podrán montar, un gigante rana que quiere saltar.' There is also an overt critique of the ruling power: 'un yugo de viento los aprisionó,' 'un viejo que vive y nunca rezó,' as well as a call to Andalusian farmers; an exhortation to them not to accept this situation, not to surrender, and to join the peaceful fight for freedom.

'Los Segaores' (Jarcha, 1974)

Ay segaor, ay segaor
que trabajas tierra ajena
no tienes paz ni descanso
sólo tienes hoz y penas.
(Estribillo)
Se arrebujan los pinos
sienten temores
pasan por el camino
los segaores.
La hoz en la cintura
ensangrentada
de cabezas de espigas
recién cortadas.
Unos pensamientos nacen bajo el sol
un yugo de viento los aprisionó
comen pan y aceite con resignación.
Suena una campana al anochecer
dos perros canijos buscan de comer
un lagarto verde que empieza a correr.
Un caballo loco que llega del mar
al que los señores no podrán montar
un gigante rana que quiere saltar.

Un chiquillo llora sin saber por qué
dos pastores buscan agua de beber
una niña pobre que sueña un amor.
Un montón de granos que se apretujó
llenan de tristeza a quien los cortó
una sombra negra que todo tapó.

'Los Segaores' (Jarcha, 1974)

Oh reaper, reaper
you that work someone else's land
you don't have any peace or rest
you've only got a sickle and your grief.
(Chorus)
The pines protect themselves
they feel fear:
the reapers
are walking past.
Their bloody sickle
hanging from their waists
bleeding from the ears
that have just been reaped.
Thoughts arising under the sun
get trapped by a wind yoke
resigned reapers eating their simple food.
The ring of a bell at dusk
two skinny dogs searching for something
to eat
a green lizard starts running.
A crazy horse arriving from the sea
that the masters won't be able to ride
a giant frog that wants to leap.

A little boy cries without knowing why
two shepherds searching water to drink
a poor girl who dreams of romance.
A pile of grains squeezed together
fills with sadness those who have reaped
them
a black shadow that has covered
everything.

Other representative protest songs that similarly deal with the poor working conditions in rural areas are 'Andaluces de Jaén' (1974) by Jarcha, 'Hay que repartir la tierra' (1977) by Gente del pueblo and 'Andalucía despierta' (1979) by Al'Andalus.

4.5. Hope of freedom

Dissent is the common feature of all the songs of protest which arose in Spain during this period. At a time when oppression permeated the lives of Spaniards, a group of musicians entered the public sphere in attempt to lead, to a certain extent, the irrepressible reaction of protest and rebellion which was emerging amongst a significant number of the population. During that period, songs of protest became extremely popular as people, dissatisfied with the social and political situation of their country, identified themselves with the messages such songs conveyed. Mixed feelings of hope and distrust took over in the early transition, and for the first time after the long silence of the dictatorship, these emotions could be expressed. Spaniards finally felt a sense of

freedom after decades of political, religious, labour and educational oppression. Public squares in every town, as well as conference centres, schools and universities welcomed poets and singers who were listened to by hundreds of people, moved by their messages and eager to see the reestablishment of their lost freedom.

The song 'Libertad sin ira' (1977) by Jarcha, marked the beginning of the transition. This song encourages Spaniards to look forward to the future with hope and without resentment, and expresses a determined will to embrace freedom. Moreover, with the passing of time, this song has been recognised as an anthem of peaceful rebellion to oppression.

‘Libertad sin ira’ (Jarcha, 1974)

Dicen los viejos que en este país hubo una guerra
y hay dos Españas que guardan aún
el rencor de viejas deudas.
Dicen los viejos que este país necesita
palo largo y mano dura
para evitar lo peor.
Pero yo sólo he visto gente
que sufre y calla
dolor y miedo.
Gente que sólo desea
su pan, su hembra y la fiesta en paz.
(Estribillo)
Libertad, libertad, sin ira libertad
guárdate tu miedo y tu ira
porque hay libertad, sin ira libertad
y si no la hay, sin duda la habrá.
Dicen los viejos que hacemos
lo que nos da la gana,
y no es posible que así pueda haber
Gobierno que gobierne nada.
Dicen los viejos que no se nos dé rienda
suelta
que todos aquí llevamos
la violencia a flor de piel.
Pero yo sólo he visto gente muy obediente
hasta en la cama.
Gente que tan sólo pide
vivir su vida
sin más mentiras y en paz.

‘Freedom with no anger’ (Jarcha, 1974)

The old people say that in this country
there was a war and there are two Spains
which
still bear grudges from unsettled accounts.
The old people say that in this country
we need a long stick and a firm hand
in order to avoid the worst.
But I've only seen people
suffering in silence
pain and fear
people who only want their food,
their woman and living their lives in
peace.
(Chorus)
Freedom, freedom, freedom with no anger
hold back your fear and anger
for we have freedom, freedom with no
anger
and if we don't have it yet, we will
certainly get it.
The old people say that we do as we
please
and thus is not possible for a Government
to keep the country under control.
The old people say that we cannot
be given free rein, for here
we all are very prone to violence.
But I've only seen very obedient people
even in bed.
People who only demand to live their in
peace and with no more lies.

In the same way, songs such as 'Creemos el hombre nuevo' (1970) by Aguaviva, 'Habla pueblo habla' (1976) by Jarcha and 'Canto a la unidad de verdad' by the flamenco singer Manuel Gerena, have expressed similar sentiments.

5. Conclusion

Songs of protest can be regarded as icons of the Andalusians' peaceful fight for freedom. These songs are a faithfully reflection of the hardships, discontent and determination felt by Andalusians during the post-civil war and transition periods. This article shows that songs of protest contain the defining features – oppression, injustice, poverty, emigration, etc. – that shaped the lives of Andalusians at that time. The songs included in this work, amongst others, were passionately sung during the transition, both in political meetings and multitudinous concerts such as the *Recital sobre Andalucía* (1976) and the *I Festival de la emigración andaluza* (1977). In such concerts, Andalusians showed their will to achieve the construction of a freer, more just democratic and society. In this sense, the role played by Andalusian songs of protest was similar to that played by the renowned Nova Cançó in Catalunya.

In this vein, Andalusian songs of protest also contributed significantly to the creation of an Andalusian identity. This was made evident by the way that the region was granted pre-autonomous status during Suarez's period in office, and under the new regional entity, the Junta de Andalucía, the President Rafael Escudero campaigned ceaselessly to the point of going on hunger strike for the region to be allowed to join the 'historic' communities that were going to be fast-tracked towards receiving their Autonomy Statute. In 1981 Andalusia was granted an advanced autonomy ('comunidad histórica') by the Estatuto de Autonomía. All this process was, to a certain extent impelled by the protest songs, which contributed significantly to the mobilisation of Andalusians who held massive demonstrations, such as the one held simultaneously in various Andalusian capital cities on the 4th December 1977, to ask for the acknowledgment of their identity. The Andalusian protest songs played a notable role in the creation of this identity and in the 'renaissance' of the political 'Andalucismo.'

The scope of Andalusian songs of protest was not limited to this region: Andalusian musicians took part in the protest and rebellion originated in other areas of the country, participating in collective concerts such as the *Recital de los Pueblos Ibéricos* (1976) held in Madrid.

The significance of these songs in the recovery of the historical memory of Spain is manifest. Even though the phenomenon of protest songs reached its peak during the transition period, the main purpose of these songs, as shown in this work, was to denounce injustice and rebel, in a pacifist way, against the oppression Andalusians experienced during the post-civil war period. In this sense, the recovery of these songs contributes to the recovery of a fragment of Andalusia's history, contained in Andalusians' emotions and will to fight against oppression and succeed in their journey to freedom.

Notes

(1) Some examples of these initiatives are the *Organización para la memoria histórica* and several institutional programmes set by the Junta de Andalucía:

<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/justiciayadministracionpublica>

<http://www.memoriahistorica.org>.

(2) *Estadísticas del siglo XX en Andalucía*, Instituto Estadístico de Andalucía, 2002.

(3) Demands for a modification of the agricultural system were constantly being made by Andalusian workers. The 'reforma agraria' was understood as, in the first instance, a expropriation of the latifundistas, which was regarded as a natural and just way to guarantee workers dignity and the creation of a new agriculture system in order to improve labour conditions in rural Andalusia.

(4) 'Andalucía se redimirá por la conversión del jornalero en granjero, en cultivador de su propia tierra, esto es, por la creación de una clase media campesina' (Infante, 1915: 120).

Works Cited

Aguilar Fernández, P. *Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil española*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1996.

Asociación Guerra, exilio y memoria histórica de Andalucía. 'La caravana recorrió Andalucía dignificando la memoria colectiva' 2006.

<http://www.andaluciaymemoria.org> [3rd April 2008]

Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica, 2004.

<http://www.memoriahistorica.org> [February 2008]

Cardús i Ros, S. "Politics and the Invention of Memory. For a Sociology of the Transition to Democracy in Spain." *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Ed. J.R. Resina. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000. 17-28

Centro de estudios andaluces, 'Un lugar donde no habite el olvido', 2007

<http://www.centrodeestudiosandaluces.es> [20th April 2008]

Consejería de Justicia y Administración Pública, 'Todos los nombres', 2005

<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/justiciayadministracionpublica> [6th March 2008]

Cuenca Toribio, J.M. *Historia general de Andalucía*, Córdoba: Almuzara, 2005.

Colmeiro, J. "Canciones con historia: Cultural Identity, historical memory and popular songs." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*. 4:1, 2007. 31-45

Dupláa, C. "Memoria Colectiva y Lieux de Mémoire en la España de la Transición." *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Ed. J.R. Resina. Amsterdam: Ropodi, 2000. 29-42

Ferrán, O. "Memory and Forgetting, Resistance and Noise in the Spanish Transition: Semprún and Vázquez Montalbán." *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Ed. J.R. Resina. Amsterdam: Ropodi, 2000. 191-224

- González Lucini, F. *Veinte años de canción en España (1963-1983)*, Vol. 1, *De la esperanza/apéndices*. Madrid: Grupo cultural Zero, 1984
- González Lucini, F. *Veinte años de canción en España (1963-1983)*, Vol. 2, *Libertad, identidad y amor*, Madrid: Grupo cultural Zero, 1985
- Infante, B. *El ideal andaluz*, Sevilla, 1915
- Marín, K. “Más de cincuenta mil personas en el Recital de los Pueblos Ibéricos.” *El País*, 11/05/1976
- Moreno Navarro, I. “La cultura andaluza en el comienzo del tercer milenio: balance y perspectivas.” *Revista de estudios regionales*, 63 (2002): 135-155
- El País. “Banderas rojas andaluzas en los Festivales de España en Málaga.” 08/07/1976
- El País. “Festival flamenco de la emigración andaluza.” 18/05/1979
- Resina, J.R. (ed.). *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000
- Santos López, J.M. *Sociología de la transición andaluza*, Málaga: Librería Ágora, 1990
- Teba, J. “Recital sobre Andalucía, de Carlos Cano.” *El País*, 14/12/1976