

Raúl Ruiz's *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* and the problem of the people's sonic representation

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Raúl Ruiz is probably Latin America's most prolific filmmaker, with over 100 films shot during his career. Due to the breadth of his *œuvre*, and also to his own particular filmmaking style and methods, many of his works are still to be studied and analyzed. *Ahora te vamos a llamar hermano* (*Now We're Gonna Call You Brother*) is one of his most understudied documentaries.¹ It was made in 1971, on the occasion of Socialist President Salvador Allende's visit to the Araucanía region, home of the Mapuche people, in southern Chile. The purpose of this visit was to announce a new bill that the government was presenting in support of indigenous populations.

Although *Now We're Gonna Call you Brother* explicitly points out at the beginning that it will cover Allende's activities, its real focus is not the President, but the Mapuche themselves. In this chapter we offer a close interpretation of the sonic dynamics present in this documentary. We argue that Ruiz creates a sonic dialectical tension between the sounds of the Mapuche people (expressed in their voices, language and music) and Allende's speech announcing the bill. This artistic strategy supposes a recuperation of those Mapuche sounds often excluded from New Chilean Song and Cinema, two of the most important forms of cultural expression within the leftist cultural establishment in Chile, from the 1950s up to the 1970s.

The article is divided into four sections. Firstly, we present *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* within the broader context of Ruiz's filmography during this period, which corresponds to the years of the New Chilean Cinema (NCC) movement. Secondly, we introduce the musical counterpart to NCC: the Chilean New Song (CNS). We discuss how this musical movement sought to represent the people, how it became something like the 'soundtrack' of the so-called Chilean Road to Socialism and the specific status given to indigenous sonorities within this New Song project. In the third section we offer a close comparative analysis of *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* and some other documentaries on the Mapuche and Allende in order to highlight Ruiz's artistic and political innovations vis-à-vis NCC projects about these same subjects. The fourth section studies the sonic dialectical relationship between the two sonorous poles in *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother*: Allende's voice and Mapuche sounds. We stress how Ruiz's critical portrayal of the encounter between the President and this indigenous population contributes to a questioning and renewal of what was understood as 'the popular' within revolutionary art. We thus propose an interpretation of how Ruiz's work in general, and *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* in particular, can be understood as critical contributions to the artistic cultural establishment during the Allende administration.

Now We're Gonna Call You Brother within Raúl Ruiz's Filmography

Together with other filmmakers such as Sergio Bravo, Patricio Kaulen, Patricio Guzmán, Miguel Littín, Helvio Soto and Aldo Francia, Ruiz was key in the development of what became known as New Chilean Cinema. Unlike similar new cinema experiences in other Latin American countries, the renewal of Chilean cinema during the 1950s and 1960s became inextricably linked to party- and state-based political projects that sought to introduce radical economic and social changes in the country's structure. The first of these projects was undertaken by a centrist political party, the Christian Democracy, and led by Eduardo Frei Montalva, who became president in 1964. Thanks to the approval of a set of legal dispositions favouring filmmaking, national productions flourished during this administration, to the extent that the whole process was described as a 'boomlet' in Chilean cinema. Ruiz's first feature film, *Three Sad Tigers* (*Tres tristes tigres*) was produced in 1968, aided precisely by the abovementioned new legal dispositions on film (Cortínez & Engelbert, 2014, pp. 116 – 133). In 1970, Socialist Salvador Allende won office supported by the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition with an openly socialist revolutionary program. At this moment, New Chilean Cinema became inextricably associated with leftist politics and, regardless of the disagreements that some filmmakers advanced in relation to government policies, the development of NCC became openly militant.

Such militancy on the part of film creators was accompanied by a discourse about what an engaged cinema should involve and the role it should play within the broader revolutionary scenario. The key notions of 'realism' and the 'people' featured as two conceptual axes around which NCC was supposed to gravitate. Filming 'the real' became a duty, since this would contribute to the de-alienation of a national popular culture thought of as being hidden under imperialistic interests, which had become materialized in the film domain by Hollywood culture.² Although the precise nature of 'the real' was never exactly defined, the privileged social actor within the phenomenal domain of this 'real' was 'the people.' Imagined to become the main force of the revolutionary process, 'the people' were considered, by the same token, the main object and subject of this new cinema. Film would contribute to audiovisually place the problems of vast masses of the population under a new bright light, proposing an image of the people that they could themselves recognize. Filmmakers thus tended to provide an epic image of the people as the government's main base of support.³

Ruiz positioned himself critically vis-à-vis the image and discourse that NCC filmmakers developed concerning the political process the country was experiencing.

In fact, Ruiz showed a critical and skeptical attitude towards some of the main assumptions of the political-cum-filmmaking leftist establishment. This critical attitude comes from a filmmaker who was himself a Socialist militant committed to a programme of radical changes; therefore, we believe it is accurate to describe Ruiz's project during these years as one of 'revolutionary self-critique.'⁴ The political nature of Ruiz's films and discourse during the Chilean Road to Socialism lies precisely in how he depicts the tensions, problems and impasses present *within* the left. Considered from this perspective, we propose to distinguish what we call three critical strategies in his *œuvre*, all of which question different aspects of the ideological imagination supporting leftist politics.

First Critical Strategy: *Desclasamiento*

In some of his films such as *The Expropriation* (*La expropiación*, 1971 – 1973), and *Socialist Realism* (*Realismo socialista*, 1972), Ruiz depicts people who are supposed to behave according to Marxist standards, but do not. In *The Expropriation*, peasants massacre the government official in charge of taking over a private *hacienda*, so that it may be exploited for and by the people. In turn, *Socialist Realism* shows the story of a proletarian man who shifts to the right and a bourgeois publicist who radicalizes to the left, all of which happens under the Allende administration. *Little White Dove* (*Palomita blanca*, 1973) also shows a similar phenomenon: in the manner of Romeo and Juliet, two youngsters fall in love with one another, although each belongs to a different social class. All of these films portray the political, social and sentimental activity of subjects who leave their class interests behind, a process that in Spanish is called *desclasamiento*. They advance a problematization of some presuppositions lying at the very heart of the leftist political establishment: namely, that the proletariat and the peasantry should automatically support the government and its policies; but in these films they do not.

Second Critical Strategy: Critique of Direct Cinema

During this time, Ruiz developed an acute and refined critique of the filming method that became known as 'direct cinema' (*cine directo*) during the New Latin American Cinema period. Ruiz argued that direct cinema sought to 'idealize' political revolutionary processes and, in his ironic words, he preferred to 'document' them. Such a critical attitude can be traced back to the months during which he studied at the Escuela de Cine Documental de Santa Fé, Argentina, a film institute led by one of the founders

of New Latin American Cinema, Octavio Gettino. There, Ruiz remembered, he was taught that the duty of every Latin American was to shoot documentaries in a direct cinema style (Ruiz, 1970). In a 1972 interview, Ruiz straightforwardly targeted this (to his eyes) naïve conception of cinematic realism, by referring to the actual impossibility of filming things exactly as they are:

. . . in film, I do not believe in the myth of a perfect mirror, a myth in which many filmmakers believe, especially Chilean filmmakers. Besides, the mirror gives us the face of reality, but inverted. I would be interested in using cinema as a mirror, but as a mirror that would give me reality as it is. And this, I believe, is impossible. Therefore, I use cinema as a mirror, through which I obtain an inverted face of reality, and I also use cinema as a deforming mirror. I start from the fact that I see reality with my eyes and that cinema, through distortion, may help me capture elements of reality that escape oneself.⁵

The upshot of this statement was to be the development of what Ruiz calls an 'inquiry' or 'investigative cinema' (*cine de indagatoria*), a notion that announces much of his ideas on the nature of film advanced in his *Poetics of Cinema* (2000), but in a politically charged context.

Third Critical Strategy: Displacement of the Popular (*desplazamiento de lo popular*).

Whilst the first two strategies have already been studied by scholars and critics (Lema Habash, 2006 and 2009; Pinto & Horta, 2010; Cortínez & Engelbert, 2011, pp. 63 – 83; Goddard, 2013, pp. 17 – 31), the third is a less acknowledged one. Although we find its traces in many of his fiction films, we believe its main mode of presentation can be more clearly discovered in the two documentaries Ruiz made during the UP years: the lost *Little Wild Dove* (*Palomilla brava*, 1973) and the film on which this article focuses: *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother*. We would like to suggest that the specific critical approach Ruiz advanced in these films lies in what we may call a 'displacement' or 're-placement' of the popular. Such a displacement consists of a focus of attention on subjects who are conceived of as belonging to 'the people' within the imagination of the left and the rhetoric present in revolutionary processes, but who do not conform to the traditional standards that have modeled or 'stylized' what a popular subject should look like, how it should sound and what it should do. Although *Little Wild Dove* is lost, we know that it focused on the youngsters who attended the casting for the main roles

in *Little White Dove*. It showed, amongst other things, the desire to become a film 'star.' In addition, it depicted (just as *Little White Dove* does) how rooted 'pop' culture can become in a Latin American society through media devices such as music and television. It would seem as if Ruiz wished to emphasize that, regardless of the leftist purist discourse in relation to the popular milieu, 'pop' culture had also become part of that sphere of society.⁶

In a radically different manner, Ruiz's focus on the Mapuche indigenous population is also a clear example of this critical attitude towards the stylization of the people within the left-wing imagination. Through a variety of cinematic devices, Ruiz openly breaks with the image of an indigenous Mapuche population simply becoming subsumed under the standard category of 'the peasantry.' In contrast to other films about the Mapuche made during this time (such as *Amuhuelai-mi*, 1972, by Marilú Mallet), Ruiz focuses on the differential and non-epic status of the Mapuche as a people, rather than on their incorporation as masses that support the UP government (Aguirre, 2015).

The foremost element Ruiz uses to displace the traditional view of the people and to emphasize the specificity of the Mapuche is an alternative regime of sounds, music and language from the one that has traditionally accompanied the representation of the people in New Latin American and Chilean Cinema. The sounds in *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* correspond to a mixture of languages (where Mapudungun prevails over Spanish) and to a music that bypasses the repertoire of the New Latin American Song movement, which, as we will argue, was developing its own representational strategies to depict the people as a revolutionary subject, just as filmmakers were.

New Chilean Song and Indigenous Sonic Representations

The music created by the CNS movement during the 1960s and 1970s has usually been conceived of as the soundtrack of the Chilean Road to Socialism. Its main features may be described in terms of the conjunction of international protest song and a vocal-instrumental hybrid style nourished by rhythms and musical forms from all over the continent. Not surprisingly, the development of New Song movements has been labeled as an eminently Latin-Americanist project. Such a project was seen as an artistic statement concerning the internationalist ethos traditionally associated with socialism, which, in the Chilean case, was opposed to other currents of popular music considered to be nationalist and conservative. The musical repertoire included a great variety of songs, instrumental pieces, albums, cantatas, oratorios, masses and even a number of film scores.⁷

In terms of its lyrics, one of the key features of the CNS was, as Rodrigo Torres has pointed out, the 'systematic incorporation of current human realities and viewpoints that until then had been marginalized or relegated into very small circuits within the realm of Chilean music' (1980, p. 18). If in the context of this political-cum-artistic project the portrayal of various 'popular' subjects became a goal, it was certainly the miner who turned out to be the figure *par excellence* to embody the revolutionary subject. Such a trend can be traced through a plethora of songs and musical works depicting the life and struggles of the working class (Jordán González, 2014). Through a reading of a specific notion of 'the revolutionary subject' (informed by Marxist intellectuals), the proletariat was imagined as belonging to a more advanced historical stage than the peasantry. In fact, songs referring to rural life often played a denunciatory role concerning the precarious conditions of the lower classes rather than portraying the peasants as agents of revolutionary change. By the same token, indigenous peoples were usually illustrated as part of the peasant community, thus lacking the agency to generate specific sovereign demands pertaining to their particular needs as a social-cum-cultural group. .

Indeed, when treated in their ethnic specificity, indigenous populations became preferentially linked with the so-called 'Andean region,' a transnational area including Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru and (sometimes) Ecuador. Within this representational paradigm, the so-called 'Andean sounds' acquired a salient role within the New Song's style in order to portray various elements representing the cultural diversity of the continent and its peoples. Instruments whose origins may be traced back to this Andean region, such as the *quena*, *charango* and *zampoña*, came to simultaneously symbolize a certain *ethos*, as it were, pertaining to indigenous cultures in general. Interestingly enough, such a symbolic attachment appeared simultaneously as the index of a transnational culture (Andean region) and, more importantly, as the representational embodiment of the people as a whole, summoned to become the protagonist of a new social and political order (Fairley, 1989).

Contrary to what happened with such Andean sounds, the culture of the Mapuche people was barely recuperated by the political and hybridizing project of the CNS. Apart from a few terms in Mapudungun used to designate some specific artistic endeavours,⁸ the references to Mapuche culture are meagre. Mapuche instruments — not to mention their rhythms and forms — only feature in a few songs that portray specific political struggles of this people⁹ or as a vague reference to southern Chile in rare instrumental pieces.¹⁰

As an exception, we may mention the singer-songwriter Violeta Parra, undoubtedly considered as the 'mother' of the NCS (Rodríguez, 1986), who during the 1950s developed fieldwork in Mapuche territory collecting songs and interviewing *ülkantufe* (singers). She registered 39 songs about love, spirituality, collective work and female self-determination, as well as a number of lullabies. Although much of Parra's work on the Mapuche has only recently become available for the wider public, it is certain that through her research it was possible to appreciate the great musical creativity of this people via the recording of their rhythms, voices and singing inflections (Miranda et al., 2016, p. 21). Unfortunately, she recorded neither cover versions of the collected songs nor early arrangements of her own work including Mapuche instruments. However, there seems to be enough evidence to state that her own creations were significantly informed by this fieldwork.

According to this discussion, we may therefore argue that the virtual lack of Mapuche sonorities within the NCS can be explained through two main interpretations. Firstly, Andean sounds were able to symbolize an indigenous *ethos* sufficiently whilst at the same time sidelining nationalist discourses. Secondly, the proletariat (true protagonist of the revolution, paradigmatically embodied in Chile by the miner) was too distant from the popular subject represented by the peasantry, let alone that represented by the Mapuche people. Although we do not claim that this twofold argument is exhaustive, these two interpretative strands will allow us to propose a reading of *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* that puts into question some of the assumptions present both in the NCS and NCC concerning the Mapuche.

Music and the Representation of the People in Documentary New Chilean Film

Now We're Gonna Call You Brother may be placed within two streams in the history of Chilean film. In the first place, it belongs to the history of documentary filmmaking on the Mapuche. Amongst the works created on this theme during the NCC period we can count Sergio Bravo's *Aquel nguillatun (That Nguillatun, 1960 – 2000)* and Marilú Mallet's already mentioned *Amuhelai-mi*.

Bravo's and Ruiz's films both show an interest in capturing the sounds proper of the Mapuche. Bravo sought to register the direct sounds born out of the ritual context of the *nguillatun*, a traditional Mapuche ceremony. But the final cut of the documentary also incorporates avant-garde style extra-diegetic music, which establishes a clear distinction between Mapuche and non-Mapuche sounds. In Ruiz's film, on the contrary, the soundtrack is only composed of direct sounds, both of the Mapuche and of Allende's

allocution. *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* thus inscribes this direct-sound register within an explicitly political context. Such politicization of the Mapuche can also be found in Mallet's work, but through a completely different strategy. While Mallet seeks to subsume the Mapuche cause under the larger category of the people who support the UP government, Ruiz uses the encounter of two different sound registers (those created by the Mapuche and Allende's discourse) in order to problematize the standard relationship between this indigenous population and the left.

Secondly, Ruiz's film may be placed within the history of 'official' documentaries made to promote and support a specific government or political project.¹¹ Indeed, Ruiz's documentary was made under the auspices of Chile Films (the state-owned film company) and the purpose of this project was to document *in situ* the announcement of a government bill. Seen from this perspective, the film can be related to one of the most iconic documentaries made by Chile Films to support the UP: *Compañero presidente* (1971), by Miguel Littín, which registers the famous interview between Allende and French intellectual Régis Debray held in Santiago in 1970 – 1971 (Debray, 1971). Since both films feature Allende's voice and its relationship with the people as their main axis, a brief comparison between them is appropriate.

As an official documentary on the UP, it is possible to argue that *Compañero presidente* crystallizes the linkage between the somewhat clichéd image of the people, as represented both in the NCC and the CNS. It is probably the film that most clearly merges the UP, as a political project, with the CNS movement. In fact, the CNS is *literally* used as the soundtrack of the revolutionary struggle which, in Littín's film, is carefully explained through Allende's voice.

Compañero presidente's whole soundtrack consists of the Allende's and Debray's chatting voices, a selection of musical excerpts taken from the official Presidential campaign and a set of propaganda songs. As we mentioned, the CNS sought to create a hybrid musical expression by mixing and juxtaposing subcontinental rhythms and timbres. But it is also the case that some of its most representative songs were based on Western musical genres, traditionally associated with politics, such as the anthem over a rhythmic march form. In *Compañero presidente*, we repeatedly hear the pro-government anthem 'Venceremos' (Ortega, 1970) with its characteristic martial rhythm sung by a male choir, which typically represents the people's voice. The film similarly includes excerpts of the *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* (Advis, 1969), a musical work that narrates a brutal 1917 massacre of miners. Thanks to the cantata's arrangements, the timbre of its Andean instruments becomes charged with an eminently political meaning.

In an analogous manner to the tone of Allende's discourse in Littín's documentary, the soundtrack depicts a triumphalist perspective of the Government's political project. Therefore, Allende's discourse blends with the multiple images of the people represented in demonstrations supporting him as a politician and with the Government being represented as leading the revolutionary struggle. By the same token, Allende's voice and message are mirrored in the lyrics and sounds of the CNS, interpreted by its two most iconic bands, Quilapayún and Inti Illimani. We may say then that Littín portrays one large *fresco*, as it were, of the revolutionary process in Chile, where image, voice and music reinforce each other.

The displacement of the popular in *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* begins with a displacement of the sounds — and the devices used to play sounds — created by the people. If, from an official perspective, *Compañero presidente* had linked up the whole cinematic representation of the UP's project to the artistic representation of the people as developed in the NCS, Ruiz, also filming from an official perspective, does the opposite: he moves the soundtrack away from the familiarity and representational stability that the NCS had developed in relation to the people.

Filming in an indigenous territory different from the Andean region, Ruiz shifts attention away from politically charged instruments such as *charangos*, *quenás* and *zampoñas* (pan-pipes) to a novel portrayal of typical Mapuche instruments like the *trutruka*, *pifilka* flute and *kultrun* drum. While Andean sonorities had been adapted, through a series of mixing practices, for Western listeners (in terms of scales, tuning, and forms) and had been interpreted by a music intelligentsia mostly educated according to the Western canon, Mapuche instruments are here presented as directly issuing from their indigenous source without passing through processes of mediation and stylization. A clear example of this contrast is shown in the way the *trutruka* (an animal horn) and the *pifilka* (a vertical flute whose sound is characterized by the production of multiphonics) feature as components of a heterogeneous soundscape, intertwined with street noise and vociferations, rather than appearing as part of standardized arrangements. The same can be said about the *kultrun* (a kettledrum) which is played as one sound among others in a political rally (images 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Some of these Mapuche instruments had featured in nationalistic operas and symphonic pieces created by indigenist composers during the twentieth century.¹² Ruiz further breaks with this model and shows these instruments explicitly played by the Mapuche themselves. The rather long scene where a *trutruka* is ceremoniously played at the end of the demonstration where Allende has spoken illustrates this gesture



Image 1: Mapuche instruments: *pifilka* flute and *kultrun* drum. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento



Image 2: Mapuche instruments: *trutruka*. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento.



Image 3: Mapuche instruments: *trutruka*. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento



Image 4: Mapuche instruments: *kultrun* drums. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento

of placing this instrument in its communal context (that is, played collectively by the Mapuche themselves), but exposing it in a politically charged urban space. If, as our argument has intimated, the CNS had failed in providing a scenario for the Mapuche to express their own sonorities,¹³ Ruiz's soundtrack offers a radical displacement of the usual sonic tropes more commonly imagined by Chilean people employing a 'direct' documentary method.

In addition, *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* establishes a sharp contrast with the way in which *Compañero presidente* had portrayed the relationship between Allende (and his voice) and the people. As we pointed out, Littín had blended Allende's image with the representation of the people, precisely through the mediation of a CNS soundtrack. Ruiz's film, on the contrary, refuses to establish an explicit fusion of the political leader and the mobilized Mapuche people. In fact, precisely through the dialectical use of the two sonic registers, Ruiz portrays a problematic encounter between Allende and the Mapuche. We now turn to this issue as the closing section of the article.

Sonic Dialectics

Now We're Gonna Call You Brother generates a dialectic between two sonic regimes — that of the Mapuche people and that of Allende proclaiming the speech that announces the new bill. We can distinguish two aspects of this dialectical tension between these two poles. Firstly, there is a tension characterized by a specific relationship with space. Allende's speech sounds — as is usual in the case of political speeches — are amplified by a microphone. The camera focuses on him from a low angle shot, at a certain distance, without moving (image 5). The frame itself of Allende is mostly static. All in all, this framing and the use of loudspeakers stress a sense of 'distance' between the politician and the camera, the people and the place where he speaks. Thus the *modus operandi* of his speech and performance does not crystallize in an intimate relationship with the territory upon which he speaks. Allende talks as a 'distant' speaker and, by the same token, his speech could be cut off from the film and placed anywhere else in the world. Allende as a speaker becomes sonically isolated from the site. His visit is the excuse to make this film but his speech becomes something like a 'parenthesis' in the documentary.

A relevant device reinforcing the sense of distance between Allende's vocal sounds and the site where he speaks concerns amplification. We hear his voice mediated by a double set of microphones: one in front of his mouth and another capturing the sound for the film. The final soundtrack reveals the distortion produced by the loudspeakers and the reverberation of Allende's noisy voice across the public space,



Image 5: Low-angle shot of Salvador Allende speaking. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento

thus exalting his ‘piercing’ timbre through amplifying technics.¹⁴ The gap between the site and Allende is therefore given, not only by the visual framing of his body, but also by the exacerbation of the mechanisms through which the voice is mediated from the speaker up to the listeners.

On the opposite pole, we find Ruiz’s portrayal of the Mapuche. From the first image onwards their voices are heard right next to the camera. Close-up shots of their faces when speaking emphasize a sense of closeness and intimacy between them as speakers and us as listeners/spectators.

Likewise, from the first sequence of the film the camera alternates big long shots of the territory which they inhabit with the abovementioned facial close-ups (image 6). Although we see that their voices literally come out of their bodies because they are closely framed, those voices then become voice-over — thanks to the montage — when we move to seeing these long shots.¹⁵ The intimacy of their voices vis-à-vis the camera and the symbiotic relationship between these sounds and the landscape produce a sense of closeness with the territory. Contrary to Allende’s speech, this is a ‘situated’ discourse intimately attached to the land, but whose demands are universal as they refer to the vital needs of any human animal who has become impoverished.



Image 6: Close-up shot of a Mapuche woman. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento

The second sonic dialectical tension is found in the modalities that speaking itself assumes. On the pole of Allende's speech — as is usual in the case of party political rhetoric — what is relevant is the 'content' of what he says. Although Allende was an outstanding orator, the emphasis of his voice is placed on 'what' he says, namely, on the *logos* of his discourse. The amplifying devices that distort the quality of the sound do not overshadow the content of what it is being said, but they do reveal Ruiz's efforts to show the whole of the politician's 'performance.' It is here, again, that we find the excuse to make this film: the content of Allende's speech focuses on the need to integrate the Mapuche people into the revolutionary process through specific policies that may help unite them with the larger revolutionary forces of Chilean peasantry.

In contrast, when depicting the Mapuche speaking, Ruiz illustrates a specific performance of the voice that stresses, not simply its content, but the sonic materiality that allows the *logos* to be expressed. Ruiz illustrates a *non-logical* mode of speaking. Voices here are presented via a polyphonic strategy, which also involves a reflection on

the sonic-cum-musical quality of language and not simply on its content. If Allende's speech appeared straightforward, Mapuche voices tend to overlap upon one another. Interestingly, such a procedure takes place not only when the characters sing, but also when they speak.

This polyphonic treatment of speaking voices clearly appears in a key scene, where Ruiz shows an old man talking directly to the camera. As his words progress, a second voice coming from a woman sitting next to him is added upon his (image 7).

Although her voice may be audible, it could be argued that most Chilean listeners could not understand what she says because she murmurs in Mapudungun. The use of this language and the need for Spanish subtitles reinforce the sonic focus on language, whose logical content becomes clear only through a detour via the materiality of its expressive form, namely, via its sounding itself.

This sonorous quality of speaking with its polyphonic expression implies a specific articulation of the two voices, that of the old man and that of the old woman. More specifically, the particular relationship between these voices obeys a logic of an 'imitative counterpoint.' In musical terms, this technique refers to the mimicking of



Image 7: Mapuche elders speaking to the camera. Reproduced with the permission of Valeria Sarmiento

a first melody by a second one, in such a way that the two overlap. In this scene the imitative counterpoint is accomplished by the voice of the woman, who seems to repeat what her male counterpart says but in a delayed fashion.

Moreover, the polyphonic tendency goes beyond the relationship between the two voices. Through montage, Ruiz proceeds to rhythmically link up the vocal imitative counterpoint with music stemming from Mapuche instruments captured *in situ*. The soundtrack of the scene thus integrates Mapuche language with Mapuche instruments in a sequence that produces an epic feeling through the construction of a *crescendo*. The rhythmic fusion of voices and musical instruments is mirrored by the visual montage which alternates shots of the old Mapuche speaking with those of a demonstration in support of the Government taking place in Temuco. The musical *crescendo* is visually replicated by accelerated camera movements in both shooting sites. In the case of the demonstration, the camera moves more rapidly than in the rest of the film as if marching along with the people. In this key scene, the soundtrack stemming from the people supporting the UP has been created entirely with Mapuche documented sounds, a creative procedure which stands in contrast with the traditional representation of the people advanced by Andean music.

If the sonic registers conform a dialectical tension, do we have a resolution? While in *Compañero presidente* the anthem of the UP works almost as the leitmotif of the film, *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* shows Allende's political encounter with the people accompanied by a fanfare-like melody played by a Mapuche *trutruka* (see figure 1). We may therefore argue that this Mapuche instrument plays the role of a trumpet closing a political traditional speech (images 2 and 3). Via this specific use of the *trutruka*, the montage expresses, if not a proximity between the two sonic poles, at least a desire of closeness. While the timbre of the *trutruka* works as an index referring to the Mapuche, its melodic content evokes a musical convention that relates the sound of horn instruments to heroism and bravery. By playing a succession of thirds forming a basic triad (with some added passing notes), the *trutruka* thus enacts the role of a device that ceremoniously closes the political event we have just witnessed:¹⁶



Figure 1: Trutruka melody used in *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother*

The two sonic poles — Allende's political speech and Mapuche sounds — converge here in a sort of sonic dialogue. If the speech of the President could seem devoid of a sense of territorialization, the actual dialogue between Allende's and the Mapuche's sounds integrate a sonorous realm where the *popular* is convincingly reinvented. This reinvention of the popular refers to the way in which Ruiz portrays the Mapuche. Whereas he depicts these people in their cultural specificity (and not simply as part of Chilean peasantry and proletariat) the film does not collapse its perspective about this indigenous population into a romanticization of a group totally detached from the political institutions proper to a modern nation state.

What we have dubbed as a 'sonic dialogue' points to the possibility of cinematically rethinking the relationship between political institutional establishment and the people it aims at representing, by way of maintaining a critical attitude towards the danger of a uniform representation of the sphere of society traditionally referred to as 'the popular.' In this context, the Mapuche appear as direct agents — by directly performing their music and sounds — and not simply as represented subjects mediated by sonic stereotypes.

As such, *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* is pivotal in what we described as Ruiz's revolutionary self-critique. For it is a documentary that, in spite of presenting a critical attitude towards the leftist cultural establishment (as expressed, for example, in NCC and CNS), it still seeks to renew a properly *political* representational strategy based on the problematization of the idea of realism and the depiction of the people, in general terms, and the support of the Chilean Road to Socialism, in particular.

The analysis of this particular film also points to understudied aspects concerning both the musical and cinematic projects developed during the Allende administration. For one thing, *Now We're Gonna Call You Brother* destabilizes the conventional musical structures through which the NCS had created its sonic language in support of the UP. The inclusion of Mapuche sounds and, more importantly, of the Mapuche as a music-making people stands for the absence of the self-representation of this part of the population within the musical establishment. In addition, this documentary provides new elements for aiding towards a different understanding of an aesthetics of 'direct cinema,' one that does not mystify its objects and that makes use of direct sound as a powerful creative and political device.

Endnotes

- 1 Three of the most comprehensive studies on Raúl Ruiz (Ríos & Pinto, 2010; Cortínez & Engelbert, 2011; and Goddard, 2013) mention this documentary only in passing. Aguirre (2015) is probably the most complete study of this film, where it receives a comparative analysis from a post-colonial perspective. Although *Now we're gonna call you brother* does not receive a substantial treatment by Malcolm Coad, he does mention an important element concerning the use of the voice in the documentary, an issue which will be further explored in this article: '*Ahora te vamos a llamar hermano* (1971) [is] reputedly one of the best of the didactic shorts of the period (according to Ruiz, because it was one of the few in which the protagonists spoke for themselves without voice-over commentary)' (1981, p. 72; 2010, p. 72).
- 2 On the filmmakers' ideas about the filming of the real, see Lema Habash (2006); on realism more generally in NCC, see Corro et al. (2007); and on the penetration of Hollywood into Chilean society, see Purcell (2012).
- 3 The paradigmatic example in this regard is the 1971 documentary *Compañero presidente* by Miguel Littín, which we also study below.
- 4 On this critical dimension of Ruiz's cinema during these years, see Pinto and Horta (2010), Aguirre (2014) and Lema Habash (2008).
- 5 '...en cine yo no creo en el mito del espejo perfecto, mito en el cual tantos cineastas creen, especialmente chilenos. Por lo demás, el espejo nos da la cara de la realidad, pero invertida. A mí me interesaría usar un cine como espejo, pero como espejo que me diera la realidad tal cual es. Y eso creo que es imposible. Por lo tanto uso al cine como espejo, con lo cual obtengo una cara invertida da la realidad, y uso también al cine como espejo deformante. Parto del hecho de que la realidad la veo como los ojos y que el cine, mediante la distorsión, me puede ayudar a captar elementos de la realidad que a uno se le escapan' (Ruiz, 1972, p. 9; our translation).
- 6 This idea was then developed in Latin American cultural studies, during the 1990s, under the concept of a 'hybrid' culture (García Canclini, 1990).
- 7 For a recent overview of the CNS, see Karmy and Farías (2014); for a view on the continental new song movement, see Vila (2014). Regarding the specific contribution of the CNS on cinema, Osvaldo Rodríguez mentions his own pieces composed for Raúl Ruiz, as well as Angel Parra's songs for the film *Eloy* (Humberto Ríos, 1969), (Rodríguez, 1986, pp. 97 – 98).

- 8 The name of one of the most prominent New Song bands is Quilapayun, which means 'three beards' in Mapudungun. Similarly, the name of the duet Quelentaro is a toponym from the Mapuche region, signifying the tail of a local bird called *traro*.
- 9 For example, Violeta Parra's song 'Arauco tiene una pena' and Víctor Jara's 'Angelita Huenumán.'
- 10 This is the case of Victor Jara's 'Cai cai vilú.'
- 11 Here we may mention Sergio Bravo's *Las banderas del pueblo* (*The Flags of the People*, 1964), made to support Allende during the 1964 presidential campaign, and two documentaries by Alvaro Covacevich, *El diálogo de América* (*The Dialogue of America*, 1972), which shows a conversation between Allende and Fidel Castro held in Santiago, and *Chile, el gran desafío* (*Chile, the Great Challenge*, 1973), a film which follows Allende during his 1973 tour out of Chile.
- 12 For an overview of the uses of Mapuche sounds in written music during the twentieth century, see González (1993). On the presence of Mapuche instruments and devices in contemporary music, see Díaz (2008a and 2008b).
- 13 For a reading of the reception of CNS by Mapuche listeners, see Mularski (2014, pp. 162 – 164).
- 14 Interestingly enough, this piercing timbre has become, in collective imagination, a distinctive feature of Allende's voice through his famous radiophonic last speech, where, in addition, he describes his own speaking as literally containing a 'tranquil metal.' The complete Spanish quote is: '*el metal tranquilo de mi voz*'. The complete version of this last speech is available at <https://vimeo.com/14889196> (accessed 7 April 2018)
- 15 Juan Pablo Silva (2006) points out that there is a widespread tendency present in Chilean documentary films on indigenous populations to produce a split between their voices and their images. If such a thesis is correct, we may say that Ruiz does the complete opposite by emphasizing the intimate relationship between speaking bodies and the landscape they inhabit when filming the Mapuche.
- 16 In the transcript of the *trutruka* sounds we present here, pitches have been approximated to the standard Western tuning, while the original *ad libitum* rhythms have been adapted to mensural notation.

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