LA PEÑA:

The politics of early world music

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Abstract

La Peña, the Latin American Cultural Centre, was a cultural project that emerged in Newtown, Sydney in the early 1980s, in a time of increasing policy and cultural debate over multiculturalism in Australia. An early embodiment of ‘world music’, it revealed some of the earliest expressions of world/multicultural music in the country. The history of La Peña exposes complex interrelationships between music and politics within the solidarity movement of Latin American exile communities, and presents several continuities and discontinuities with two other parallel projects, Papalote and Café Carnivale.

La Peña's project has been documented on video and this thesis incorporates a documentary film that contributes to the early history of multiculturalism in this country, particularly the role of Latin American communities and cultures, and the role of music in the cultural politics of the time.

The thesis is grounded in theoretical and empirical research on alternative media for social change, and discusses notions of radical media practice and the strategies used by this community striving to create a better world. This is a story of struggle for humanity, hope and also recognition and visibility, with music and education as tools. The thesis reflects on expressions of idealism and contrasts with ideas present in contemporary popular culture, particularly through a brief analysis of Latin American and ‘world music’.

The contribution of this work is to expose one of many invisible (multi) cultural experiences in Australia. Awareness of experiences like this could assist in a period when there are re-emerging attitudes of intolerance and violence in Australia as extreme expressions of what in the thesis is referred to as ‘cultural tarzanism’.
Foreword

For most of my life, I have been interested in and engaged with music, but in a way that encompasses and embodies music and society, music and politics. From the first guitar lessons with my mother, to performances at school, then university and attending many concerts, I have always been exposed to the political power of music as a medium.

In September 1973, in my first public performance in Río Gallegos, Patagonia, I was expelled from stage for singing a message of solidarity with the Chilean people. That concert was broadcast on radio and I was hoping it would be heard on the other side of the border. The lyrics of the song, and/or my intentions, were too confrontational for the organisers to accept.

Paradoxically, months later, and during a coup de état in Santa Cruz province, I was arrested and briefly shared the cell with the same person who removed me from the stage in what could be called a ‘coup de stage’. The Secretary of Culture, Mr Manzo, and many other representatives of the provincial government were imprisoned as well.

In November 1976, as the repression from the ‘de facto’ government of general Jorge Rafael Videla was becoming extreme, I left Argentina. After working for a couple of years as a freelance musician in Europe, mainly in Spain and France, I landed in Perth in February 1979, playing music for the French-Argentinian dance troupe Malambo Latino.

In the first six months I spent touring Australia, I met many members of the Latin American communities in Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. This was a great experience as I had the opportunity to know people from many different Spanish-speaking countries; mostly Chileans. I heard their stories about exile, migration, settlement and discrimination. At the end of that odyssey, I remained in Brisbane with my musician friends Lachlan Hurse and Sue Monk, today part of the music group Jumping Fences.
Weeks later in 1979, I left for Sydney where I met Mario Rojas and Jeannie Lewis in a solidarity event to raise funds for Chilcan women. In August that year, and with Mario first and Héctor de Santiago and Raúl Bassa weeks later, we started performing with *Papalote* together and elaborating different projects, a concert based on Galeano’s (1980) book, *The Open Veins of Latin America*, and the possibility of creating a cultural centre. Months later, again influenced by Galeano’s work, we developed a school show on Latin American Music. Almost a year later, in August 1980, amidst many other projects and with a small group of friends of *Papalote, La Peña*, the Latin American Cultural Centre was born.

My involvement with *La Peña* was very intense. I had a role as a musician, teacher and organiser; I was totally immersed and fully believed in our cultural praxis. This involvement was as an individual and as a member of *Papalote*, a group that played an important role within the organisation, especially in teaching and performing.

Today, I am the Music Director of *Café Carnivale*, a project developed and inspired by many of the same ideals behind *La Peña*, such as the promotion of cultural respect and understanding, as the concept of ‘tolerance’ is too narrow for me.

Throughout the period of *La Peña*, I witnessed the emergence of many multicultural groups, as the centre was promoting anyone with an honest musical proposition. Today, *Café Carnivale* promotes cultural understanding through music, as *La Peña* did in the 1980s. It is important for me to narrate this experience and to acknowledge the contribution of those people involved in order to give them, and our common experience, visibility and recognition.

This thesis is the opportunity to discuss a period of time that is still alive in many people’s minds and hearts. I write this thesis as a practitioner reflecting on the area of cultural action. The documentary film is framed as a community’s oral history documentation project, and aims to represent what *La Peña* meant for its protagonists.

Many migrants in Australia often have difficulties asserting their cultural rights. I call ‘cultural tarzanism’ a mainstream denial of any cultural expression or content not ‘emitted’ or
processed by the accepted centres of western culture. As a consequence of this denial, the New Australians are placed as a second-class culture.
Acknowledgements and Agradecimientos

My supervisors Michael Atherton, Gregory Teal and especially Juan Salazar for his support and the discussions he encouraged about the written and video material and Ignacio García for his consistent critical readings. Russ Hermann and Ruben Fernández for engaging with me in process of the video editing and Anna Schinella for assisting editing the written part. Friends and musicians for understanding my lack of time, all members and friends of La Peña and my daughter Olive, in many ways my engine and motivation.

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.
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Introduction

*La Peña* was a catalyst for a new Latin American music experience and an early expression of ‘world music’ in Australia, and a deep social movement involving exile and migration. Since the 1980s, there has been extensive and considerable research into multiculturalism in Australia. These studies have concentrated largely on the communities and cultures of Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Little, if anything, has been investigated in order to examine the Latin American migration to Australia and its contribution as one important element of today’s multicultural Australia.

This study aims to fill this gap by documenting and analysing critically the significant contribution of Latin Americans to the development of music and political culture in Australia. The central point of this thesis is to understand the radical media forms utilised at *La Peña*, to discuss the continuities and discontinuities with the work of *Papalote* and *Café Carnivale* and to address issues of invisibility of minority groups in Australia. It is argued that *La Peña*’s model might be useful to develop cultural centres where culture – from the bottom up – can be generated, nurtured, re-valued and exchanged; culture generating a sense of belonging, and combating fragmentation, while respecting diversity and responding to apathy.

This research is located in the 1980s, during the first years of *La Peña*, situated in the inner-Sydney suburb of Newtown. While the experience of *La Peña* did not attract much interest from the media or cultural researchers of the time, it did draw strong support from large and engaged audiences. In a way, *La Peña* was a unique process in which a minority group was pioneering a new grassroots cultural movement and creating links with other compatible grassroots, cultural and political groups in Sydney. *La Peña* put into practice, many of the concepts that were current in Latin America at the time (*cultura popular, música popular*, new song and popular education) and provided new content to the emerging Australian multicultural imaginary.
The Latin American community’s influence was felt mostly during that period and primarily in music and politics. For more than a decade, *La Peña* brought to Sydney an early program of ‘world music’ before the term came into generalised use – a program of music workshops on Latin American instruments, rhythms and repertoire, and music courses alternative to those offered by the NSW (today Sydney) Conservatorium of Music’s jazz studies. At *La Peña*’s workshops, visiting international musicians and composers from Nicaragua, Uruguay and Cuban bands trained local musicians – Latin American or not – in the poetry, the politics and the intricacies of Latin American and Afro-Cuban music.

Latin American music has been a major influence in the international music scene, especially in the areas of rock and jazz, and in more recent years, in ‘world music’ as well. In Australia, many groups often profess to play “Latin” music or to have “Latin” influences. By examining *La Peña*, this thesis examines one of the key sources of those influences in this country.

All *La Peña*’s work was carried out with minimal government support and many years before the ‘world music’ or ‘Buena Vista’ craze swept the world. One of the instrumental forces behind the formation of *La Peña* was the group *Papalote*. This music group was born with an interest in promoting Latin American music, culture and popular education; a project that attempted to integrate Latin American culture into Australian culture through music, politics and education.

By filling this research gap, this work also aims to give visibility to those early cultural experiences by establishing the key role that *La Peña* played in the development of Latin American music in Australia and in the early development of multiculturalism and ‘world music’. Regardless of the contradictory connotations of the term, ‘world music’ in Australia was already performed at *La Peña* in the early 1980s. The thesis also aims to document and explore those processes, and to provide the connection to the current experience of *Café Carnivale*.

This research also aims to address patterns of cultural invisibility in Australia; many projects – some of them critical for the future identity of this country – have been silenced by their
invisibility. There has been a lack of interest at government levels, in the media (a form of cultural censorship) and in the general population. Only the ‘entertainment culture’ has enjoyed a significant exposure. Models from early local multicultural experiences need to be explored further in order to understand their internal processes and to facilitate cultural communication and understanding.

Structure and Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised in five chapters and a 37-minute documentary video titled *La Peña*. Both components of this research complement each other. The thesis argues that *La Peña* involved a process of radical media through which music was used as a form of political action and cultural resistance against assimilation during the years of early multicultural policies in Australia. It deals with these themes by engaging with the people interviewed in the documentary: members, musicians, activists, friends and audiences of *La Peña*. The video represents the history and experience of *La Peña* from the point of view of its protagonists, and includes archival footage, documents, interviews (local and international) and photos spanning 30 years from its opening day. It also includes footage of concerts, of *Festival del Sol*, of the *Festival del Sol* from Channel 7, Channel 31, Imparja News, Television from Christchurch, New Zealand, and SBS.

Chapter 1 discusses the methodological approach to the research and how the documentary *La Peña* was produced. In developing this visual body of work, it was necessary to conduct a significant amount of archival research, including broadcast television and radio programs, photos, recordings and videos, as well as many interviews to access information about those early cultural experiences. It was important to have the interviews in a video format, as they inform the thesis and humanise the protagonists. Many of those interviews were conducted more than fifteen years ago and some of the key figures interviewed are no longer in Australia; some have passed away.

This thesis is informed by my personal practice as a musician, music director and music educator. I am fortunate to have participated in the creation of *La Peña, Café Carnivale* and
Papalote. It is grounded in participatory and practice-led research methodologies, and uses visual research methods and participatory video approaches. There are also elements of ethnographic action research and auto-ethnography.

Chapter 2 presents an in-depth critical analysis of La Peña as a social movement and a radical media experience, discussing its origins and development throughout the 1980s and its disintegration during the mid-1990s, and coinciding with the emergence of Café Carnivale in the year 2000. In this section, I argue that La Peña played a key role in the solidarity movement with Latin America, and its repercussions reached far beyond Sydney.

La Peña was the main centre for music and politics in Australia during this period. La Peña’s significant contribution can be seen in three different fields. Firstly, as a mechanism to assert alternative Latin American music and cultural expressions, and struggle against stereotypes and cultural invisibility. In this regard, as has already been pointed out, La Peña was extremely influential and was the first and only venue consistently dedicated to multiculturalism, music and politics and perhaps the first experiment with ‘world music’ in Australia. Secondly, La Peña was a learning experience for many, with its music workshops strongly influenced by the ideas of Paulo Freire on popular education and pedagogical practices for social change. Third, La Peña was an exceptional experience of a grassroots community organisation providing a strong sense of belonging, participation and social action based on local social solidarities, friendships and common political convictions. There has been no replacement for the catalyst role that La Peña played in these areas.

Chapter 3 places the discussion of the emergence and legacy of La Peña within a broad field of cultural studies and scholarly literature in studies of migration, music and politics, popular culture and popular education. In the 1980s, the world was very different to today. It was a deeply polarised world amid the darkest years of the Cold War. The 1970s and 1980s were times of profound turbulence in Latin America with successive military coups, dictatorships and de facto governments. In Australia, this was also a period of intense multicultural activity and a period of active international solidarity.
In this chapter, I argue that there is insufficient and inadequate research in Australia about Latin Americans and their role or place within the development of multiculturalism, especially in the areas of popular culture and involvement in music and politics. This chapter situates the analysis of Latin American cultural politics during the emergence of multiculturalism in Australia, in the context of massive displacement, exile and diaspora of Latin Americans during the 1970s and 1980s. These events also coincide with other global cultural phenomena such as the emergence of what has been called ‘world music’ on the global stage. It also places the research within important social and cultural research paradigms that were current in Latin America (popular culture and education) that in many respects have received renewed attention in recent years with the revalidation of participatory methodologies and practices in social and cultural research.

In this thesis, I concentrate on La Peña’s contribution as a grassroots social movement using music as a vehicle for social action. In addition, La Peña’s contribution can also be demonstrated in the outstanding diversity of musical instruments and musical traditions played at the concerts, events, schools and exhibitions spanning over a decade. In this regard, the group Papalote and to a lesser extent La Peña are unique examples of the outstanding organological diversity of Latin American music.¹

Many Australians, perhaps as a consequence of the many exiles arriving from that part of the globe, became during this time very sensitive to Latin American issues. In spite of the numerous events organised, there is unfortunately little record of those activities, even if they were mobilising large groups of people and raising funds for solidarity work. This chapter also provides a historical summary of the Latin American exile to Australia in the mid-1970s, especially from Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and in the 1980s from El Salvador. During these years, there was solidarity and empathy with the plight of Latin Americans in sectors of Australian society, particularly in the trade unions and universities. It was in this cultural and political environment, in Newtown, Sydney, that La Peña emerged.

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¹ Refer to Appendix I for a list of instruments and descriptions used by Papalote and at La Peña.
La Peña was a direct consequence of the diaspora of political refugees created by the breakdown of many Latin American democracies, particularly in the Southern Cone. La Peña grew out of the trauma of political and economic exile and was also a form of collective therapy and unique cultural action; it played a key role in the settling process of many refugees and new migrants. It is argued that La Peña played a pivotal role in the bottom up development of early multiculturalism and ‘world music’ in Australia, and was a very significant personal experience for the many people that took part in it. The last section of this chapter also situates the emergence of La Peña within the development of world and popular music, discussing the conceptual differences between these terms.

Chapter 4 posits a transition between La Peña, the current work of Papalote, and Café Carnivale in order to discuss the contemporary cultural politics of ‘world music’ in Australia. In doing so, it explores the continuities and discontinuities between the grassroots process of La Peña, and Papalote, and that of Café Carnivale, an institutional initiative funded by the NSW government. In this section, I therefore discuss continuities and disjunctures between these projects as expressed in their support for multiculturalism and cultural representation, and the use of music for social inclusion and cultural action. The chapter also provides a case study on music group Papalote, as a parallel method of discussing the unique development of La Peña. La Peña, as Papalote, is discussed in this thesis as an example of community and radical media, while Café Carnivale is clearly not. By providing a case study on Café Carnivale, I attempt to place current debates on ‘world music’ in Australia in the context of multiculturalism. While Café Carnivale acknowledges the influence from La Peña and the concerts are programmed along similar cultural lines, there are key differences in the way the projects are managed, the way in which they engage with politics, and the educational function that these projects play in a contemporary multicultural environment that differs from that of the early 1980s, this taking place in a global ‘world music’ environment that has changed dramatically in the past 30 years. It is argued that the multicultural-‘world music’ environment in Australia would not be the same today without La Peña. La Peña was exemplary in promoting diversity and encouraging critical thinking and solidarity; values that today seem to be lost in a sea of consumerism and mass culture.
I have borrowed titles or verses of songs from many poets and creators to accompany the chapters of this work. This is a thesis about music and ‘nueva canción’ should be present at least poetically. The people I borrowed from are Silvio Rodríguez, Atahualpa Yupanqui, Violeta Parra, Nicolás Guillén, Antonio Machado, Pablo Milanés, Víctor Heredia, Carlos Puebla, Armando Tejada Gómez, Alí Primera, Daniel Viglietti, Chico Buarque de Hollanda, Víctor Jara and filmmaker Eliseo Subiela.
Chapter 1: Methodology

‘Para hacer esta muralla, traiganme todas las manos’ (Nicolás Guillén).

1.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the research methodology used to study the events of La Peña. Details provided explain and describe those methods and strategies, but also the difficulties encountered in this research. This work was based on practice-led research.

The original motivation for the research was to keep records about the La Peña, aware of the importance of this process for the future of multicultural Australia, and all this from an historical perspective, but also looking for a model for cross-cultural or intercultural understanding. The research started while performing cultural roles, and not with the purpose of future academic work – at least personal academic work – but convinced of the importance of observing and documenting the experience.

For that reason, this methodology is very personal, as I was trying to document and understand the period, the difficulties, the rewards, the different perspectives or views of the members, but also my own and our common cultural heritage, and our role as migrants or refugees in the Australian society. In those days, we often felt stereotyped and/or patronised, and as a response we were trying to build a culture, counteracting those negative attitudes and exposing our values in a positive and an organic way. The gathering of information was an essential aspect of that exercise.

Many people, as I did as well, felt a sense of belonging and ownership through La Peña. To describe myself as a participant-observer might not completely exhaust my involvement. Maybe my role was that of a participant-observer-collector. Data was collected on La Peña and on Papalote, as it was often difficult to separate them. Papalote represented many of those ideals outside La Peña, in concerts or festivals interstate or in New Zealand, and for young Australians during their school performances.
This research has been conducted on a fragile basis. All the documents; photos, minutes and files kept of La Peña were lost when it moved from the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre to the Casa Latinoamericana (Addison Rd Community Centre), on the last days of the organisation. Consequently, the main sources of information were the direct interviews and my personal experience. The main strategy then was to interview some of the key people involved in that period. The majority of those interviews were video recorded.

According to Green, ‘Practice-led research is a notoriously difficult concept to define’ but some characteristics can be claimed for practice-led research; ‘Subject to its own standards of rigour and validity; Assessable according to judgements of “good” and “bad”; Experiential and qualitative; Non-quantifiable; The only methodology available through which to pursue some research questions’ (2007: 2).

As the research on La Peña was new territory, and as there was a lack of critical literature on this topic, diverse strategies were used to investigate and conduct this study. Practice-led approaches were found to be most appropriate criteria.

‘Although practice-based research has become widespread, it has yet to be characterised in a way that has become agreed across the various fields of research where it is in use... If the research leads primarily to new understanding about practice, it is practice-led research’ (Candy 2006: 3).

This work builds on active participation, even more than that, a ‘total immersion’. It is based on personal experience, on observation, and the gathering of any material that could describe or explain the events studied. It was put together by registering all the cultural contributions while participating as an active member and, occasionally, leading some of the events.
1.2 Methodological Framework

1.2.1 Qualitative Approach

The researcher aimed at investigating and evaluating what *La Peña* meant for participants, while the participants were reconstructing the processes of their cultural practice. A quantitative approach would have been inadequate to reflect on personal experiences in Australia and abroad, so no attempts to build upon statistics or demographics sample were made.

It operated within a participant observation framework, as in the period studied I was immersed in the activities of *La Peña* and part of its praxis. The intentionality, the reflection (*reflexión*) and decision to investigate the events formally came later, when this thesis was commenced. During the data collection process, which started in a systematic way in 1994, structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used. The samples for the interviews were gathered from significant groups and based on personal knowledge of the protagonists of the experience. Action research strategies were used as well as many of the participants became collaborative researchers in many ways.

1.2.1.1 Action Research Approaches

Practice was leading the reflection of the processes. The organisation had many cultural and political analysts, and the interviews were a positive environment for learning and exchanging. This exchange that could be linked to action research methodologies, compensated for prejudices or possible biases. Some participants saw this experience as a possibility to express their ideas, as collaboration and some, for example Uriel Barrera, an early participant of *La Peña*, prepared an analysis of the events to be discussed.

1.2.1.2 Participatory Approaches
Again, informed by the theories of Freire, my aim was to research the perspective of the participants, to understand their view of the experience by using participatory methodologies. Personal reflection was used as well, as I also occasionally played a leading role in La Peña. My memories, opinions and experiences were also used to inform the thesis.

1.2.1.3 Ethnographic Approaches

At first, praxis was more important than the gathering of data. Later data was recuperated with introspection and in the dialectic exchange with the other participants. This process has not completely finished as the auto-ethnography continues through the processes of construction of Papalote, Café Carnivale and the writing of this thesis.

Practice-led methodology was based on many strategies. The researcher as an auto-ethnologist, using my experiences and my knowledge of the scene and the interviewees, while collecting the data on which to base the empirical part of the investigation. Much of the data was collected in a video format. Consequently, I used elements of visual ethnography as well.

My approach was more participatory and interpretive than simply observational. It was reflexive, drawing in personal experiences to help the understanding of the cultural processes. It was also a descriptive study, identifying facts, cultural issues and relationships, based on the direct field observations made during and after the time frame studied. The participant observation strategy was used while actively interacting and reflecting on those cultural processes, but always aware of possible problems with narcissism or self-consciousness (Myerhoff and Ruby 1982). I originally had concerns about the personal nature of the research but later, as Ruby also points out, started to re-value the positive aspect of my personal involvement as ‘an intelligently used reflexivity is an essential part of all ethically produced documentaries’ (Ruby 2000: 145).

The aims of this auto-ethnological exercise were not to reflect about personal feelings or conflicts, but to take advantage of the personal experience as a source of first hand information. As a founding member of Papalote, La Peña and Café Carnivale I am well situated
to describe the events, but aware that for the same reason, it is impossible to claim objectivity. Thus, insertion, dialogue and participation were considered the most appropriate strategy to understand the cultural relationships and events at *La Peña*, events that were guided by dialogical processes. An ethnological emic perspective was used to focus on the way this particular section of the Latin American community perceived itself. The methodology, and the field work, was also inspired by the same ‘Freirean’ theories influencing *Papalote* and *La Peña*, promoting the value of all cultural processes, especially those of cultural minorities, those without voice or visibility.

1.3 Gathering Data

1.3.1 Purposive Sample, Key Interviews

The interviews were conducted with people considered significant subjects for this study. A purposive sample was used as the research had to be informed by people integral to *La Peña*'s experience. The population sample was identified from interviewees with deep knowledge of the activities of *La Peña*. Those interviewees were sourced based on personal knowledge at social, cultural or political gatherings such as those at Casa Latinoamericana. The main objective was to collate data on collective cultural understandings and on the role *La Peña* played.

Founding members and early supporters of *La Peña*, *Papalote* or RACLA participated in those interviews. Musicians, performers and members of the public of *La Peña* were interviewed as well. Some of my old personal interviews were also used in the video but as another witness generating data. This auto-ethnographic work, with all the bias and the limitations because of selective memory, has the benefit of benefiting from deep insertion to the field of study. For the video components, I have also used my interviews with Rigoberta Menchú and Nicaraguan musician Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy to expand in areas on human rights and *nueva canción*. 
Other interviews were conducted in DAT audiotapes and material gathered from SBS Spanish Radio and ABC. The interviews and music taped had to be transferred to CD to be monitored but also to be exported to the appropriate editing program.

1.3.2 Bibliographic Research

Literature from academic journals to newspaper articles on Latin American music and *La Peña* programs in Spanish and English were also collected. I placed a community advertisement in the Spanish weekly newspaper *El Español en Australia*, requesting articles, information or photos of this particular period. Internet research was also conducted in order to find any material relating to *La Peña* and I had a few email responses from early participants or friends. Most of the artistic programs from 1980 until 1986 are included as an appendix.

1.3.3 Video Research, Documentary ‘*La Peña*’

The objective of the video footage was to document our history, our memory, our culture, our past (left behind in our countries) and the present and future we were creating here in Australia. Many people involved with the organisation have retired from participation in the cultural and political life of the community and a few have passed away.

Most video interviews were conducted many years ago. Some were structured and some were not: their objective just to preserve the aural history of the community. They prove today to be an invaluable resource. The lack of total structure in the interviews prevented me from imposing my agenda, and by doing this, I discovered issues I did not expect to be that important. People expressing that they learned more about Latin America here than in their own countries, or the importance of *La Peña* to those young Latin Americans growing up here, and how *La Peña* gave them a sense of identity. The interviews flowed as conversations and moved from my questions to areas of personal interest. They were a dialogical experience. As some of my old video footage was used, I was becoming part of the data, but at the same level as the other interviewees.
No narration (God’s voice) was used to keep that horizontal aspect. The material was edited twice, the first time with the assistance of journalist Ruben Fernández – familiar with La Peña’s experience, and later, a fine tuning, using the program Final Cut Pro, with video editor Russ Hermann.

The main stage of video collection process occurred over the course of fifteen years between late 1979 until 1994, the period when the majority of the footage or the video interviews were made. There was a collection of broadcast material from television and radio. Photos and leaflets collected were scanned to be used during the editing process.

I fortunately had access to archival and old footage about La Peña. Liliana Ibieta, one of the founding members, as part of her studies at the Sydney Institute of Technology (today’s Sydney’s University of Technology), filmed the opening day in August 1980, and as Papalote was featured in the material, she gave me copy of all this footage. Channel 028 (today SBS Television) also broadcast a news item focussing on a Monday music workshop at the first venue in Newtown. We recorded the broadcast on an old U-Matic VCR and it is used in the documentary as a continuous external perspective of La Peña. John Brotherton facilitated the footage from the play Pedro y el Capitán.

Only in 1987, as before this time video cameras were prohibitively expensive, I managed to video record a ‘workshop performance’ at the second King St venue. Fortunately, many people involved in the organisation were performing on that day and the footage reflects the general feeling of the venue. Many friends helped with the camera work as I was on stage performing as well. When La Peña started collapsing, I accessed some of the footage of the Festival del Sol, event videoed by Russ Hermann and Fabio Cavadini.

The artwork used in the video was borrowed from programs and posters promoting the activities of La Peña. The early programs were designed by Mario Rojas, the majority of the material after 1982, including Festival del Sol, and the backdrops of the hall by Raúl Bassa, and the I designed the poster of the opening of the new venue.
Most of the music used in the video was recorded with the video camera during the performances shown in the video. The exceptions are *Soledad*, sung by Gabriela Cabral (her composition and from the cassette *Canto por El Salvador*), an improvised piece by Davood Tabrizi and *Papalote*, and *La Cigarría* and *Vidala del Culampajá*, which I recorded in Buenos Aires with Negrita Montiel in the early 2000s. She plays the guitar and sings (she is also my mother).

Transferring many hours of video 8, hi 8, VHS, U-matic, and mini DV to current DVD formats for the video editing became very difficult, as many of those formats have been superseded and are outdated.

### 1.3.4 Typology of the Documentary Film ‘La Peña’

According to studies by Bill Nichols (2001), documentaries have historically represented reality in various ways through different conventions and techniques. He grouped those conventions as overlapping ‘modes of representation’ describing them as expository, observational, participatory, reflexive and performative. I have used elements of those according to their effectiveness for my work.

Our work does not fit within the expository mode. *La Peña’s* real participants were carrying the narrative. I did not use the ‘Voice of God’ approach of narration, but I did re-organise the contents in a sequence I considered appropriate to tell the story, in that way directing the argument. To have a narrative, or God’s voice, would have been a contradiction with the dialogical concepts expressed by the organisation, to interpret what the interviewees clearly state. Every subject expresses ideas in a way that means interpretation was not necessary. I do use the ‘objective’ narration from television programs but as a decoration, as a mainstream view of the events and with a bit of humour. There was no intention to promote my point of view or to persuade the audience. I did not use performative techniques either.

It does not fit well, either, under observational documentaries. It is not a neutral view and I was actively interacting with the interviewees. It was difficult to have unobtrusive participation, as most of the people interviewed saw me as a key participant of the
organisation, but in a way, the time displacement, and the use of television and archival video footage makes it observational. Dealing with the past makes it observational as well. In this case, it could be argued I was observing past events and reflecting on the participants’, and my own, comments.

It fits best under participatory techniques. I was constantly interacting with the interviewees and the ideas expressed. There was a dialogical and collaborative interaction within the interviews, even if in the process of edition much of my participation was later omitted in order to give voice to as many La Peña people as possible. I had in this documentary a mixed, a dual role, insider and outsider, an active participant but also analyst and editor. The participation was extended to the editing process during which we had discussions with Ruben Fernández and Russ Hermann, both familiar with La Peña and later with some of the participants, in the few previews I had.

This documentary does not intend to be reflexive or poetic. However, La Peña’s participants were reflecting on events that were significant in their lives; therefore, there is poetry in the testimonies. If it had been a collective produced documentary, it could have been described as reflexive. It could also be seen as political. It is a political document and a radical media exemplar but I did not want to fall into a pamphleteering ‘banking documentary’ (borrowing the concept from Freire 1972). It deals with politics of culture, belonging, identity, solidarity, and with issues and peoples’ movements in the Latin American region. It seeks to avoid using clichés or forms of representation of political styles, even if flags were burned and graffiti painted in the walls of the American Embassy in San Salvador, 1987. Those images were moderately used and just to exemplify the situation; the real event, that was very powerful emotionally!

According to the Modalities of Desire by Michael Renov (1993 in Cohen et al. 2009), the interrelated, and overlapping, modes are to record, reveal and to preserve, to persuade and promote: to analyse and interrogate, and to express. The documentary of La Peña has the aim to record and preserve, reveals the necessity to promote and give visibility, and is a way to analyse and express Sydney’s Latin American community.
1.4 Conclusion

This data collection process was a cultural action as well. It was a continuation of the radical work of the 1980s, a social, musical, political, educational process, and an exercise of cultural assertion, preservation and affirmation of the right to be listened to. The methodological process also aimed at reflecting and giving visibility to a community narrating their history throughout the consequent video documentary. The participants of La Peña’s action had a high sense of ownership and cultural pride. Those feelings inspired all the work performed in the 1980s and were an inspiration for this video, and for the methodological approach to this research.
Chapter 2: La Peña

‘Todas las voces todas, todas las manos todas’ (Armando Tejada Gómez).

2.1 Introduction

La Peña was a vibrant cultural centre located in the alternative inner-city Sydney suburb of Newtown and a significant live music venue for the development of Latin American and multicultural music in Australia. It was a space developed primarily to promote human rights and political work but it presented a carefully curated cultural program designed by Latin American musicians. The music it gave exposure to and promoted was organic music, bottom up music, alternative music – and a precursor to what is generally known today as ‘world music’.

This chapter narrates the creation of La Peña, and provides the background to Latin American music in Australia: the early musicians and bands, the importance of La Viña in Leichhardt, and the intimate connection with the musical group Papalote. It deals with the cultural environment in which La Peña emerged: the founding members, initial activities, the local, social and political roles it fulfilled, and the international solidarity work that supported and carried out. It also explores the philosophical principles behind La Peña, and some of the factors leading to its demise: the debilitation of the solidarity movement, and the loss of many of the original principles that had guided its work.

On viewing the video interviews component of this thesis, it is impossible not to be impressed by the narratives of the deep emotional impact that the experience of La Peña had. La Peña was, and continues to be, a highlight in the lives of many of the people involved. The participants expressed what they believe La Peña achieved; the difficulties they encountered and its importance to them on a personal level.

The common thread that emerges from these narratives is ‘La Peña changed my life’. This, in itself, is a justification for this research. In the same way that many auto-ethnological works
are based on personal experiences, this thesis is a collective auto-ethnological account, with the actual participants telling their stories and giving their interpretation of the events. I also include myself in the narration, mediated by interviews that articulate the opinions I held during the years studied.

La Peña’s process was of major significance for the exiled life of many people and their children. The writing of this thesis is imbued with the hope that a similar process can be emulated or an improved model developed in the future.

2.2 Before La Peña

‘Somos prehistoria que tendrá el futuro’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

The first expression of Latin American Music in Australia was the emergence of the tangos around 1913 influenced by the success of this music and dance genre in New York and London. According to Whiteoak, ‘the craze began with stage demonstrations – and humorous parody acts – of the greatly stylised versions of the Argentine tangos that had just become popular in London, Paris and New York’ (2002: 393). Why this trend that legitimises culture and cultural forms when received through key Western countries? Are they recognised as dominant international cultural centres? Once they are successful in the dominant cultural centre they are ‘broadcasted’ to and adopted by Australia. It has been difficult for local cultural producers to break through or match this cultural dependence. The colonial prisms still influence the major art organisations and the music scene as well.

John Wills was one of the first researchers into Latin American Music in Australia. His research focussed on Cuban music and the rhythmic patterns of the instruments, and he noted the difficulty for Australian musicians in grasping the Cuban way of performing and dancing (in Whiteoak 2002). That difficulty still exists, but more than the Australian/non-Australian aspect is the cultural and music education factor. For many, music is a life soundtrack. People take it in and learn it during the process of growing up. It is difficult to acquire or become expert in many of these styles through purely academic methods. The ‘feel’ factor often
becomes a source of conflict in a band's work, but this also occurs between Latin Americans from different regions. That is a greater problem in ‘world music’ where musicians are supposed to reflect many diverse music imaginaries.

In the late 1940s, Ernest Rittie – considered an expert in the “Latin” music field – imported his instruments from Latin America. In the 1950s and 1960s, Italians played cover versions of popular “Latin” songs (Whiteoak 2002). Beyond 1960, and as a consequence of the film Black Orpheus, the Brazilian bossa nova influenced the whole world. Local musicians performing the style were Don Burrows and George Golla. Although they travelled to Brazil, there was not a great deal of interaction between those musicians and the local Brazilian or Latin American music scene.

Jeannie Lewis, a longstanding singer and recording artist based in Sydney, heard her first songs in Spanish from the Spanish Civil War on 78s vinyl records her father brought back to Australia when he returned from the first conference of UNESCO in Mexico City in 1947. In 1967, she was invited to Cuba to perform at the first festival of protest songs. She met key figures of the Latin American (progressive) song movement and was deeply influenced by this experience. Jeannie has since been performing repertory in Spanish and interacting with the Spanish-speaking community, as well as other migrant communities. In the areas of music, politics and human rights, Jeannie has been a reference and a point of contact for the Latin American community with the Australian music scene.

‘Even more than the United States, Australia is a young country with a population composed of immigrants of dozens of different nationalities, and an indigenous population which came near to cultural, and indeed physical extinction. The popular music scene therefore consists of pockets of performers of everything from Greek rembetica to Chilean political song, a heavily American-derived mainstream scene, and, happily, a flourishing movement of new aboriginal music’ (Sweeney 1991: 176).

In the early 1980s, Latin American musicians were often called Chileans as a consequence of a lack of understanding of our diversity. Latin American music is extremely diverse and there are many different styles and genres throughout the Latin American countries. This is a
consequence of racial and cultural intermixing, hybridisations and cross-pollinations. The original indigenous populations reinvented the music, and religion, of the European colonisers with many local characteristics. Later, the influences of African people brought as slaves made their mark, creating many cultural particularities in the different regions. A detailed discussion of the existence of Latin America as a cultural entity would go beyond the objectives of this work; however, it is necessary to state the huge diversity it encompasses. The different ethnicities, nationalities, cultures, geographies and historical processes have taken the region to such differing stages of cultural and political development that any kind of generalisation is almost impossible. Nonetheless, one commonality may be the constant cultural marketing, or as some authors call it, cultural pollution, the region receives from the developed world and its ‘role as consumers’ (García Canclini 2002). Every country has distinctive dances, rhythms and instruments, and for over a century Latin America has been a refreshing source of new music for the whole world. Australia has not been an exception.

Lachlan Hurse, musician and researcher from Brisbane who regularly visited and performed at La Peña, reflects on the oversimplification of Latin Americans: ‘In countries outside Latin America, Latin music is a term which is often used to refer to two particular styles. The first is that associated with sensual dance, the samba, the tango, the rhumba, and more recently lambada and salsa. The second is an image of mystery associated with the music of the indigenous cultures, particularly those from the Andes. These images have become stereotypes which are offensive to many Latin Americans, for they create a one dimensional image of Latin America, and fail to acknowledge the diversity that exists’ (1993: 6-7).

The Spanish media in Australia has provided some accounts of the early musical expressions of the Latin American community in Sydney. Some early migrant expressions are the 1972 performances of Angelita Gómez, ‘the voice from Uruguay’, at the Restaurant Latinoamericano in Oxford Street, and at Bistro Pigalle in Taylor Square, both in Darlinghurst. In 1973, the Spanish newspaper, El Español, promoted ‘the show of the Americas’ comprised of two orchestras and dancing. This event was organised by the Latin American Centre on 7 April at the Macabean Auditorium, 140 Darlinghurst Road, Darlinghurst. The performers were Belmore, Angelita, Luis Gabriel, Karina Miller, Ruben Darío, Hermanos Zambrano, Carlos Carrasco, Gabriela
Valenzuela, Jorge Ramos and Angela and Diego Montes de Oca (*El Español en Australia*, 4 April 1973: 11).

The local Spanish media was aware of the relevance of those early musical activities within the Spanish speaking community: ‘There are many groups working for that in Sydney and other states of Australia and one day their pioneering role in this country will be recognised, and I think that in the future Chileans and Uruguayans will enjoy the fruits of today’s work and sacrifice’ (*Noticias y Deportes* 29 June 1978, my translation).

By 1979, there were established venues in Sydney where one could hear Latin American music. One was Giovanni’s near Town Hall, in the CBD, and another was *La Viña*, in Leichhardt. The latter was particularly significant for the development of alternative Latin American musical expression in this city.

### 2.2.1 *La Viña*

*La Viña* was a very small wine bar showcasing live Latin American music. It was situated in Parramatta Road in Leichhardt, near the well-known Norton Street, and was owned by Simon, who was a music enthusiast.

*La Viña* had a busy weekly music line-up. In late 1979, the live music performances were: on Tuesdays, José Barroso; on Wednesdays, Mario Rojas from the Canberra group *Arauco*, alternating with me; on Thursdays, Jay and the Cockroaches playing Brazilian music; on Fridays, *Papalote* playing New Song, folk and Andean tunes; and on Saturdays, *Sonido de los Andes*, specialising in Andean folklore and rhythms.

The repertoire played at *La Viña* consisted of many Latin American standards such as: *Pájaro Campana*, *Pájaro Chogüí*, *El Cóndor Pasa* and *La Boliviana*, re-arranged for voice, guitars, *quenas*, *bombos*, *zampoñas* and *charangos*. José Barroso and Jayda de Oliveira performed their original material, based on music and rhythms from Uruguay and Brazil respectively. *Papalote* focused on works of *nueva canción* composers, including those of Atahualpa Yupanqui, Violeta Parra, Carlos Puebla, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Alí Primera, Gabino Palomares, Víctor Jara, Daniel...
Viglietti, Alfredo Zitarrosa, Milton Nascimento, Chico Buarque de Hollanda, Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés, Vicente Feliú and others. Many of these works were artfully rearranged.

La Viña later moved to a bigger venue, further along Parramatta Road in Leichhardt, and years later to Elizabeth Street in Surry Hills, also changing owners at different stages. Although only a few mention La Viña in their interviews, this venue was very significant for the development and exposure of Latin American music before the creation of La Peña, with which it co-existed. Many of the musical experiences that would characterise La Peña were first trialled at La Viña, and many groups had the opportunity to develop and explore new repertoires and styles there first.

According to Olympia Karanges, current member of Papalote and a founding member of La Peña, one of the main reasons for starting La Peña was to give expression to the ‘younger group of Latin Americans who were in the inner-city, living in the inner-city, that really needed something a little bit more cultural than the wine bars that were around, the Latin American wine bars at the time’ (video interview 1994).

Peter Ross, an academic from the University of NSW who was also involved with RACLA at the time, expands on this, stating ‘there were other places in Sydney like La Viña, where Latins and Anglos got together, but La Viña was about, purely about music and it was about, I guess, about sex, and picking up people and things like that, where La Peña was much broader. It was about those things as well but was also about politics, and it was about people actually trying to get to know more about Latin American culture if they were Anglo than occurred in a place like La Viña, which was a purely a commercial environment’ (Ross video interview 1994).

In a video interview, I also commented that, ‘we wanted to create an alternative for the commercial venues’ (1994). In hindsight, to label La Viña ‘commercial’ was possibly slightly exaggerated. By today’s standards it would be quite alternative. The owner, Simon, loved the music, and while working, would sing many of the songs along with the performers.

The group that started La Peña formed and met at La Viña on Friday nights, singing along to Papalote’s songs. The intentions of the early La Peña members were to create an alternative
space to La Viña and to develop music for a listening rather than drinking audience, a space to express their politics and their radical cultural action. Nonetheless, La Viña was an important expression of the cultural vibrancy of Sydney’s Latin American migrants. La Viña was the first opportunity for many Latin Americans to meet. It was a human resource for the creation of La Peña.

2.2.2 Catalysts for the Creation of La Peña

There are many references in the video interviews to the visual presentations and repertoires in venues that expected ‘exotic’, colourful costumes and a conventional repertory. Those venues included the Sydney Opera House and Giovanni’s, venues in which La Peña’s musicians did not perform. In fact, many of La Peña’s musicians believed that those insulted their ‘art form’. Their aim was to present music in an honest, unaffected way and they wanted to be respected for that.

La Peña was not an original idea, but it was innovative in the Australian context. There were many external influences for the idea of La Peña. Latin America was, and still is, full of peñas and cultural centres. Overseas influences included the peñas in Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and, for some, La Peña from Berkley, California. In her video interview, Olympia Karanges also mentions the work of La Boîte, a Greek run organisation in Sydney with Sunday performances from Greeks and artists from other countries and cultural backgrounds (Karanges 1994).

Peñas are folk events or venues dedicated to the performance and promotion of folk and popular music, dance and poetry. Their origins were the “Centros Criollos” in Argentina, the “Chinganas” in Chile and the “Centros musicales” in Peru during the XVIII and XIX centuries. Peñas were already established in Argentina in the early years of the XX century; in 1929 Bolivian musician Alberto Ruiz Lavadenz was performing at the Peña scene in Buenos Aires (Rios 2006). In the early 1940s the Abalos Brothers created in that city the “Peña Achalay” (Amuchástegui, 2000) which was a contemporary of peñas El Cardon and Mi Rancho. Violeta Parra resided in Argentina in 1961 and 1962, singing at the peña El Alero, in General Picó’ (Wikipedia).
When *La Peña* emerged, Ross who had been to *La Peña* in Berkeley, noted the similarities and differences with the equivalent in California, and raised questions about how the local *peña* would develop in the Australian context (Ross 1994). Although *La Peña* in Sydney was informed by the existence of *La Peña* in Berkley, none of the original members had first-hand experience with it and there was no direct communication between the two.

The local scene fostered a fusion process with the music from different countries, instruments and styles. That was a natural consequence of the Australian multicultural composition, ‘world music’ in Australia was a necessity, but this was not new to Latin American music. Fusion was already a common practice in Latin America with outstanding results, as demonstrated in the works of ‘nueva canción’, the experiences of Astor Piazzolla, Manolo Juárez, Anacrusa and Buenos Aires 8 in Argentina, the *Bossa Nova* and the *Tropicalismo* movements in Brazil, *Los Jaivas* in Chile, and in Cuba, the popular music, the *Nueva Trova* and *Cuban Jazz*, to name a few. These artists were mixing local rhythms with African feels, jazz harmonies, rock elements and classical orchestrations and were well informed of the current musical trends.

However, for various reasons, few local Latin American musicians were aware of these developments. This may have been due to a lack of information about the music of neighbouring countries, or it may reflect the period of their lives in which they had to abandon Latin America. It should also be noted that few Latin Americans arrived in Australia as professional musicians. Many were not musically proficient prior to arriving in Australia. Many learned their instruments here, often with passion and drive, but also with limitations and difficulties.

According to Patricio Espinosa, member of *Sonido De Los Andes*, ‘in those days Andean music from South America was practically unavailable in Australia. It was completely unknown in Australia and we obviously missed it, as we missed friends, relatives and all those we left behind in our countries when we became migrants … We had to learn about
the instruments and we actually had to find the instruments, which was a difficult task’ (in Seneviratne 1989: 21).

In Australia, in the 1970s and 1980s, Latin American music reflected not only the cultural diversity of Latin America but also the political situation in that part of the World, as Ríos comments: ‘Volviendo a esa época, la música latinoamericana que se escuchaba en Sydney era la música producida por los inmigrantes latinoamericanos de los 70’s que en su gran mayoría dejaban sus países por las formas de gobierno que ahí se habían instaurado. Mayoritariamente dictaduras de derecha con amplias agendas represivas y violatorias de derechos humanos que dejaron grandes saldos de muertos y desaparecidos’ (personal correspondence 2009).

Many performers dedicated themselves to denouncing the horrific consequences of the dictatorships in Latin America. These people were actively opposing their homeland governments and seeking distance from their embassies and consulates in Australia. One such performer was Fernando Arancibia, member of Canto Libre: ‘We are very committed to the cause of social justice throughout Latin America. In Chile we all suffered and went through the 1973 coup d’état of Pinochet, and that was a very traumatic experience for all of us. So most of our performances are in the solidarity environment within the Latin American community’ (in Seneviratne 1989: 20). Many interviewees acknowledged the contributions of the musical group Yaguar Huamani playing an early musical and political role before the appearance of La Peña.

Others ignored political issues and emphasised the traditional, the folkloric or the popular appeal of the music: “Sonido”, inicialmente llamado “Sonido de los Andes” y que entonces decidió no solo no participar en los movimientos de solidaridad sino que andaba en francos coqueteos con la Embajada de Chile en las épocas que en Chile la represión era mayor (el “Sonido” actual es bastante mas progresista)’ (Ríos 2009).

With the arrival of Chilean and Uruguayan political refugees in the beginning of the 1970s, an important process of development for Latin Americans in this country commenced. Part of this development manifested in festivals such as the Anti-Imperialist Festival, the Festival del Sol and the Bondi Pavilion’s South American Festival. Latin American music today has increased
its appeal and many venues have been dedicated to those genres. It has also attracted many non Latin American musicians and has challenged the more established jazz and rock scenes, a newer event is the Darling Harbour Fiesta an initiative of Alex Vidal. Of all these early festivals the Festival del Sol was probably the most significant for the Latin American community here.

### 2.2.3 Festival del Sol

Festival del Sol was an emblematic event where Latin Americans were proactive in multiculturalism and first established their identity in the mainstream alternative scene.

Michael Ryan mentions Festival del Sol in his contribution to *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music:* ‘Annual festivals, such as The Sydney Festival del Sol (started in 1978) and the Bondi festival of South American Music and Dance (started in 1979), governmentally sponsored), have permanent dates in the Australian calendar. Organisers promote those events to maintain their traditions and identities’ (Ryan 1998: 83). The Bondi Pavilion’s South American Festival is in February and Darling Harbour’s Fiesta in October.

The Festival del Sol was born from the vision of Sammy Sabag, a cultural worker with the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. Sabag is also a musician of Bolivian and Brazilian cultural background. The Festival del Sol was a displaced celebration of the offerings of the ancient Incas to the sun, the Latin Americans’ homage to Australian multiculturalism, and it was organised by the community.

"It’s been a Latin American tradition for thousands of years to ask the sun for a good crop and to ask the sun for all the good givings and all the good wealth that the earth can give us’ said Gabriela Cabral, the presenter of the show. ‘This year it’s been no different, the crop has been fantastic in terms of Latin American music in Australia. This means not only good music and dance, but also stronger links between Australia and Latin American cultures” (Seneviratne 1989: 18).

The Festival del Sol became a successful event, with a political and a multicultural edge, presenting some of the best local performers. As part of the Festival, the organisers created the
awards of the ‘Poncho and the Sombrero’, which were conferred to those who made significant contributions to the advancement of multiculturalism in Australia (see Appendix II, Guidelines for Coordinators). Gough Whitlam and Al Grassby were some of the first recipients. The radical media action was already present: the Latin American community was rewarding the end of Australia as a white nation and the embrace of multiculturalism.

Those awards would also became a source of debate and discussion at La Peña. For some people, they were seen as perpetuating stereotypes; for others, a re-appropriation of cultural traits. It was a big difference between the way La Peña addressed those objects with the way the Sydney Opera House did. Papalote was reprimanded on our first, and only, audition to the Shell Folkloric Festival as we did not have matching ponchos; we had only made the effort to wear them in order to get the job.

The group Papalote would play a key role in liaising between Festival del Sol and La Peña. In early 1980, Sammy Sabag invited the group to give music workshops at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. The concepts of popular education started to surface in those early experiences: ‘In the sequel to the 1980 Festival del Sol, the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre hired members of Papalote to conduct workshops for children and adults. The project was influenced by the work of a Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire’ (Díaz-Gómez 2003: 396).

This series of workshops was called ‘The Festival Lives On’ and was a follow up to the festival. Mario Rojas, founder member of La Peña and Papalote, also reflects on those early educational experiences as an inspiration for the creation of La Peña: ‘Una jornada de talleres de música latinoamericana que ofrecimos en el Neighborhood Centre de Newtown a meses de conformarnos como Papalote, nos impulsó a pensar la posibilidad de tener un lugar propio donde dar talleres permanentemente, hacer alguna presentación en vivo, reuniones políticas, exposiciones, en definitiva, un lugar desde donde proyectar nuestra cultura y hablar de la realidad de nuestros países de origen’ (Rojas personal correspondance 2009).

The workshops also provided an opportunity to gather more people in addition to those already meeting at La Viña. Those workshops were the origins of La Peña. As founding member, Raúl Bassa comments: ‘I think La Peña was sort of growing or brewing in the
Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, because I remember with Papalote we were there giving some sort of workshops with the help of Sammy Sabag’ (video interview 1994).

Years later, Sabag offered the festival to La Peña, and La Peña continued the celebration for many years: ‘Like many species we are increasingly losing memories and culture, and folklore is almost gone. In 1989, La Peña awarded the ‘Poncho’ to Sammy Sabag’ (Seneviratne 1989: 18). When accepting this prize, Sabag drew a visionary parallel between culture and environment: ‘I can see that the festival is here to stay. Culture, history, folklore is like the rainforest. “Don’t cut it down because you may be sorry sometimes”, warned Sabag accepting the award’ (Seneviratne 1989: 18).

The conditions were there, the cultural action, the organisers, the musicians, audiences, the reasons, cultural identity and international solidarity. Those musicians and early members only needed a physical space.

2.3 La Peña ‘Hora Cero’

‘Caminante no hay camino, se hace camino al andar’ Antonio Machado.

Many Latin Americans wanted to express through their music the cultural and musical diversity from their home countries, as well as their issues and concerns about identity and political struggles. The original people behind La Peña were more focussed on culture than politics, but very aware of the close relationship between the two. They were reflecting their backgrounds, their generation, and their search for inclusion, amongst other things. They were also developing and evolving throughout this experience.

Cultural expressions manifest differently in their place of origin than they do when relocated. Migration deeply transforms cultural expressions. For example, Latin American music that might be marginalised in its own country may become popular elsewhere. In the case of the Latin Americans here, the change was significant. In some way, much of the ambience created by "Latinos" aspires towards the mainstream – towards music created for consumers.
Greater priority is given to Latin American music that has been commercially successful elsewhere. In contrast, the experience of *La Peña* became the expression of the young, alternative and political musicians of the 1980s – an exception to those musical trends.

There were many reasons behind the creation of *La Peña*: the political situation in their countries, the lack of culture felt by the inquisitive new arrivals, a young generation of Australians sensitive to Third World issues, an active Spanish Department at the University of NSW educating and informing students of the horrors of the dictatorships and neo-fascism in the Americas, and the music.

Mario Rojas relates the events: *No era sólo una buena idea, era una real necesidad de la comunidad, porque nuestro proyecto contó de inmediato con la determinante colaboración de nuestro más cercanos amigos y seguidores, todos involucrados emocional y activamente en las causas libertarias latinoamericanas. Fueron doce los presentes en esa primera convocatoria, me parece ... Arrendamos un local de dos pisos en King Street, entre St Peters y Newtown, que más parecía un pasadizo por lo angosto y alargado, con un patio similar, largo y estrecho, todo cemento, muy poco acogedor* (personal correspondence 2009).

### 2.3.1 The Founders

*Canta conmigo canta, hermano americano
Libera tu esperanza, con un grito en la voz*

*Canción con Todos* (Armando Tejada Gómez).

The original members of *La Peña* met at a house in Georgina Street in Newtown shared by Mario Rojas, Olympia Karanges, Sonia Bohn and me. We began discussing the idea of a cultural organisation. Mario was constantly talking about the idea and Sonia began seeking out possible suitable venues. She eventually found a shop front at 429 King Street in Newtown. We rented it and then called a meeting to integrate new members.

This new cultural centre would operate in that space for approximately one year, presenting music concerts, films, and theatre and music workshops. "The Latin-American Cultural Centre was established by a group of young Latin-Americans with the object of projecting
their culture to the Australian community; of providing a meeting place for everybody interested in Latin-American culture; and giving Latin-American and other artists the chance to express themselves’ (Ethnic News Review 1981: 41).

There were personal reasons as well, such as the need to address feelings of isolation and emptiness; that was La Peña’s therapeutic role. La Peña filled a gap in many people’s lives – a gap between themselves and their pasts, a gap between themselves and Australian society – and helped many people overcome feelings of silence and loneliness. For Olympia Karanges, one of the reasons for the creation was to move all the friends who gathered to both hear and play music in their house to a music venue (personal interview 1994).

David Santana a founding member often expressed those feelings of isolation, as a consequence of the political exile and the lack of communication with this new environment: ‘The lack of communication and expression was terrible then, we were living times of cultural, political and social silence’ (video interview 1994, my translation). La Peña became an important space, a refuge, as folk dancer Teresa Femenías, expresses: ‘Para los latinoamericanos emigrantes de las dictaduras fue muy relevante el papel de La Peña, podemos decir un refugio’ (personal correspondence 2009).

This cultural experiment was grassroots and organic. Artists and friends were expressing themselves artistically and politically and were actively trying to solve that communication problem with the new society. ‘La Peña wasn’t an artificial event. It was natural. It was born as the individual necessity of expression from each of us’ (Santana 1994).

La Peña aimed at sharing. Its intention was to be part of Australian society; it had a dialectic element of and felt part of multiculturalism. The Latin Americans wanted ‘to show our culture or to exchange our culture with the Australian community’ (Ordóñez video interview in Ibieta 1980).

The organisers of the cultural centre decided to establish the centre formally as a cooperative. Twelve people acquired eleven shares at a cost of $107 each to run it. We paid for the privilege of doing voluntary cultural work and our task was to work towards
establishing and promoting Latin American culture in Australia. Those financial funding members were: David Santana, John Brotherton, Justo Díaz, Liliana Ibieta, Mario Rojas, Olympia Karanges, Patricia Boero, Raúl Bassa, Silvia Ordóñez, Sonia Bohn and Luis and Janet Grimaldi (with one share between them). There were some non-financial people involved as well, some of whom also played important roles.

The first name of La Peña was Casa de América Latina, but as everyone used to call it La Peña, that name was soon accepted.

The people involved in Sydney’s La Peña had come from many different backgrounds, experiences and disciplines, bringing with them various influences into play. Some were informed by the peñas from their countries of origin, like La Peña de Los Parra in Chile or the Casa Latinoamericana in Buenos Aires. Before 1976, when I left Argentina, I would regularly visit Casa Latinoamericana in Buenos Aires. I participated in workshops in Andean music, learning the charango and quena. I also attended many inspiring concerts, one of the highlights being Dúo Salteño, a duet singing folk songs inspired by the works of Cuchi Leguizamón and with his vocal arrangements. The lead singer sang in a traditional falsetto voice and the other vocalist would harmonise in a crafted but very unconventional way, often using dissonant intervals. Still today, I have not since heard any other vocal duo of that calibre. I was familiar with the peñas or folk restaurants, where folk music was played and traditional food served, but Casa Latinoamericana was my personal inspiration. I do not know how long this cultural centre lasted, as there were constant bomb threats and I left the country in that period.

Above all, La Peña was born of necessity – a cultural, political and generational necessity of the younger and more committed members of the community. These people needed a space to express their concerns, their issues and their cultural identity. ‘It was an individual need, a collective need, a need to be able to say ... this is what we are’ (Santana video interview 1994).

The major difference between this core group of people and those involved in ‘solidarity’ groups was that their primary concerns were predominantly cultural. It was not that political
aspects were denied to the point of exclusion. Their idea was to avoid party politics and nationalist sentiments. Unfortunately, today the community is leading back towards nationalisms.

La Peña’s praxis was in opposition to practices they considered patronising. La Peña endeavoured, through its practice, to influence and modify the local cultural environment. While the early days of La Peña coincided with the days of the Sydney Opera House’s Shell Folkloric Festival mentality, the members of La Peña wanted to project an image closer to their real cultural identity or identities while also expressing their social problematic. The discussions about cultural stereotypes were always present. ‘We are not only that ... poncho, sombrero, amigo, you know. We have something else and we have our own problems ...All those years we had the dictatorships there, that’s why we are here’ (Bassa video interview 1994).

The nueva canción, did not necessarily belong to any particular political party. While La Peña in Sydney was politically independent, it was sympathetic to the movements of struggle against right wing dictatorships, with liberation movements, and it was most certainly situated on the left side of politics. As Gabriela Cabral, a regular performer for solidarity expressed, ‘there was the need that art and the contribution that you made, through art was quite significant in terms of solidarity with Latin American countries which were at the time all under dictatorships’ (video interview 1994).

The politics of La Peña were mostly related to Latin American politics. ‘It was very politicised in the sense that the dictatorships of the (Latin American) countries were always condemned, the foreign economic domination: they always thought in terms of supporting the struggles of national liberation, always siding with the popular movements, the workers, the students, the peasants, inclusive with the indigenous movement’ (Barrera video interview 1994, my translation).

Although La Peña’s members claimed diverse political viewpoints, La Peña viewed itself as a leftist organisation. ‘The organisation also had a philosophical, political and ideological base; and it certainly had it. It was open and pluralist ... it didn’t have ideological restrictions in
relation to the significance of the struggles experienced in our countries – in Latin America ... politics in Argentina were different to that of Uruguay, Chile, or Bolivia, and so we had to find common issues to us all ... and we achieved this’ (Santana video interview 1994, my translation).

*La Peña*’s walls reflected these perspectives, as the *Sydney Morning Herald* described at the time: ‘Elbows, empanadas and chocolate cake crowd the chequered tablecloths while Salvador Allende and Che Guevara share the walls’ (Brown 1983: 4).

While *La Peña* was inclined towards the left, its policies of openness and inclusivity meant artists with opposite ideas were also on the program. This openness created internal conflicts as well; many members objected to the promotion of those perceived as right wing performers. These objections were not just intellectual exercises of political correctness. In the 1980s, many people came from distressing experiences of jail, torture and exile, and it was difficult for many of them to understand the denial or apathy they saw in others about the situation in their countries.

Not everyone in the organisation agreed with the political framework and the collective respected many of the different opinions. As Ross expresses, ‘there was always tension in *La Peña*, you know, between the political and people who wanted it to be less political or non political. But I think that it was a very creative tension’ (Ross 1994).

*La Peña* provided a space for a broad range of discussions and it considered itself as fulfilling a vital role in multicultural Australia. ‘Since 1980 when *La Peña* opened in Newtown, people of many different nationalities have been enjoying the music’ (Brown 1983: 4).

*La Peña* was providing an alternative to the official – classical – music culture and to the incipient music industry. *La Peña* was like an equilibrist balancing on a string, and without a safety net, over multicultural arts, exoticism and political activism. Those were the times when the Australia Council claimed that ethnic music existed more in potential than in reality (Australia Council 1986: 2-71 in Dumbar 1990: 66).
In 2010, the Australia Council is discovering that ‘Australian participation in the arts has some less palatable news: people with disabilities and migrants from non-English-speaking countries are being left behind’ (Fulton SMH 6-3-2010).

*La Peña*’s artists were developing in a world where they were only expected to produce ‘migrant music’, ‘community music’ or ‘ethnic music’. Instead, they gave voice to some of the most committed performers of the 1980s, albeit performing in a traditional manner but also with contemporary works, original compositions and musical experiences culminating in what today could be described as ‘world music’. Their praxis involved creation, experimentation, improvisation and fusion, and it was happening in the margins, the borders, parallel to the established, accepted and conventional musical fields of classical, jazz, rock and contemporary music.

*La Peña* was not an instant success, nor was it readily accepted by all those who did manage to ‘see’ it. There were the cynics who said it would not last very long. There were the witch hunters who only saw subversion; the bureaucrats who saw it as too anarchistic and disorganised; and ironically, many solidarity groups criticised it for not being political enough. Indeed, some political activists viewed *La Peña* as competition and saw its success as a threat.

*La Peña* was inaugurated on a Sunday 3 August 1980, the day after the *Festival del Sol*. Everything was in place: the performers, the members, the helpers, the visiting video crew and the energy and enthusiasm. During the festival, leaflets announcing the opening of *La Peña* were distributed and a few things recycled, including the plastic cups. The opening day of the centre was a spectacular success. Fortunately, Liliana Ibieta, a student at the then NSW Institute of Technology, came with a video crew and equipment and recorded the event, documenting its success and providing an historical record of this important occasion.

For Nelson Vaudagnoto, an early participant, his first exposure to *La Peña* was that opening fiesta. Nelson could not remember if there were any speeches but describes it as “huge” (1994). For David Santana, it was something very special, very strong, and he recalls that there were people flowing onto the street outside the venue (1994). Ross describes the
opening as very crowded, packed with people sitting everywhere. He was surprised that there were many Anglo-Australians he did not know from the Latin American political activities (1994). These ‘unknown Anglos’ were ‘recruited’ at La Viña and were not people known to be associated with the solidarity work. That event was exceptional and many people performed, including Luis Grimaldi, José Barroso, Las Quechuas with Sammy Sabag (excerpts of those performers were used in the video) and Papalote. There were also Chilean and Peruvian folk dances in the space upstairs, also included in the video documentary.

La Peña was as much a consequence of vision as it was of stubbornness, determination and perseverance; there was far too much positive energy to let it go, in spite of the real limitations or the inexperience. ‘If we didn’t have the people we had to create them, if we didn’t have the musicians we had to make them, if we didn’t have the organisers we had to become organisers, you know, we had to grow from scratch, we were completely beginners’ (Bassa video interview 1994).

The dynamics at La Peña were, in fact, very stimulating and motivating. The sense of ownership and the long survival of the organisation were consequences of that motivation. Cultural operatives, musicians, writers, actors and people from visual arts and dance chiefly sustained La Peña. The music concerts and workshops generated positive attitudes. The percussion and Andean-instrument workshops began to produce new musicians while also providing them with a venue in which they were able to develop and perform. ‘Fernando came performing solo, later I participated singing with him in a duo, later the children arrived and that way our participation was growing’ (Arancibia video interview 1994).

La Peña was not just about music. It encompassed theatre and other creative forms as well. ‘We presented our first play... a self devised play ...honouring the mothers of the disappeared, Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. We did that work, we did workshops, we used puppetry, and we used lots of mix media and stuff’ (Correa video interview 2008).

Many people were able to participate in activities provided by La Peña, as well as those provided by solidarity groups. Due to the music and cultural interchange that began
occurring between various communities and generations, the cultural environment initiated and nurtured by La Peña become very productive.

However, La Peña was just one of many cultural events. Other sectors of the community embraced a more folkloric or ‘commercial’ approach, attempting to represent and confirm the image Australia had of the ‘South American musicians’. Other Latin Americans refused to acknowledge the value of the cultural experience of La Peña, but would occasionally come to the activities ... just for social reasons. ‘The audience in the clubs are mainly middle aged, they love South American music ... I like to please the audience. Give the audience what they want to hear’ (McDonald in Seneviratne 1989: 20).

There is always a danger in simplifying migrant cultures; not all Latin Americans were left wing, or politically orientated, or even musicians. La Peña promoted nueva canción a political and aesthetic option, not a literal or a total reflection of contemporary music in Latin America in those days. By the same token, one must recognise that ‘revolution’ is not the only political – and cultural – contribution this part of the world has given humanity as Carr (2005) comments, ‘estimulado por una fascinación que raya en la obsesión con la fama de América Latina como un laboratorio de experimentos sociales radicales y violencia de estado y un lugar donde nacieron nuevos paradigmas’.

In those days, some people were under the illusion that some of the musicians were authentic ‘Indians’, straight from the Highlands of the Andes with their traditional ponchos and ‘quenas’, underestimating their urban experiences and their complexities. This posed many challenges, as Australian audiences were often culturally uninformed and the image of those ‘foreigners’ was more acceptable when exoticised. As a result of these cultural preconceptions and stereotyping, which still exist today, audiences in Australia often missed the opportunity to be exposed to challenging works, and many artists have unfortunately terminated their careers due to a lack of understanding or support. Luis Grimaldi, classical guitarist and founding member of La Peña, often expressed his frustration about the expectations on his Argentinian background: ‘I want to say that my music is a composition between South American ideas and European ideas’ (in Seneviratne 1989: 20).
At that time, Latin America had a rich musical culture totally independent or parallel to the New Song. Contemporary to La Peña in Australia, Los Prisioneros in Chile were singing about political issues as well, but with rock sonorities. In Buenos Aires, Sumo or Redonditos de Ricota were also blasting audiences with their electronic sounds. The music of Astor Piazzolla was making advances in the musically conservative tango and classical territories and the Misa Criolla by Ariel Ramírez and Félix Luna was performed widely (these are only some examples among many).

The extensive use of folk instruments in the Latin American music environment in Sydney was neither a denial of contemporary music nor necessarily an aesthetic option. It was also a reflection of practical limitations. No one at La Peña owned electric guitars, amplifiers, bass guitars or drum kits. In the early days, all the concerts were acoustic, not just unplugged, but totally acoustic, because La Peña did not have a sound system on the premises. Aesthetically, it was very interesting; not many people today – or then – have experienced a performance of a whole concert for an audience of more than one hundred and fifty people without the aid of sound reinforcement, and this is a test of projection, delivery and commitment.

La Peña was far more inclusive than any other cultural instance in Sydney then (or today); South American clubs would discriminate against groups or musicians based on politics and/or nationality, Australian clubs based on ‘commerciality’, other mainstream venues based on their image or stereotypes of the community. Conversely, La Peña, was attempting to be inclusive, trying to give exposure to everybody else’s work, and there was an expectation that as a consequence of that close cultural encounter – of a third cultural kind – a new Australian cultural perspective would emerge. La Peña was also about dialogue. The space was open for cultural debate, practical cultural debate, as distinct from theoretical debate about culture. It aimed to grow, to move to a new and different qualitative stage through addressing those dialectical contradictions about culture and diversity.

It is difficult to encapsulate the outcome of La Peña’s work. However, what is clear is that it attempted to promote a debate over culture and diversity –not exclusively Latin American – and it had a multicultural and internationalist criteria, in many ways what ‘world music’ is supposed to promote today.
The positive praxis of *La Peña* was to open up a space and create a platform for the exposure of all innovative – or not – forms of understanding the diverse Latin American *cultura popular*, and, as well, Australian multiculturalism. This experience was extended and enriched through concerts, talks and collective education, and at the many workshops, classes and forums. *La Peña* was – for more than a decade – involved in an educational process of promoting respect for diversity in music and other art forms. *La Peña*’s music also provided a more tangible form of expression of solidarity. It was used to raise funds for social projects and many political causes in Latin America. ‘*La Peña* sirvió también para poder recaudar dinero para mantener proyectos sociales en América Latina y de esta forma aminorar el sentimiento de culpa que muchos sentían al tener que haber dejado sus países en situaciones de peligro dejando a seres queridos en situaciones peligrosas en América Latina’ (Mottola personal correspondence 2009).

*La Peña* was an early expression of world culture and of ‘world music’ in Australia. The big difference is that in those days, all cultural works were considered to represent political stances, and the scene provided fertile grounds for qualitative audience development. The cultural action and political aperture provided by *La Peña* during this period was quite extensive and is difficult to match.

### 2.3.2 Education

‘*Entre el espanto y la ternura*’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

Many Latin American musicians, particularly those arriving as immigrants, have experienced difficulties developing their music in Australia. ‘Musicians’ was not a category sought out by Australian immigration strategists. Most musicians arrived in Australia without music qualifications, or formal training. Some have managed to overcome these difficulties. In Sydney, there were a few early attempts to teach music to the new generations.

The Latin American community began to search for ways of improving itself for the sake of the new generations. In Fairfield, a group called Hispanic Mothers was formed, and they
began to teach children folklore and guitar. Rita Centurión pioneered this work, and she taught Angelita Gómez (Noticias y Deportes 1978).

Angelita Gómez wrote to me about this period: ‘I had already formed a children’s band in 1978 ... Some of the songs and themes in the repertoire were South American, some of which I’d written especially for the children. The name of the group was Alborada’ (personal correspondence 16 June 1997).

La Peña started operating within a conventional educational framework as well. Besides its own Latin American music teachers and workshops, it was also offering some of the same contemporary jazz courses available at the Conservatorium of Music at the time – Jazz Fundamentals, Jazz Improvisation, and Vocal Workshops – with the same teachers and programs, but at much more accessible prices. Many musicians, especially Latin Americans, attended these classes. These were the courses that would provide the opportunity to assist musicians in realising their musical potential.

I was instrumental in the connection with the conservatorium. I was doing solfege, musicianship, the jazz arranging courses, the vocal workshops, the improvisation courses and studying piano. I spoke to the teachers explaining to them our needs for musical development. John Neeme, Julie Spithill and Sue Thompson were very sympathetic. It was difficult for migrants coming from a different cultural environment to integrate at the Con, it was better to get the teachers and target our immediate musical necessities. We approached the teachers of the jazz department because the jazz musical language was more accessible than the classical, and thanks to that, a generation of Latin American musicians was able to musically develop in La Peña.

Julie Spithill taught Fundamentals in Music, John ‘Ants’ Neeme taught Jazz Improvisation and Sue Thompson, Vocal Workshops. Other courses offered at La Peña were dance classes, shiatsu, tai-chi, leather handcrafts, visual arts and Spanish. By 1986, La Peña was offering: ‘Monday regular Latin American Music Workshops; classes ranging from Spanish to Latin American Song; tuition in Guitar, Quena (bamboo flute), Zampoña and Charango, percussion classes including Latin American and Caribbean rhythms; Spanish classes (including
conversations for beginners and intermediate; and Jazz improvisation classes on Saturdays’ (La Peña Program March/April 1986).

The backbone of La Peña was the music workshops, the classes of Latin American musical instruments. They were linked with the origins of La Peña and Festival del Sol but also to the educational work of the music group Papalote.

2.3.2.1 Music Workshops

‘En el jardín de la noche’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

Papalote started an educational process as radical action before La Peña’s beginnings. We offered the ‘Festival Lives On’ workshops at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre influenced by Freire and presenting them as collective learning environments. We aimed at including whatever musical knowledge students brought with them, and used this as a base to develop and expand the ‘learners’ understandings of the music and the creation of new music repertoires. We were interested in the sharing and developmental aspects of their music. On those series there were also classes of Peruvian ‘Huayno’ dancing. ‘Diaz also believes that through these workshops, it is possible to get the Latin-Americans growing up here to become more aware of their own culture and proud of it’ (Seneviratne 1989: 17).

Many acknowledged the importance of those early workshops as Belarmino Sarna, the pen name for Uriel Barrera ‘se organizaron talleres de música, en los cuales Papalote enseñaba, formando un buen número de músicos de nuestra comunidad’ (1992: 28).

In those workshops, which lasted until the early 1990s, instruments from the Andean region such as the quena, zampoñas, or siku, charango, Spanish guitar and Afro-Cuban and Afro-Uruguayan percussion were taught. As these were the instruments of the oppressed, the pedagogical approaches had to be at least compatible. Over the years, hundreds of students attended these workshops. Today, many popular Latin Australian bands consist of musicians who, at one time or another, attended workshops at La Peña. ‘When we started the workshops we were clear about not only why we wanted to do it, but how to teach them as
A key focus of *Papalote* and, later, of *La Peña*, was education and learning processes. In particular, there was an emphasis on the idea that, for the community, it was important to transmit musical but also social and political ideas cross-culturally and across generations. The theories of Freire were explored through the workshops, and a methodology created for literacy was adapted and recreated for teaching music. The aim was for the participants, with the assistance of coordinators, to exchange knowledge in a collective learning experience. There were not, as in Freire’s method, *temas generadores* or visual aids for the discussion, and nor was there a system of topics or words organised from particular to general, aimed at the development of consciousness within the group. The aim was not to develop consciousness, but in the praxis, in the discussion of the repertoire and in the fraternal and dialogical exchange, many people acknowledged having developed personally. Many people attended the workshops not to play music but for the social aspect, to be there, to help, to be part of it, to belong. Many of those eventually started learning an instrument or singing.

The music material was taught with a hybrid methodology: a mixture of aural tradition, the way Latin American music has been preserved for centuries; and graphic notation, by writing the names of the chords on top of the words for the string instrument players, and by naming the notes for the flutes and panpipes. This material was provided: mimeographed in the early days and photocopied later. The dialogical practices of Freire were always present and influential.

‘*Los talleres florecieron de una manera meteórica, en ese primer Centro Cultural La Peña, de King Street 429, donde, circunstancialmente, viví cerca de un año junto a Santana. Hay que admitir, sin lugar a matices, que el éxito de esos talleres fue mérito de la tenacidad del profesor Díaz Gómez. Muchos interesantes grupos musicales y más de un solista salió de esas sesiones, bajo su atenta mirada y siguiendo pautas y metodologías creadas por él mismo. Bastante notable’* (Rojas 2009).

In the approach to the learning of traditional instruments, my concern was the organic diversity, the music ecology. Who knows how many ‘world music’ instruments will survive this century? Today, it is certainly more glamorous to play mainstream instruments than...
traditional. In those days, I was regularly defending that organological diversity: ‘An instrument is not something that we just use to perform. It’s something that has a history and you have to understand everything that is behind it. That way you may understand the culture of the people. I think we have succeeded in some ways getting people interested in the culture and to stop this patronizing attitude towards the Third World’ (Díaz in Seneviratne 1989: 17). As an outcome of that philosophy Papalote today has an extensive collection of ‘world’ musical instruments, mostly from Latin America, probably the best private collection in Australia. The catalogue of musical instruments, included as Appendix I, was written as an attempt to compile the knowledge about those instruments.

In 1988, as a Musician in Residence in La Peña, I started publishing the workshop songs in the Spanish weekly newspaper El Español en Australia. Mario Rojas had previously done similar work during the late 1970s in the magazine Vistazo. That material included some relevant compositions from ‘nueva canción’ harmonised for guitar and charango, as well as occasionally graphic notation for quenas and zampoñas. The idea was to promote our culture and reach to people we could not reach physically. I had encountered in Papalote’s tours many South Americans thankful for those publications.

It is difficult to ascertain how many musicians went through La Peña as learners in the various activities – the percussion, the Andean instruments, the jazz studies and the workshop/classes with the international groups. There are constant references to this aspect of La Peña in the interviews.

‘Talleres de música latinoamericana, de jazz, clases de castellano, de teatro, de baile, de canto, de arte manual, conciertos musicales, teatro, lugar de asambleas y actividades culturales de esas organizaciones solidarias, transformaron a La Peña en un lugar imprescindible en la difusión de la cultura y la solidaridad latinoamericanas. En realidad cuesta imaginarse el escenario político cultural latinoamericano de Sydney sin La Peña’ (Ríos personal correspondence 2009).

Many musicians, such as singer-songwriter Frances Paterson, developed there, composing songs in Latin American styles but in English. Some groups performed music from different cultures using Latin American instruments. The musician Tassos Thanasis started a band,
with a few students of the music workshops, playing Greek music on South American folk instruments like charangos and quenas. Many professional and semi-professional musicians, including occasionally musicians from other states, also attended the workshops. Even The Sydney Morning Herald commented on that innovative work: ‘On Tuesdays and Thursdays the congas, bongos, marimba, and voices are in full swing. Wednesdays are film and video nights, and Mondays are taking up with the music workshops and jam sessions’ (Brown 1983: 4).

Brown also talks about Frances Paterson, a student of the workshops. ‘Frances Paterson is one of the Australians who have attended the workshops, run by Justo Diaz. “I took up singing and the guitar again when I discovered Latin-American music. Then I started writing songs about one and a half years ago.” … Frances spent two years as a regular La Peña performer and a member of the co-operative, which runs the centre. Last month she gave a return performance to launch her first cassette, The Song is to the Singer, which is being distributed by Folkways. Most of the lyrics, arrangements and singing are by Frances. The backing musicians are from La Peña and, except from the piano, the instruments and rhythms are Latin American … She also became adept on the panpipes and other traditional instruments. “The music workshops are one of the big ongoing activities. Hundreds of people have been through them. There’s been a lot of people who’ve been able to learn instruments there because it’s so easy going, and there is the pleasure of playing with a lot of people”’ (1983: 4).

International artists were also invited to share experiences with local music communities. These artists included: Volcante, Salvador Bustos and Dúo Guardabarranco (Nicaragua), Daniel Viglietti and Larbanois y Carrero (Uruguay), and Las Noveles and Septiembre 5 (Cuba). The workshops involving Los Noveles and Septiembre 5 were the first Afro-Cuban music classes in Australia by musicians from Cuba, as Cold War policies kept the locals ‘out in the cold’ about Latin American music education. Those classes were also a source of wealth for contemporary Latin American and Cuban music in this country, as many of the active musicians in the scene participated in those events (Dúo Guardabarranco and Las Noveles are featured in the video documentary).
2.3.2.2 Music Teachers

‘No hay que dejar para luego,
el gesto maravilloso,
profundamente glorioso,
de darle la luz al ciego’
(Carlos Puebla).

As well as the jazz tutors mentioned before the original Monday music workshop teachers were Mario Rojas, Raúl Bassa and myself. Later and in the second venue, Raúl Bassa and the percussion workshop moved to Thursdays. From mid-1984 until 1986, Luis ‘Lucho’ Silva from the group Chichitote coordinated those Monday learning experiences. From 1986 onwards, Olympia Karanges took over the children’s classes and Hernán Flores assisted me with the main group.

2.3.2.3 Students

The workshops were open to anyone and at very accessible, prices. There were no musical prerequisites for students wishing to participate in the Latin American Music Workshops. The material was presented in a friendly informal environment to encourage cooperation, and it was transmitted aurally and with the help of simple graphic notation. The classes could become very big, often with more than twenty adult learners, as well as many children. Musicians with professional experience enjoyed the classes and would participate. Due to these workshops, the Spanish speaking community saw the emergence of many new groups, some of which included students of those workshops: Mesteña, Chimigüín, Chichitote, Huarma Kuyay, Sol Latino, amongst others. Many of those student groups developed their audiences performing at La Peña’s concerts and some still perform in music programs like Café Carnivale and Música Viva in Schools. ‘Diaz says many of the musicians who will perform at Café Carnivale developed their skills at La Pena’ (Rogers 22/5/2001: 42).

It should be noted that many of those performers were women. We perceived that the music scene was male-dominated and encouraged women not just to sing but also to compose and
become instrumentalists. Most of the groups formed by or with students mentioned above were either all women or had gender balance. Olympia Karanges, today member of Papalote, discusses in the documentary her development as a musician (video interview 1994).

2.3.3 Concerts

One of the main objectives of the original members of La Peña was the development of performance opportunities and La Peña created that possibility. The musician members were happy to donate their work to contribute to the survival of the centre. At first, no performance fees were paid, but later the main group on the program would be paid a small fee while the supporting band, usually La Peña’s musicians, would donate its work. As an example, the group Papalote never charged for a performance.

Multicultural music series, the origins of ‘world music’, were launched thanks to the generosity of those music groups and soloists and they shared and promoted the concerts with groups from many different cultures. These concerts were the precursor to ‘world music’ in Australia and to Café Carnivale in particular. However, in those days, the lyrics of the songs developed and performed were more focused on the political and social environment, particularly of the Third World, as Ríos states: ‘La temática de la música dentro de ese contexto no es difícil de adivinar. Se hablaba de las injusticias, de la represión, de la solidaridad y dentro este contexto es que nacen La Peña y agrupaciones musicales como Papalote que decididamente asuman el rol de interlocutores culturales de los emergentes movimientos de solidaridad con los pueblos latinoamericanos en Australia’ (personal correspondence 2009).

The environment one would experience every Sunday night at La Peña was creative, open and informal, a space for exchange, education and solidarity. ‘The Peña’s informal concerts, held every Sunday night feature established La Peña musicians, new members and guest performers’ (Brown 1983: 4). It was a creative informality. ‘Musicians come and go from the stage to sing a few songs on their own or provide the backing for someone else’ (Brown 1983: 4). The activities were not restricted to music. Political debates were also regularly held there. Many films, including the classic YAWAR MALLKU, La sangre del cóndor (Jorge Sanjinés 1969) from the Bolivian film group UKAMAU, and the theatre play Pedro y el
Capitán (Benedetti 1979) were also presented in the first months of the organisation’s existence. The political debates group continues in 2010 meeting fortnightly and educating themselves by discussing relevant political topics relevant to our communities.

Many factors contributed to the success of the centre: the music, the social and political solidarity, its multicultural composition and its physical location in Newtown, an area important then for alternative ideas. ‘La Peña, o el Centro Cultural Latinoamericano se transformó inmediatamente en eso: en el centro al cual de una u otra manera todos esos grupos solidarios gravitaron. Colaboraron en eso, el hecho de su presencia física en el centro de Newtown y la composición multinacional de sus miembros’ (Ríos personal correspondence 2009).

2.3.3.1 Performers

‘Tu piensas que eres distinto porque te dicen poeta’ (Atahualpa Yupanqui).

As stated previously, the original performing group behind La Peña was Papalote and for many people it was difficult to differentiate between the two. ‘Yo diría que no puedo separar La Peña y Papalote’ (Femenías 2009). But La Peña’s concerts included soloists and groups such as Luis Grimaldi, Antara, Mary Jane Field, Judy Small, Canto Libre, Sonido de los Andes, Los Quechuas, Mesteña, Chimigüín, Frances Patterson, Luz Acuña, Hugo Leal, Los Barroso, Gabriela Cabral, Jorge do Prado, ‘Grupo Héctor Pavez’ and Chichitote – some of them regular performers, others attending music workshops and subsequently becoming resident performers. Jeannie Lewis and Ríos, mentioned Chichitote as also important for the solidarity work, in a later period. Mario Rojas recalls some of the performers: ‘En ese estrecho local, con una humedad y un calor infernales cantó alguna vez el destacado trovador uruguayo Daniel Viglietti. También John Ewbank, Jeannie Lewis, Margret RoadKnight y una inmensa lista de personajes de la comunidad como los hermanos Barroso, Luis Grimaldi, Sonido de Los Andes. Aparte de Papalote, que oficiaba de anfitrión’ (Rojas 2009).

All members of La Peña were encouraged to approach new performers and invite them to participate. Musician members were in constant contact with the local music scene and created an interest for other bands to perform at La Peña. (A list of the performers from 1980 until
1986 is included as Appendix V). *La Peña* was – as *Café Carnivale* is today – an important sample, a representation, of Sydney’s multicultural/world musical map of the period. And ‘world music’ would be invented in 1987.

Following the direction of their Latin American counterparts, some of the musicians involved with *La Peña* formed the Latin American Music Association (LAMA). LAMA organised a concert performance entitled *Recital con todos* (Recital with All), which was held at the Uruguayan Club in Addison Road Marrickville on 10 July 1983. The performers included: Los Barroso, *Chimiguín*, Mary Jane Field, *Grupo de Percusión*, *Quillabna*, C. Barros, *Sonido de los Andes*, *Tacuarí*, Luis Oliveira, W. González, and *Papalote*. Other “Latin” and non-Latin American musicians, prompted by a need for an expression of unity, also performed. However, due to poor audience attendance, it was the only concert performance ever organised by this association.

In 1986, a renewed interest in ‘associations’ amongst the local Latin American musicians led to the creation of the Australian Committee of the ‘nueva canción’. A meeting was held at *La Peña* on 7 September 1986, culminating in the establishing principles, and plans for a concert performance. Official approval was received and the Australian Committee for the ‘nueva canción’ became affiliated with the International Committee. The Committee’s objectives were established as consisting of the following: to promote solidarity amongst Latin Americans struggling for peace and justice; to support indigenous land rights; to combat racism and sexism; to campaign against toxic waste and the arms race; to support union rights; to oppose US intervention in countries struggling for independence; to aid peoples struggling against cultural exploitation from imperialist nations and to provide support for their artistic endeavours (Declaration of New Song Committee, September 1986, my translation) (see Appendix III).

Artists who contributed to the concert included Lucho Silva, *Arcatao*, Barroso Bros, *Canto Libre*, Hugo Leal, Agnes Huhn and *Papalote*. ‘The ‘nueva canción’ is an international phenomenon from which Australia cannot, and should not remove itself. It is one of the reasons why an Australian National Committee was created. It intends to establish the necessary links to ensure that the works being carried out in Australia are integrated with
those already achieved in other countries’ (La ‘nueva canción’, El Español en Australia, November 1986, my translation) (see Appendix III).

There were many other groups contributing, some as regular performers. They all contributed in different ways to the development of La Peña. Amongst those, José Barroso is still an active musician, and Luis Grimaldi and Mary Jane Field still perform occasionally.

La Peña, and Papalote, were operating in the realms of ‘música and cultura popular’ as radical media. They believed that change was possible and were actively interacting in order to influence change in Australia and in Latin America. The tools were popular education and the repertoire of the ‘nueva canción’. Those were songs that expressed a commitment for social justice and change. La Peña was instrumental in promoting songs of nueva canción in Australia.

2.3.3.2 Political Songs, ‘Nueva Canción

‘Arauco tiene una pena’ (Violeta Parra).

Every culture that comes to Australia brings its repertory, instruments, aesthetics and music codes, its songwriters and poets, and the creative output manifests in many cross-cultural expressions. La Peña’s groups began specialising in material from the New Song Movement and felt an affinity with Andean music and the songs of resistance and unity of the Latin American people. The most comparable ensembles in those days following this trend were the Italian group Bella Ciao and the Greek duo Nea Genea. They were totally in tune with La Peña’s political perspective and shared and reciprocated in their events, often inviting groups like Papalote to perform.

Many groups were leaning towards the Andean music repertoire, in particular Bolivian, Argentinian, Peruvian or Chilean music, or songs with lyrics that spoke of socio-political commitment, such as the works of Atahualpa Yupanqui, Daniel Viglietti, Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, or songs approaching reality from a different perspective, such as the poetic view of the young Uruguayan, Brazilian or the Cuban songwriters from Nueva Trova Cubana, Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés, Noel Nicola, Pedro Luis Ferrer, Amauri Pérez and
Vicente Felú. This was the preference of Papalote, borrowing its name from the homonym song by Silvio Rodríguez. However, the commonality of many of those groups was the performance of songs from the *nueva canción*.

‘*Nueva canción* was an international movement of workers of culture, musicians and composers intending to interact critically with their political reality. It had different denominations in different countries and expressed a huge diversity of styles and messages. This movement was inclusive and in solidarity with struggles in Latin America and other Third World countries. It was also related to today’s ‘world music’, but in a much broader sense. It was much stronger in regards to cultural representation, values, energy and social commitment. Those processes were very organic and bottom up. It would be difficult for any current ‘world music’ experience in Australia to match those qualitative elements.

The expression ‘*nueva canción*’ emerged towards the end of the 1960s and indicated the new musical directions that were beginning to flourish in Latin America. The term was popularly used in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile but originated in Chile, in 1969, from the *Primer Encuentro de la Nueva Canción Chilena*. Violeta Parra and Atahualpa Yupanqui are recognised as the initiators of this form of song with socio-political lyrical content.

This ‘*nueva canción*’ expressed itself as a fusion of academic, folk and popular music, and considered Latin America as a whole as a cultural unit. It was opposed to music being considered merchandise in a consumerist society and refused to subscribe to stereotypes or formulae for the sake of record sales. It was also opposed to imperialism and to the cultural pollution and political interference from the US, that is to say, to the distortion of truth, and the stereotyped images to which Latin American people were subjected.

As the movement is subscribed to such a voluminous range of music, it is not possible to define it categorically. It included folk, dance music, songs with socially conscious lyrics, academic works, protest songs, intimate songs, instrumentals, and multimedia. It placed great emphasis on searching for roots in Latin American culture to raise people’s awareness, and to provide Latin America with a cultural identity. The people involved in this movement...
were bound and compromised by socio-political realities, by motivations that aspired towards a more humane and egalitarian world.

La Peña’s music was its radical media; therefore, many songs sung at La Peña, addressed in their lyrics issues of equality, education, identity, and struggle but also love. Nueva canción had an internationalist perspective, and La Peña’s programs (see Appendix V) reflect this perspective. We can observe that many of bands featured were playing what today would be considered ‘world music’. Except for the short live experience of the previously mentioned Greek La Boîte, this was a pioneer role in NSW.

The dynamic of denunciation led to the development of Latin American music as it stands today. While the Latin American community is still relatively small in Australia, music has always been an important element of cultural identity and resistance. ‘We can learn about folk music that helps people survive and struggle against mass culture and mass destruction. We can learn about music and history that has been hidden from us because it teaches powerful lessons of unity and love. We can open our eyes, and take a stand against racism and exploitation. This will ultimately lead to a better life for all of us’ (Sing Out! The Folk Song Magazine 1976: 1).

The Nueva Canción Chilena or Canto Nuevo, or Nueva Trova Cubana or Canto Popular Uruguayo or MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) were taught and performed extensively at La Peña. The groups involved in performing that material included most of La Peña’s bands. Some of these music groups, including the workshop students, became regularly involved with the local solidarity scene, frequently contributing to their activities with free performances. Band members from Papalote and later Canto Libre, extended their involvement by conducting research work in Latin America, seeking out traditional instruments and reference materials for educational and performance purposes. Jumping Fences, a duo from Queensland who regularly visited and performed at La Peña, has done similar research, and today, in Sydney, Los Cuervos, lead by Julio Cienfuegos, is also researching and performing Mexican music and developing an instrument collection from that country.
2.3.4 Audiences and Members

‘Yo tengo tantos hermanos, que no los puedo contar’ (Atahualpa Yupanqui).

The audiences were participant audiences, they were active, critical and committed to solidarity with Latin America and the Third World. They were a mix of the members and their families and friends, the general Latin American community, students of the music workshops, activists from solidarity organisations and the general community. *La Peña* encouraged parents to bring children, a trend followed by *Café Carnivale* today.

*La Peña* was organised with a committee, working groups and coordinators. The original group did not have organisational skills, models, or structures; they were developed in a later period. (See Appendix II for the description of duties and activities in the late period of *La Peña*. That document has no date, but it was probably written after 1986). It is important to reiterate that members from *La Peña* did not receive remuneration of any kind to compensate them for their services, nor for their administrative work, for cleaning, or for performing and teaching. All profits were put back into maintenance. ‘*La Peña* came into being with incredible harmony. I remember that working collectively was extremely joyful, it was a delight, like daily sustenance ... *La Peña* wasn’t just an important cultural task, it was also important politically. It was important socially as well and individually important for every one of us’ (Santana video interview 1994).

The program was an invitation for participation and involvement.

‘How can you participate????

- Attend our diverse programs
- Talk to us about using our space for cultural events
- We invite you to join us as an associate member’ (*La Peña* Program March/April 1986).

As a consequence ‘many non-Latins became involved as organisers, artists, students or members of *La Peña*’ (Díaz Gómez 2003: 396).
The collective who managed *La Peña* included a few “non-Latins” and ‘Anglos’. No ‘rituals of White empowerment’ (Hage 1998) were experienced there, this situation did not create any particular conflicts. On the contrary, they all contributed with different expertise, but the majority at the centre was Latin American. Great were the contributions to *La Peña* and many were the people who made them. They ranged from donations, to attending performances, to long and laborious hours spent involved in either physical or intellectual work. This was dedicated work that included cooking, cleaning, performing, teaching, painting and decorating, administration, organisation, promotion and liaison. It was a generalised commitment to keep *La Peña* functional as a venue.

2.4 The Venues

*Techos de cartón* (Alí Primera).

Many people live in Latin América under very humble roofs; *La Peña* operated here in much better circumstances but they were very modest by Australian standards.

*La Peña* was a cultural centre, not just a concert presenter, and it is therefore important to refer to the venues, and to locate *La Peña* in a physical space. Much of the energies of members and friends were focused on raising money to pay the rent. The physical venue was very important and it was the existence and maintenance of that physical space that enabled the incredible array of activities carried out there to flourish.

2.4.1 First Venue

The first venue was a small shopfront with three rooms upstairs located at 429 King Street, Newtown. Mario Rojas and David Santana rented two of those rooms for personal use to lower the expenses of the organisation.
‘Los talleres florecieron de una manera meteórica, en ese primer ‘Centro Cultural La Peña’, 429 King Street donde, circunstancialmente, viví cerca de un año junto a Santana … Para abaratar costos, con David Santana nos mudamos al segundo piso y nos hicimos cargo de la mitad del arriendo. Eran dos piezas bastante húmedas e inhóspitas. La sociedad – comité o asociación – que habíamos conformado, asumió la otra mitad de la renta durante el primer mes, dividiendo el pago en partes iguales entre los miembros. Entre los que nos contábamos Santana y yo, por lo que seguramente pagamos extra. Era el único modo de echar a andar el Centro Cultural que nos habíamos propuesto’ (Rojas personal correspondence 2009).

The third room upstairs was used for dance workshops and occasionally for childcare. The fittings and furniture were basic. The seating was made up of wooden folding chairs, which was Lupe Arellano’s idea, a visual artist and an early supporter of La Peña. Lupe advised us about the chairs and helped us to buy them, and those chairs were later used in the second venue. ‘Una tarde fuimos con Justo Díaz a comprar unas sillas plegables al Tempe Tips. Las transportamos en el techo de mi Holden Kingswood 1973 hasta el centro cultural ‘pasadizo’, que con el apoyo de unas luces bien direccionadas se comenzó a ver como una peña. Aunque también podría parecerse a un templo evangélico de cualquier esquina de América Latina’ (Rojas 2009).

Despite the lack of sound reinforcing equipment, the volume of the performances and workshops, in that first venue created some tension in the local neighbourhood. Not everybody was happy with our version of multiculturalism, or our pioneer role in ‘world music’, and Mario Rojas narrates an incident with the neighbours: ‘Una tarde, cuando ya había caído el sol y los talleres de bombo legüero y kena hacían vibrar ventanes y muros del inmueble, sentimos unos timbrazos insistente desde la puerta de calle. Posiblemente alguien nos dijo que un personaje quería hablar con los responsables del lugar y por esa razón con Díaz nos agolpamos a la puerta para representar el rol que nos correspondía. Cubriendo toda visión del umbral estaban los vecinos de las motos. No se veían felices. Y, definitivamente, se veían graaandes, más grandes que nunca antes. ¿Qué habremos dicho nosotros? No lo recuerdo con exactitud, pero es posible que hayan sido unos cuantos monos ílabos. Tampoco tengo certeza de los dichos de nuestros vecinos, sólo me quedó grabado un gesto obsceno con el que uno ilustró dónde nos insertaría esa kena que yo sostenía en mi mano si no nos callábamos de una vez. El profesor Díaz le daba unas miradas de furia, con su charango aferrado firmemente por su mano derecha. Pero nada más. Volvimos al taller y tal vez cantamos ‘No, no, no nos moverán’, despacio, sin kena ni bombo. Una vez más
esa canción demostró ser un himno inútil. Pete Seeger and The Weavers deberían asumir responsabilidad penal por proclamar lo imposible’ (personal correspondence 2009).

La Peña occupied that small space for one year and there were many memorable moments there, but the venue could only hold approximately 50 people and the audiences were increasing at a rapid rate.

2.4.2 Second Venue

During July 1981, La Peña moved to larger premises further down the street to 585b King Street, Newtown. In this venue, La Peña consolidated its work; RACLA set up its resource centre and presented their fortnightly forums there, and it was in this establishment where Latin American solidarity group activities became most assiduous.

‘Muy poco tiempo después, encontramos el local de La Peña más definitivo y durable, por el mismo lado de la acera, una o dos cuadras más hacia la estación de St Peters’ (Rojas personal correspondence 2009).

Mr Pappas owned this new home and Olympia Karanges’ Greek connection meant we were able to negotiate a good deal with him for the tenancy. The basic rental expenses were paid with the income from the music workshops, and, as La Peña was not focussed on making profit, it was relatively easy to support the other activities.

The following extract taken from El Español en Australia depicts some of the early moments of the new premises: “NUEVO LOCAL DE LA PEÑA”. The founders of the culture cooperative “La Peña”, are preparing the new venue to which they will be moving this following Sunday, with utmost enthusiasm. Spatulas, brushes and hammers in the hands of friends and members are travelling constantly in search of creating the best possible effects on walls, doors and windows alike. Its new eaves are located in the same street, but are now situated at number 585 .... Currently, those responsible for the company have announced that a fiesta to inaugurate the event will be held on 8 August. Many musicians and bands will be participating, and it has further been announced that the orchestra “Carnaval 80” will also
be joining in the performances. “In the photo, the peñeros [one who frequents La Peña] amidst arduous tasks” (28-7-1981: 8, my translation).

This second venue was much bigger than the first and could fit well over 100 people. It took a while to paint it, and Elias Pebaque, who led that operation, recalled that the lawyers and the musicians who played guitars, charangos and quenas left aside their instruments to paint the roof, but the rewards came on the opening day because the experience was very successful from a personal point of view (video interview 1994).

A major setback, however, was the lack of support from the Marrickville local council, which was not sympathetic to the set up. La Peña had only one toilet, no fire sprinklers or proper fire stairs, and it could not pay the fee for on street parking. Those issues put the organisation at odds with the Council for a long time, highlighting the paradox of the control on cultural activities being exercised by non-cultural regulations. It was very difficult to operate under the constant threat of the closure of the centre, as Bassa recalls ‘we lost a lot of energy fighting for sprinklers, fire stairs, parking, going up and down, and council letters’ (Bassa 1994).

### 2.5 Significant Contributions of La Peña

*Por quien merece amor* (Silvio Rodríguez).

Although La Peña's primary aim was the promotion of Latin American music and culture, the cultural and political background of the members, audiences and musicians shifted the focus to music, politics and solidarity work.

#### 2.5.1 Political: Solidarity Movement

The community members were contending with disadvantages, their past, confronting a new culture and the lack of cultural capital, but also were experienced politically and culturally. Many had been involved in social movements, and in radical social action. They were aiming at building a more humane experience, the one they wanted for their homelands. The
activities and dialogical communication practices helped the participants to understand and interact with many other local processes. La Peña reflected that dialogical aspect as it aimed at building a cultural scene. Many people at La Peña believed that as migrants, they had to lead this process, to participate and help change attitudes and relations of power here but also help and support processes of change in Latin America. Many Australians experienced Latin America after their involvement with La Peña. As Tim Anderson recalls: ‘Yes, clearly both La Peña and Papalote played important roles in the building of Latin American solidarity in Sydney and Australia. As a non-Latino I met a number of my Latino friends at La Peña in the 1980s, while hearing the words and the songs of Latin American struggles. At that time of the wars in Central America, local solidarity groups used La Peña for their activities, and combined their activities with cultural festivals. A wider group was drawn into both solidarity and Latin culture’ (Anderson personal correspondence 23 May 2009).

2.5.1.1 RACLA: Latin American Politics in Sydney

As part of its commitment to supporting Latin American struggles, La Peña facilitated the development of RACLA by providing a space within the venue to promote their activities. The work of RACLA was considered very compatible with the objectives of the centre. RACLA operated within the King Street venue, running a library/bookshop and organising regular forums and meetings. The environment was very positive as La Peña was trying to open up to different cultural and political expressions. However, all this was not exempt from difficulties as there were many different opinions from the different groups involved as Chiara Caglieris, a member for RACLA, recalls: ‘People felt quite optimistic, politically speaking ... there was a good feeling, although obviously there were always problems because of the different groups that were operating at La Peña. But on the whole the dynamics was positive’. The times and energy were optimistic as people believed that political change in the world was possible. ‘I recall at least three or four years of La Peña as very happy times. Because it coincided with a good political climate in terms with solidarity with Latin America and La Peña at that time was the focus of a lot of that solidarity’ (video interview 1994).

For years, according to Peter Ross, they held forums every two weeks about Latin American issues, mainly political but not always just political. Peter also mentioned their concerns
about possible conflicts between La Peña and RACLA – particularly as not everything at La Peña was considered political – but he thought that the ‘two organisations complemented each other very nicely’ (video interview 1994).

The complementarity lay in the fact that RACLA was able to carry out activities for which La Peña did not have the physical resources. The organisers of La Peña had more than enough work with the organisation of concerts and the many workshops and activities, and it would have been impossible to add to this responsibility for organising forums and a resource centre.

The following is a short sample of some of the topics RACLA was covering in its fortnightly Tuesday forums:

1986: March 18 – Return of the Australian brigadistas to Nicaragua (Caroline Alcorso)
April 1 – The Central American peace march and the neglected countries of Central America (Penny O’Donnell)
April 15 – Indigenous movements in Latin America (with film ‘War of Gods’)
April 29 – Contemporary music in Latin America (O. Karanges and J. Díaz)

1987: September 1 – Central America: Shooting from the side (O. Karanges and J. Díaz)
September 15 – The phenomenon of Peronism (Peter Ross)

1990: May 1 – Music and identity (Michael Ryan and J. Díaz)
May 15 – Latin America in the Australian press (Arkel Arriúa)
May 29 – Update on Nicaragua (Penny O’Donnell)
June 12 – Indigenous people and the environment (Mabel Pérez)
June 26 – Guatemala (Hugo López with GAS)
July 10 – El Salvador update (Julie Bishop with CISES)

There were close links with the Latin American Studies department from the University of NSW as well and RACLA offered unique educational resources for an extended period. ‘For RACLA itself it was important to have a centre and La Peña was generous enough to allow
that centre to be at La Peña, ... RACLA then was able to put their resource centre there, which in the first couple of years that it was there was very important, because the sort of resources that RACLA had were not to be found anywhere else in Australia. They weren’t, for instance, in university libraries, where you would expect that sort of material to be, so it meant that you had students come across from the UNSW and other places to La Peña to actually study the material that were held in La Peña’ (Ross video interview 1994).

‘A resource Centre and bookshop, which provide information on the current political circumstances of Latin America. This project is being undertaken in conjunction with RACLA. Books in Spanish available’ (La Peña Program March/April 1986).

This co-existence created a natural connection between the Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies of UNSW, RACLA and La Peña. ‘I saw in RACLA many people that went through this school, our department of Spanish and Latin American Studies, here in this University, and it made me very proud, to be truthful, to say that we had help to form young Australians with a concern for Latin America and its people, majorities, their injustices, inequalities and that wanted to change that reality, improve it. I think that the relation between the Department, RACLA and La Peña was very important’ (Brotherton, video interview 1994, my translation).

Rosarela Meza was one of those young Australians. She recalled in her video interview how she learned at university about issues she would have never heard about at home – about the Cuban Revolution, Chile in 1973, and others. She has never forgotten her experience when she first arrived at La Peña and saw, as she expresses in the documentary, those ‘bearded musicians playing and singing. For me it was: the revolutionary people “live” (en vivo)’ (video interview 1994, my translation). Rosarela continued to attend events at La Peña for the full summer of 1981 without missing one concert.

Because of this new space, many innovative events, ideas and groups began to emerge. Uriel Barrera recalls the origins of the Australia Cuba Friendship Society: ‘What it was formed later, The Australia Cuba Friendship Society, in many ways started from there, departed
from there... the concerns were there, and because *La Peña* couldn’t do everything, other organisms were formed to channel those concerns’ (video interview 1994).

*La Peña* saw part of its role being to facilitate the venue for community or solidarity organisations. ‘*La Peña* lent the venue for concerts. On Sundays were *La Peña* concerts but almost every Saturday there were political functions to raise monies for Chile, etc.’ (Meza video interview 1994, my translation).

According to David Santana, the emergence, maintenance and survival of *La Peña* was a consequence of the political and ideological base of the organisation. ‘It was pluripartidist, open, without ideological restrictions about the struggle and development of our Latin American countries. We didn’t have big problems with those who played within more or less radical positions’ (video interview 1994, my translation).

The use of the centre was exhaustive. Claudia Vidal recalls how women’s groups gathered in *La Peña*, mainly around Nicaragua and El Salvador or to support the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo or mothers of the disappeared in El Salvador (video interview 2008).

According to Rosarela Meza, as a consequence of the many groups working collectively in the Centre, other people became mobilised to participate, and in this way it became easy for political committees to gain new members or sympathisers (personal interview 1994).

*La Peña* was fulfilling a radical action role in the community, a political role educating people on the situation of different parts of the world, educating people in different expressions of Latin American Culture and, through RACLA, offering a resource centre that none of the Australian universities were offering at the time.

### 2.5.2 Young Latin American-Australians

¿*Te molesta mi amor? Mi amor de juventud* (Silvio Rodríguez).
La Peña was formed by a group of younger Latin Americans from the inner-city, who, according to Karanges (1994), were looking for alternatives to the commercial scene. Thus, youth participation was always encouraged. La Peña always aimed at the young generations.

Many interviews expressed the importance of La Peña had for the development of the new generations, from music education to self-esteem. ‘My children learned to play Andean music at La Peña, ... they had a South American cultural base, but from Río de la Plata. With La Peña their musical experience was enriched but was more widely Latin American’ (Arrúa video interview 1994). The age demographics of the audiences were very diverse, and many people attending Café Carnivale today remember attending, two decades ago, the concerts at La Peña. People like Rosarela Meza and Gabriela Cabral reflect, in the video documentary La Peña, on the importance for them as young people to experience La Peña, for her artistic development and cross-cultural experiences for Gabriela and for her cultural identity for Rosarela.

Juana Zepeda, Olympia Karanges Fernando Lerdesma and Sonia Bohn also discussed the importance it had for the children that grew up in La Peña. Zepeda, an early participant of La Peña, expressed in the documentary gratitude for the place where her child was allowed to be different (video interview 1994). La Peña helped many young people to explore their cultural identity.

In 1988, acting as Musician in Residence for La Peña, I held some music workshops in Tranby Aboriginal Co-Operative College for a group of young students who were learning Spanish and preparing to go to Nicaragua. Tim Anderson was involved in the project: ‘La Peña influenced me personally to study Spanish and to get more involved in Latin American solidarity. We took a group of Aboriginal students to Nicaragua in 1988, and many of us visited Guatemala, El Salvador, and Mexico. I later visited Cuba many times, the heart of the Latin revolution’ (Anderson personal correspondence 23 May 2009).

It was a place where to find support, as Claudia Vidal expressed: ‘Living in the Australian context, a lot of the time you feel that you constantly tell people who you are and where are you from and what you think, and La Peña provided the opportunity that that didn’t have to
happen, you know, you didn’t have to explain yourself as much as you did in the other Australian context’ (video interview 2008).

2.5.3 Latin American Identity in Australia

‘Vale la pena dejar de llorar y hacer cita con el porvenir’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

In Australia, in the 1980s, Latin Americans were not unified and the communities and music groups often reflected those divisions. Many wanted to become assimilated, and many perpetuated and confirmed cultural stereotypes, while others aimed at maintaining some kind of holistic attitude and coherence. ‘We don’t have a Spanish-speaking community. That is something in the mind of some Australian guy that doesn’t speak Spanish, but certainly not in our mind’ (Fernández in Ang 2008).

As Aníbal Arrarte, a journalist for El Español en Australia, relates about the role La Peña played in the integration of the community: ‘Pienso que La Peña jugó un papel muy importante en la integración de todas las nacionalidades latinoamericanas, contribuyó en mucho al conocimiento entre los países que conforman nuestra América y que en la mayoría de los casos son tan diferentes’ (personal correspondence 2009).

In addressing the concept of cultural identity, La Peña’s promotion of Latin Americanism was a way of neutralising the nationalistic sentiments of the individuals and groups gathering around the organisation. ‘It was a new situation ... we’d come here to work with people whose cultures were different, who’d had a different perspective of the world, who’d had different experiences. To amalgamate all of this was a task which cost us a bit initially’ (Santana video interview 1994, my translation).

Many interviewees expressed the fact that they learned more about Latin America in La Peña than in their own countries. In Latin America, for many political and historical reasons, the country next door was a possible enemy. There are border problems between Argentina and Chile, Chile and Bolivia, Chile and Peru, Peru and Ecuador, Ecuador and Colombia,
Colombia and Venezuela, and so on. *La Peña* focussed on fostering sentiments of Latin American unity and solidarity.

2.5.4 Promoting Multiculturalism and Countering Stereotypes

*‘Del sueño a la poesía’* (Silvio Rodríguez).

Many of the Latin Americans involved in *La Peña* regarded the experience of their involvement as a demonstration of their commitment to making a positive and substantial contribution to Australian society. ‘We believed in those days that we had a contribution to make to this country’ (Díaz in video documentary). *La Peña* connected the Latin American and Australian communities. ‘También jugó un papel muy importante en el conocimiento que el pueblo australiano y los originarios de otras latitudes adquirieron de los latinoamericanos, hasta entonces prácticamente desconocidos’ (Arrarte personal correspondence 2009). Each perceived the other as different but both recognised the need to become more acquainted with the other. ‘Filling up a cultural necessity of the Spanish speaking community and as a cultural nexus with Australia ... it was filling up that necessity of them (the Australians) to know us and for us to know them, mainly throughout the music’ (Arrúa video interview 1994).

The idea of *La Peña* was to create and open up a space for cultural exchange, but without cultural stereotypes: ‘a cultural forum where everyone could express themselves, not just to sing what you were expected to sing or dress the way you were expected to dress’ (Díaz in Etienne 1994). The exile or even the migration process is a disturbing experience. Regardless of the positive goals and outcomes the migrant tries to achieve, migration creates a rupture of families, friends, history – personal or collective – and culture. It is very difficult to reconcile and overcome the cultural differences from your past with your present, and this becomes exacerbated and heightened later when cultural chasms are experienced with one’s own children. The case of those who cannot return to their homelands for political reasons is worse. Later, time and family commitments in their host country make the possibility of return also impossible for many.
In a very short space of time, during a period in which multiculturalism was paid a great deal of lip-service, a small group of people, mostly comprised of Latin Americans, provided a regular outlet for negotiating and re-constructing the cultural difference which was emerging in Australia. This negotiation was not hindered or determined by restrictions, impositions or exoticisms. Respect for all cultures was adhered to and audiences were also comprised of a variety of cultural backgrounds. ‘It wasn’t solely directed towards Spanish-speaking communities, but to Australian communities – to the ones with whom we wanted to participate, and to the ones whom wanted participation with us’ (Santana video interview 1994). As a contribution to Australia, some musicians started composing songs and performing their new works at *La Peña*.

### 2.4.5 New Works

‘*Te doy una canción como un discurso sobre mi derecho a hablar*’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

Rigoberta Menchú (recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 and of the 1998 Prince of Asturias Award), in her appearance in *La Peña*’s documentary, mentions cultural rights. She is referring to human rights in Guatemala, but today, in the local multicultural discourse we rarely hear discussions about cultural rights. Silvio Rodríguez sings, ‘I give you a song as a discourse about my right to talk’ (my translation). Many people exercised in *La Peña*’s environment the right to talk, to sing and to compose.

One of the most prolific composers of those days, José Barroso, presented many of his works at *La Peña*, but Mario Rojas, Frances Paterson, Ricardo Andino, Jorge do Prado, Hugo Leal, Pachi Rojas and Persian composer Davood Tabrizi, among many others, presented their original works there as well. Not many compositions were written about the migration experience, but a few reflected Australian landscapes or moods. While some wrote their material in Spanish, Davood presented instrumental work and Frances Paterson composed music for Henry Lawson’s poetry.

In the 1980s, many Latin Americans were mainly preoccupied with the events and political developments in their countries of origin. There was little involvement in the local issues and
in the area of musical composition, and not many lyrics were written about politics in Australia. Nonetheless, there was some cross-cultural involvement in performances with singers such as Jeannie Lewis and Margret RoadKnight and poets such as Denis Kevans, during performances in rallies or for issues such as Aboriginal deaths in custody or the liberation of Tim Anderson, an Australian prisoner who was framed for the bombing outside Sydney’s Hilton Hotel that had taken place in February 1978.

Latin American music recorded in Australia in this period included Raíces by José Barroso; Canto por El Salvador, in cassette format, with songs by José Barroso, Gabriela Cabral (Gabriela’s song used in the video comes from this cassette) and Papalote, Papalote, a cassette and booklet produced by the Inner City Education Centre and the members of Papalote as an introduction to Latin American Music, with musical transcriptions and the recordings of traditional, contemporary and original songs. This work was reprinted a year later by the New Zealand Council of Organisations for Relief Service Overseas (CORSO) for Papalote’s New Zealand tour. Andanzas, an album produced by Alexis Mesa (founder of the Anti-Imperialist Festival and today’s Viva Magazine) with songs by José Barroso, Mario Rojas as a soloist and with original material, and Papalote; Volveré a mi Barrio, a single by Los Barroso in collaboration with musicians from other ensembles.

All these activities influenced many local musicians as Lachlan Hurse states: ‘The rich lyrical content and the way it addressed social issues made an incredible impression on us. The experience has dramatically influenced our musical interests to the point where it is now a point of reference’ (1993: 1).

2.6 The End of La Peña

‘Te recuerdo Amanda’ (Víctor Jara).

Writing about the demise of La Peña is the most difficult part of this work. The video component begins with the end, in an attempt to be done with it, move on, and address the positive – the contribution and important role of La Peña.
Many of the reasons for *La Peña’s* existence and community support were related to the solidarity work focussing on Latin America. On one hand, the end of *La Peña* was very much determined by objective and positive changes in Latin America and the world, with the return of the democracies. Juan Carlos Ríos expressed that *La Peña* could not catch up with the changing times. ‘*A la caída de esos gobiernos represivos de derecha, y muerta la solidaridad, se desmovilizaron o cambiaron también los motivos y sentimientos que generaban el interés de la gente (público) en la cultura latinoamericana. La Peña se desfasó y no pudo traspasar ese momento histórico*’ (personal correspondence 2009). Ríos also commented about the loss of musical quality at a later period of the organisation as another cause of its destruction: ‘*Pero eso que era su calidad y virtud más fuertes, se transformó también en su germen de destrucción. Por que cuando la solidaridad estaba en su pico, cualquier manifestación artística era buena para el escenario. No importaba su calidad: esta era secundaria y la mediocridad se sintió con patente de corso en algunos eventos culturales*’ (Ríos personal correspondence 2009).

Due to the return to lawful governments, not only did the audiences start fading, but some key people also left the organisation ... and the country. ‘*However the civilian rule was more often than not characterized by right wing governments with close links to the military, or reformist governments whose sphere of operation was limited by the threat of military intervention. Under these regimes the focus of the music moved from the social to the individual, instead of seeking relief through the political process focused on spiritual or sexual release*’ (Hurse 1993: 11).

Some Uruguayans and Chileans started returning to their countries (Ledesma video interview 1994). The later members did not share the same philosophies that guided the creation of *La Peña* (Santana video interview 1994) and the organisation started looking more towards what many considered the ‘patronising’ funding sphere. As Caglieris mentioned in her interview, many conflicts started and *La Peña* lost the role it had in the solidarity with Latin America (1994). These conflicts were a consequence of the lack of continuity with their early work and, as Santana stated, a cause for the loss of members and audiences (video interview 1994).
The centre lost the openness that characterised the early period, and this was exemplified by a member’s comment about dancing not being revolutionary. ‘Me parece que no hubo capacidad creativa para la reinvolución. Es de esa época que frases célebres tan importantes como ‘bailar no es revolucionario’ fueron escuchadas y que ejemplificaron cierta carencia de formación política y social en algunos miembros de su dirigencia’ (Ríos, personal correspondence 2009). Music and dance are intimately related in the Latin American culture and people had danced at La Peña from the opening day.

It was a slow death. When La Peña moved to the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre (opposite Newtown railway station), many members were not notified. There was a decrease in activities and audiences and eventually the committee resigned, calling on the community to incorporate new members. A few people rallied in support, but La Peña was reduced to a few documents, no activities or funds or assets. Many items such as the Candombe or the Brazilian samba instrument collection, the PA system, microphones and some valuable art decorations unfortunately disappeared in that period, along with most of the documentation.

2.7 After La Peña

‘Quedamos los que puedan sonreír en plena luz’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

Today, La Peña is to some degree re-emerging in different forms; the already mentioned Café Carnivale, the continuity of Papalote, but also Casa Latinoamericana (The Latin American Hut at Addison Community Centre) and ‘Café Sur’ are in some ways conceptually connected with La Peña.

2.7.1 The Music Workshops

Even as far as the end of the 1990s, a carry-over of these workshops remained. They were held in Ashfield and coordinated by Mary Jane Field, one of La Peña’s performers and workshop participants. Two newspapers also reprinted some of the cultural work from that era. El Nuevo Español en Australia occasionally published songs created during these
workshops, while *The Spanish Herald* published similar material arranged by Víctor Martínez Parada, although his material was more eclectic and unrelated to *La Peña’s* experience.

All these experiences refresh the community’s cultural memory and enable the discovery of new material as well. Eastside Arts offered a series of music workshops with Juan Carlos Ríos and Afro-Cuban percussion with Sergio Mulet, both of whom were also occasional participants at *La Peña’s* workshops.

### 2.7.2 *Casa Latinoamericana*

In the political sense, this would be the venue that most closely represented a continuity of *La Peña*, although the focus is solidarity work as distinct from cultural work. In the Sunday BBQs at Hut 47 at Addison Road Community Centre in Marrickville, *Casa Latinoamericana* continued to raise money for projects in Latin America. Over the years, many groups have supported human rights struggles by attending these events. Projects in Cuba, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, Colombia and the Argentinian ‘Mothers of Plaza de Mayo’ have had support from *Casa Latinoamericana*. Recently, the focus has been the earthquake suffered by the Chilean people.

On 20 June 2009, *Casa Latinoamericana* organised an activity in homage to Uruguayan poets Idea Vílariño and Mario Benedetti. This was a cultural event and many people reflected on the similarities with the early *La Peña*. Steve Gregory, Uriel Barrera and Jeannie Lewis talked about the poets; some people read their poems, and Cecilia Vilardo provided the singing. With the exception of this singer, most of these people were close to *La Peña’s* experience. *Casa Latinoamericana* was destroyed by a fire on Friday 9 October 2009 at 1.30 AM but there are plans for rebuilding it almost in the same location.

There are other venues such as *La Peña de Cacho* a social BBQ and open mike event. There is an open mike program and people go to dance with the band *Sabrosón*, half sequenced and half live, featuring Cuban singer María Cuevas. *Cafe Sur* (an initiative of musician Marcelo
García in Enmore) has been operating for a few years occasionally involving some of the musicians from La Peña such as Hugo Leal, Olympia Karanges, Juan Carlos Ríos and José Barroso. The continuities and discontinuities of Papalote and Café Carnivale with La Peña will be further discussed in the next chapter.

2.8 Contributions and Aftermath of La Peña

‘Todavía cantamos, todavía soñamos, todavía esperamos’ (Víctor Heredia).

La Peña operated in political, cultural and social areas.

2.8.1 Political Outcomes

Politically, La Peña surged, based on strong political and philosophical principles. It was not just a community centre – a place to provide basic community or social services – La Peña was a cultural centre, aimed at opening a space for critical and political discussion and it was a consequence of political struggles in Latin America.

As many of the members of La Peña came from countries experiencing power and human rights abuses, they were highly sensitised to suffering and about the necessity to organise and respond collectively. La Peña helped Argentinians, Uruguayans, Chileans, El Salvadorians, Colombians, Peruvians, Bolivians, and others to learn about Latin America and think as Latin Americans and to be an active part of multiculturalism in Australia.

La Peña was the centre for music and politics in Australia in that period. The political music aspect of La Peña was unique in Australia. With the exception perhaps of ‘Politics in the Pub’ there has not been much in the way of an exploration of music and politics, and ‘Politics in the Pub’ did not include Latin American musicians. La Peña presented music, from protest
songs to ‘nueva canción’, which focussed on the positive and empowering element of the lyrics, the proposition aspect more than the complaint or the mere protest. Many of the political musicians did that work not for monetary gain or artistic success. Most had a very fragile economic infrastructure and were constantly jeopardising other music jobs and opportunities with their commitment, their songs and their lyrics. No artist in those days used his or her exiled status for economic gain.

La Peña played a key role in the solidarity movement with Latin America. As well as the close relationship with RACLA, most of the solidarity movements in Sydney had a relationship with La Peña, ranging from meetings, concerts, or dances, to engaging established or newly created music groups that formed there.

2.8.2 Educational Outcomes

La Peña reflected that freirean democratic aspect as a philosophy for communication for building a cultural environment; the pedagogical aspect of radical action was present even if it was not spelt out. La Peña highly valued artistic work and was a learning experience for many people. The music workshops were conducted in a horizontal manner and people were encouraged to share their knowledge.

Many of the interviewees have expressed how much they learned about the Latin American continent through their involvement in La Peña. Here in Australia they had the opportunity to interact with people from other Latin American countries. This helped them understand better, find commonalities and break down stereotypes. Many identified their first exposure to multiculturalism being through La Peña. The RACLA forums and La Peña’s study groups were very important in this aspect as well.

La Peña helped inform and sensitise many young Australians about Third World issues. The best Latin American resource in Australia in the 1980s was RACLA, located at La Peña (Ross 1994). Many interviewees expressed how a new generation became interested in Latin American political and cultural issues through RACLA and La Peña.
La Peña’s repercussions extended beyond Sydney. Interviewees, from Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth and Wollongong have acknowledged in their video interviews the influences La Peña had beyond Sydney.

2.8.3 Cultural Implications

La Peña succeeded at promoting music and alternative Latin American cultural expressions. In the 1980s, part of the community felt represented by songs of struggle, resistance and the unity of Latin America. A few singers still perform songs relevant to our social processes. After listening to Jeannie Lewis in Café Carnivale recently, a young singer told me how touched she was by the content of her songs; she knew no other songs of social commitment. Jeannie Lewis is not an outcome of La Peña, but she was in many ways an integral part of the process. Unfortunately, many musicians today have to negotiate their repertoire, and careers, in order to survive in their field. This happens not only to the older performers. The musicians of Son Veneno, a contemporary Latin American band, alternate their ‘funk’ performances with Andean folk music under the name Sonido (ex-Sonido de los Andes).

La Peña presented the first consistent program of multicultural/‘world’ music in Australia. La Peña promoted multiculturalism and promoted artistic diversity: jazz, experimental music, exhibitions, music education from Latin American to jazz studies, sound production, and English and Spanish languages. There has not been another cultural model as open and as diverse as La Peña either before it or since its demise.

La Peña also organised the Festival del Sol, an annual event that ran over two evenings. On the Friday evening, there would be a concert, with song and dance content, and on the Saturday, there was music for dancing. On these evenings, the Paddington Town Hall was usually sold out and, as Santana mentions in the video documentary, over capacity.

La Peña also aimed at combating stereotypes and cultural invisibility. One of these stereotypes is best exemplified by the poncho, sombrero, amigo, to which Bassa (1994) refers in the video component. One of the successes of La Peña was that it promoted our visibility, as
evidenced by audience numbers. _La Peña_ was successful from a ‘bums on seats’ perspective, a quantitative category that justifies the funding of many arts organisations. Thousands of people went through _La Peña_. The second venue had room for over a hundred people, and it was functioning two or three times a week at medium to full capacity. It was offering concerts on weekends and workshops or forums during the week, most of which were well attended. A few documentaries about Latin America, such as Bradbury’s ‘No pasarán’ and ‘South of the border’, later gave visibility to this community and in fact, some of the crew members were from _La Peña_.

It was the only venue at that time dedicated to multiculturalism in Sydney – just after the end of _La Boîte_ – and an early experiment of ‘world music’ in Australia. There were few opportunities for Latin American – or other minority groups – to perform in Australian festivals, and even then, they were often relegated to segregated ‘multicultural’ stages. _La Peña_ was multicultural, inclusive from the beginning; many people expressed this aspect in their interviews. Today, the magic label ‘world music’ has opened up a few more opportunities for artists, but the emphasis is still more on the entertainment, and the music for dancing, than other cultural aspects.

But was _La Peña_ influential? _Café Carnivale_ is one example of the remnants of the influence of _La Peña_. Unfortunately, in the Australian mainstream there is very little differentiation between culture and entertainment. _La Peña_ was working towards the development of a multicultural process and towards building multiculturalism from a minority’s perspective. As the economics of culture are now very tight, and venues are extremely expensive, a follow up of _La Peña_ in the form of a cultural centre is even harder to attain.

**2.8.4 Social Implications**

_La Peña_ was stimulating and had deep personal repercussions for those involved. Many of the positive outcomes of _La Peña_ were not planned. The organisation did not intend to help migrants in their settlement process, to become a de facto migrant settlement service. It expected government bodies to deal with those issues, or to help people with their cultural isolation or identity. However, the dynamic and commitment of those cultural activists and
musicians created a social environment and a positive energy that helped accomplish some of those outcomes as well.

*La Peña* was based on friendship, solidarity, generosity and conviction. It also focussed on the development of the new generations. *La Peña* has not been replaced in most of those areas. The artists performing at *La Peña* were singing songs related to profound personal and social experiences or created in deeply poetic forms. Today, in the music scene, with few exceptions, we live in a realm of banality and are fed with superficiality.

### 2.9 Discontinuity

The current poetic and political aspect of music in the Latin (American) scene is in a state of aesthetic and cultural discontinuity from that of the days of *La Peña*, most of the older *nueva canción* performers are today performing more ‘commercially’ viable material. Capellano (2004) was talking about a culture censoring and inciting self-censoring, it is paradoxical that the music market has similar aesthetic outcomes as the fear provoked by extreme repression. The difference could be that in those extreme situations always some people dare to resist, it is harder to resist in a benign and consumerist society.

Today, that old ‘political’ line has been blurred by reality. Many of the musicians that were considered conservative are often performing some of the old ‘progressive’ songs and styles, which have obviously lost much of their contingent meaning, and many of the ‘progressive’ performers are playing music that was considered commercial in those days in order to make a living from their art form. This could well be considered a strategy of reconversion in the sense of appropriating the benefits of modernity (García Canclini 1989: 371).

“Latin” music has become more Western and taken on an ‘entertainment’ nature. It mostly expresses attitudes and politics of escapism and evasion, even though the problems of the world are still there, and, in an ecological sense, are becoming worse. The industrial “Latin” ‘popular music’ is also widely consumed today in Latin America and unfortunately, more organic cultural expressions are being eroded further.
In representing multiculturalism through cultural practice, Café Carnivale is continuing with a similar role today. Unfortunately, after the ‘funding death’ of the festival Carnivale, this representation is restricted solely to the area of music.

La Peña’s work will rest in peace in the memories of the activists, cultural workers and participants who were part of it, unless innovative cultural action is taken by the new generations, hopefully informed about our cultural history in Latin America, Australia and also of past cultural experiences, like La Peña.
Chapter 3: *La Peña* as Radical Media

‘A pesar de você amanhã há de ser outro dia’ (Chico Buarque de Hollanda).

3.1 Introduction

The founders of *La Peña* were themselves involved in a process of cultural action. They developed an innovative cultural centre for Sydney and operated successfully in a cultural environment that was mostly controlled by the music market forces and the media. They aimed at expressing culture in an organic way and from the bottom up. They wanted, throughout this process, to share their concerns, ideals and optimism, and facilitated the venue for solidarity events with many social movements in Australia and the Third World. *La Peña’s* concerts were expressions of the synthesis of a special political climate and creativity, and expressions of the anticipations and early constructions of today’s local ‘world music’. In this chapter, I reveal how *La Peña* was a radical communication project of popular music and education informed by experiences of exile, and situated within an emerging sense of multiculturalism in the host nation, and all this in the context of a flourishing new concept of ‘world music’.

‘Aunque mi amo me mate
A la mina no voy
Yo no quiero morirme
en un socavón’.
(Anonymous, Peru, s. XVIII)

This early anonymous song says, ‘even if my master kills me I will not get into the mine, I do not want to die inside there’. The slave has an option expressed in radical media: the song. It might have been sung under the belief that, as Chico Buarque states, ‘in spite of you tomorrow will be another day’.
This chapter is conceived as a literature review and theoretical framework. This thesis is primarily restricted to a specific period from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, but it also extends the analysis to the current work of Papalote and the ‘world music’ experience of Café Carnivale that emerges in the year 2000.

Up to the 1980s, for many of us life was experienced in a world of binaries: North-South, East-West and Left-Right. However, many critical political, economic and social transformations were taking place contemporary to the processes I am studying, transformations that stretched out that binary vision. The eruption of new identities and minorities towards the end of the 1980s speak of increasing complexities with the development of new sexual and ethnic identities, and the weakening of the idea of nation. As García Canclini analyses, discussing unification in transnational markets, ‘parece que las naciones y los estados molestan, o se confía cada vez menos en ellos para que integren a las partes de cada sociedad’ (2002: 31).

Australia, during this period, was also becoming increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural and was experiencing many social and economic transformations. As elsewhere in the global North/West, the ‘condition of post-modernity’ (Harvey 1989) was beginning to be felt, and new ideas were slowly altering the rules for sciences, literature and arts (Lyotard 1984). During this period, a portion of the world had already started to disclaim and reject those grand narratives (grand récits) (Lyotard 1991) that partly sustained the political project of La Peña. Political and cultural projects such as La Peña demonstrate that the conditions of modernity and post-modernity co-exist in given spatial and temporal contexts. During this time, there was a notable shift in the appropriation and redefinition of ‘the popular’ and of popular music, at times when the idea and notion of ‘world music’ also emerged strongly as a discursive practice in certain fields. While politically La Peña was somewhat caught in the binary world framed by the Cold War, it also represented many alternative forms of expression as a consequence of the equalitarian aims of Latin American social movements. It was to become one of the most innovative, groundbreaking and influential practices of multiculturalism in Australia adding another layer to this complex scenario of analysis.
In this period, we experienced the rise and fall of dictatorships in the Southern Cone of Latin America, the civil war in El Salvador and the end of the Cold War, represented symbolically by the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, which coincided with the return to democracy in many South American countries around the same time (for example, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay and Chile).

3.2 Chapter Structure

I first discuss the Latin American context, the situation many Latin Americans left behind and that was their political and cultural baggage. I then conceptualise La Peña as radical media, that is, as ‘small scale media, small budget, horizontal and oppositional, usually related to social and political movements, sometimes short lived sometimes not as much’ (Downing 2005: 5, my translation), and pointing out the importance of examining La Peña as a social movement and popular education. I examine La Peña as a radical media project whose core aims were to promote, preserve and communicate local and international grassroots movements, especially from the Latin American countries. This section is informed by the pioneer works of Freire.

I then examine La Peña as political praxis during the early stages of the ‘invention’ of Australian multiculturalism, discussing the place that Latin American diasporic cultures were struggling to gain within this surging discourse of multiculturalism, arguing that Latin America remains largely invisible in these constructions.

I finally offer a broad critical analysis of contemporary popular and ‘world music’ literature, and discuss how the case studies presented in more detail in the following sections, namely, Papalote and Café Carnivale, are inserted in these complex fields of the popular and constructions of ‘world music’ as a concept. La Peña was interacting with the local popular music scene and was influencing the emergence of a local ‘world music’.
To complete this chapter, I discuss the documentary *La Peña*, produced as part of this thesis, which outlines the practice-led nature of this investigation.

### 3.3 The Latin American Context

’Tengo una pena en mi son,
una pena que me aterra
De ver a mi pobre tierra,
tratada sin compasión’
Pobre mi Cuba (Carlos Puebla).

The contributions of the Latin American exiles were a direct consequence of the diaspora of political refugees created in the context of the Cold War, but it also was a consequence of the cultural displacement of the Latin American immigrants and many left wing intellectuals in Sydney. The repression in Latin America was a response to many democratic movements struggling for social justice and often in opposition to continuing US domination and the imposition of neoliberal policies in the region.

‘The Cold War ideological focus on the evils of communism was a useful strategy for justifying U.S. support for anticommmunist (and antidemocratic dictators; it also provided a rationale for the pursuit of U.S. economic interests in the developing world. U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War was more than an anti-Soviet project. It was an expansionist effort to globalize the U.S. sphere of influence and expand U.S. hegemony, spreading free market capitalism and U.S.-style liberalism under "a military shield" worldwide” (McSherry 2005: 14).

By 1991, there were 49,700 people of Latin American origin, which accounted for roughly 0.2 per cent of the national population. Of this total, (43.6 percent), were from Chile, Argentina (21 percent), Uruguay (15.6 percent), Peru (4.5 percent), and Brazil (3.7 percent). The remainder came from Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, and, in lower numbers, El Salvador, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica and Mexico. They settled mainly in urban parts of New South Wales and Victoria’ (Ryan 1998: 82).
As a consequence of the coups d'etat experienced in countries like Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, and the transformations of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, there were many people – not just Latin Americans – who were very interested and active in Latin American culture and politics. This was a period of great optimism and many held the belief that the dictatorial regimes were drawing to an end and that the Latin American peoples would shortly be free and able to exercise greater control over their own destinies.

The humanitarian abuses were extreme. In Argentina alone – my country of origin – the practice of torture and executions was extensive. ‘During Argentina’s military government (1976 to 1983) thousands of people were “disappeared”, extrajudicially executed and tortured. More than 9,000 people are officially listed as having disappeared during the military’s systematic crackdown on leftist opponents; however, human rights groups have estimated the number of victims to be 30,000’ (Amnesty International 2008).

The methodology of torture was taught at (North) American schools of repression. ‘El cono sur latinoamericano se sumió en la estrategia imperialista de instalación del asesinato, la desaparición, la tortura, el exilio y el miedo, como forma brutal de repression e introducción de una cultura que censuraba, e inducía a la autocensura’ (Capellano 2004: 28). It was extremely difficult for the survivors of these regimes and of the torture to shake off the fear, even in a new and safer society. La Peña was an outcome of that repression and the subsequent arrival of exiles from Latin America. Many of them were very politically active in La Peña, as Vidal states: ‘There was the war in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan struggle. There was a dictatorship in Chile, in Argentina and in Uruguay. It was inevitable that it had to have a political context’ (video interview 2008).

The cultural contributions of these new arrivals, in particular of the music they created or recreated here was adding ‘richness’ and diversity to this country. Radio personality Jaslyn Hall in a review of Papalote recognises some of those contributions: ‘Some were political refugees, others simply in search of a new life. Whatever their background, Australia’s Latin Americans are adding further richness to our cultural mix’ (Hall 1994: 88).
Gustavo Martin Montenegro (1990) wrote about exile from the Chilean solidarity experience perspective. His work, very detailed and comprehensive, includes some of the cultural activities organised to raise funds for that particular cause. He acknowledges the Australian singers Jeannie Lewis and Margret RoadKnight and the international touring groups Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, Illapu and Los Parra. The acknowledgment of the contribution of Latin American local music groups is minimal. La Peña is mentioned in this work only once and as the venue where the play ‘Jara’ was performed.

However, the local community was very active. ‘In the eighties music greatly reflected the politics of the community; many songs were sung about struggles, and there were a large number of refugees who had come directly from the areas of conflict’ (Díaz in Wallace 1997: 25).

The experiences of the Latin Americans in Australia had sporadic mention in the literature, in works such as the history of Latin American Studies (Carr 2005), the construction of Latino locality in Adelaide (Cohen 2005), Latin Americans and indigenism in Australia (Cohen 2003), the Latin American identity (Zevallos 2005), the invisibility (Hodge and O’Carroll 2006), statistical analysis of the Latin American communities (Jupp 2001), the meaning of “Latin” Popular music for the El Salvadorian community (Cohen 1997).

In 2005 JILAS, the Journal of the Association for Latin American Studies (AILASA), had a special report on Latin Americans in Australia, discussing identity (Zevallos), Chileans in Perth (Torezani), imagined Hispanic communities (Lopez), the construction of a Latino (Cohen), the Chilean left in Melbourne (Nguyen), migrant Latin American men (Pease and Crossley) and second generation “Latin” women (Zevallos). However, there is not much mention of the musical experiences of those many Latin Americans exiled in Australia. Many of those people came to Australia as a consequence of the systematic repression in the Southern Cone of the Americas: the ‘Condor Operation’ or Operación Cóndor.

3.3.1 Causes for the Exile: Operación Cóndor

‘Estoy metido en una historia de espejos malditos’ (Anonymous in Calloni 1999: 19).
This anonymous testimony of a Latin American prisoner expressing that he felt he was ‘caught in a history of damned mirrors’ reflects the situation many exiles had to experience back home and before arriving to Australia. The 1970s and 1980s were decades of infamy in the history of Latin America. In that period, many strategies were put in place for the dismantling of progressive governments and organisations and also for controlling and morally undermining the populations. Operación Cóndor, the main strategy, was developed and was fully operational, kidnapping and disappearing people and utilising similar torture techniques that have more recently re-emerged in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib.

Operation Condor was a top-secret component of a larger inter-American counterinsurgency strategy - led, financed, and overseen by Washington - to prevent and reverse social and political movements in Latin America in favor of structural change... the Condor system was a criminal operation that used terrorist practices to eliminate political adversaries, and extinguish their ideas, outside the rule of law (McSherry 2005: 241).

Many activists confronted those human right abuses, politically, culturally and even militarily. Many musicians responded against those abuses as well, with political commitment and their musical production.

Miguel Cantilo, a 1970s songwriter from the Argentinian duo Pedro y Pablo describes this inhumane and extreme situation.

‘Apremios ilegales, dolores genitales,
tu condición humana violada a placer
Los perros homicidas, lamiendo tus heridas
y el puñetazo cruel que amorata la piel.
¡¡¡Socorro!!!!’
Apremios Ilegales (Miguel Cantilo).
Stella Calloni in *Operación Cóndor, Pacto Criminal* (1999), undertook extensive research on these strategies of death and population intimidation. She attaches documents only discovered in 1992, after the end of Stroessner’s dictatorship in Paraguay and declassified documents from the United States (US) Department of State in 1999. Esquivel comments on the consequences of those strategies. ‘Esas doctrinas costaron un precio muy alto a la humanidad y la impunidad hace posible que en estos tiempos las garras del Cóndor vuelvan a rozarnos’ (Esquivel in Calloni 1999: 9). The *Operación* or *Plan Cóndor*, was a systematic abuse of human rights and a death pact under the guidance of the ‘Theory of National Security’ of the US (Esquivel in Calloni 1999). The number of people disappeared or killed as a consequence of this *Operación Cóndor* amounts to more than 50,000; a genocide that is only augmented if we add the 200,000 victims in Guatemala alone. The plan – for Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay – was created to eliminate fugitive terrorists and exiled dissidents (Lupo in Calloni 1999).

The Condor Operation was, as Calloni describes it, the ‘continental-ization’ of political criminality directed from Washington. In addition, if death was not enough, there was an extensive practice of torture, and even a black market of stolen children (many of them still being looked for by their families) and goods. Some of those responsible for these crimes against humanity have been prosecuted in their countries, but not many people have been prosecuted in the US for their role in this genocide.

Many people arrived in Australia in those days escaping from that repression, first from some of the countries where the *Plan Cóndor* was applied, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina principally and later from El Salvador escaping the war. In Australia, there was a sentiment of solidarity, empathy in different sectors of the population, especially in the university environment.

But where did these people settle? The works on migration of Latin Americans indicate that the population was principally located in the areas of Fairfield, Botany Bay and Western Sydney in NSW and Western and Southern Melbourne in Victoria. However, none of this historical analysis points to the fact that was an important group of the community operating around Newtown, in Sydney’s inner-west, which coincided with the area where the
Australian alternative left movement was located. That was a kind of left wing or alternative mainstream, non-existent today, and the Latin American Cultural Centre, La Peña, became the centre-point: an important space for many of those alternatives.

The migration process can be observed from two perspectives: the perspective of the place of settlement or receiving country, or from the Latin American or the emitting place’s perspective. This diasporic process is part of the history of Australia – multicultural Australia – but is also part of the Latin American history and diaspora. For García Canclini, Latin America today ‘no está completa en América Latina. Su imagen le llega de espejos diseminados en el archipiélago de las migraciones’ (2002: 19). Consequently, the world is becoming more and more interrelated. ‘Podemos decir que lo latinoamericano anda suelto, desborda su territorio, va a la deriva en rutas dispersas’ (García Canclini 2002: 20). In this interrelated world, where migration and interaction are rapidly increasing, many national or cultural communities are only complete when they include their diasporic populations, as García Canclini also states ‘cuando nuestros campesinos y obreros, ingenieros y médicos forman comunidades “latinoamericanas” en todos los continentes, basta en Australia’ (2002: 94).

La Peña was one of those communities re-enacting their culture in a new environment. The local Latin American community provided many musicians, political activism, concerts, festivals, theatre and cultural events. Many musicians and groups were active doing school performances, theatre presentations, participating in many festivals, universities or political environments. However, many of those people, because of their past political and cultural experiences, perceived this country in a very critical way and wanted to leave a mark on it. They were the ones contributing to La Peña the most. The economic refugees had the option to remain in, or return to, their countries, but the political refugees did not and they had left behind a deep political – and cultural – process they needed to recreate here.

Puerto Rican songwriter Roy Brown describes in his song El Negrito Bonito, the feelings and reasons for the departure of a Porto Rican migrating from his hometown, going first to San Juan and later to New York; his situation does not improve, he does not find any work in
either place and finishes living in the streets but he insists that he will not return. This, in many ways, reflects the fate of many migrants or exiles.

‘El Negrito Bonito se va pa’ San Juan,
buscando trabajo buscando más pan.
No sabe en serio que va a hacer,
pero eso sí sabe ¡No voy a volver!'

The situation of those immigrants changes with time, what was originally exile might become or mutate into a diaspora, as the situation changes in their home country, i.e. the return of democracy. But for many people, it becomes difficult to return to their home countries for family, personal or work reasons.

Kaminsky (1999) elaborates on these processes of change from exile to diaspora, based on Latin American writers living outside their countries. To remain in the diaspora is a choice; exile is not. Braziel and Mannur (2003) present a collection of essays about diaspora, identities, population dispersion, separation and relocation, tackling many different cases including Latin American and Caribbean. Everything changes, Todo cambia, was a popular song in La Peña’s environment and it was reflecting on those processes.

‘Cambia lo superficial, también cambia lo profundo
Cambia el modo de pensar, cambia todo en este mundo
Cambia el clima con los años, cambia el pastor su rebaño
Y así como todo cambia, que yo cambie no es extraño’
(Julio Numhauser).

Multiculturalism is still a relevant topic in Australia, even if the term is much less used than before. However, there is not a great deal of literature about the different waves of Latin Americans arriving to these shores; the early migrants, the refugees, their cultural contribution and the extensive political and solidarity networks of which they were key part. It is important for future generations to know more about their cultural expressions, contributions, issues of music and exile, diaspora, multiculturalism, music and politics, or
educational perspectives in their approach to cultural action. The Latin American migration to Australia, a consequence of the described political upheavals in that region, coincides with a very important period in Australian history, which at the time was undergoing a socially radical government and beginning to re-imagine itself as multicultural society.

3.4 La Peña: Radical Media as a Social Movement

‘Por el pueblo voy pasando y oyendo su sentimiento
Lo recojo y al momento, se lo devuelvo cantando’
(Carlos Puebla).

The action of La Peña could be synthesised in Carlos Puebla’s song Soy del pueblo (I belong to the people) in which he sings, ‘I’m passing by the people listening to their feelings, I pick them up and immediately I return them in a song’ (my translation). La Peña was a reflection of necessities. There was a section of the community who needed to communicate and to promote a discussion of human right abuses. In the same way the original name was changed from Casa de América Latina as a consequence of people calling it La Peña, the direction of the centre also shifted as a consequence of the cultural and political necessities of the community.

In this section, I draw on the work of John D.H. Downing to argue that La Peña was a social movement and a radical media project. La Peña was the radical media experience, music performance, poetry, theatre, language skills (Spanish and English), and music learning from traditional instruments to contemporary jazz studies or Afro-Cuban percussion. It was a community active in its development, politics and promotion and it was exercising cultural resistance.

Radical media activists keep up their work regardless of the risks involved and many La Peña members were experienced in radical action in their countries of origin. ‘Radical media activists have very often experienced state repression – execution, jailing, torture, fascist
assaults, the bombing of radical radio stations, threats police surveillance, and intimidation
tactics’ (Downing 2001: 19).

In his book Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements (2001), Downing
defines radical media as media generally produced ‘in a small-scale and in different forms,
that expresses an alternative vision of hegemonic policies, priorities and perspectives’
(Downing 2001: v). As I will reveal later in the chapter, the works of Brazilian educator
Freire were inspirational for local media radicalisation. As Downing comments, ‘Freire’s
pedagogy can serve as a core philosophy within which to think through the nature of the
activist producer/active audience relationship’ (Downing 2001: 46). This is of key
importance to understand the symbiotic relationship between La Peña and its active
membership and audiences.

Downing puts forward the urgency of media activism in the face of blockages of public
expression, and in this regard, La Peña’s music was the medium through which Latin
Americans fought to be part and become visible in Australia. It was the way to have a voice
and to be heard. As a right of communication, people have the right to have a voice and the
right to be heard. Moreover, as Charles Husband (1996) has urged, people also have the
right to be understood. This points to the recent interest in media studies in incorporating
the political question of listening, and shifting the analysis from a politics of representation
to a politics of listening (Dreher 2008; Couldry 2006). This is of particular importance to
understand the contribution and legacy of La Peña as a space for finding a voice and
especially as a space for listening. Many of us came from social and cultural environments
where listening was primordial and where the political use and significance of music played a
critical role in this politics of listening embodied in popular music. La Peña was above all, a
way of telling our own story and, as Clemencia Rodríguez (2001) argues in relation to her
reconceptualisation of alternative media, a form of ‘reconstructing the self-portrait of one’s
own community and one’s own culture’ (in Downing 2001: 50).

Downing visualises radical media as forms of popular and political action appropriating
communication media. Media not just as technology, as press, video or radio, but also as
theatre, music, graffiti, Internet, jokes, dance and song (2001). Downing emphasises not only
the dimension of extreme political action, but also most importantly, the way media relates or affects the basic nature of social movements, and how media are grounded in political and cultural grassroots. Drawing on these notions of the radical as root, origin or source, La Peña was clearly a grassroots/radical movement aimed at popular education. La Peña was not associated with any political party (in fact ‘partidismo’ – as nationalism – was not welcome in the organisation), to any workers union, to any consular body or even a social club. As a social movement, it was supported and it was stimulated foremost by music as radical media.

In the daily praxis of La Peña there was an element of consciousness about the importance of culture as radical media as an agent for transformation. As I stated in those days, ‘I think the idea was to promote our culture ... we don’t disassociate culture from social reality which was very marginal to this country. We were very aware of the stereotyping of our culture, not only Latin American but all the migrant cultures... we wanted to break some of the rules of the arts world in Australia, with this pursuit of excellence and all that, all these pretensions. And make culture something at a horizontal level, where the interaction of musicians in our case and the people, were getting easy’ (in Seneviratne 1989: 16-17).

La Peña was consistently counteracting the established media, developing new audiences and encouraging alternatives to the mainstream culture. When the popular culture industry was exercising normalisation and manufacturing of taste by bombarding society with a million dollar and specialist marketing machine, La Peña was developing small projects, teaching music fundamentals, jazz improvisation, instruments such as charango, zampoña or bongoes, tai-chi, Spanish and English language, organising political debates and housing a resource centre. It could be said that La Peña existed within the disjunctures and difference of a new global cultural economy where the interactions were framed by a ‘central tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization’ (Appadurai 1992: 295). These tensions as experienced in the 1980s were an indication of the struggles for the democratisation of culture, where Latin Americans felt they could contribute to a more diverse cultural ecology at the wrapping up of the White Australia Policy.
The most important contribution of Latin Americans has been through radical action in cultural areas, specifically music and education. Much of that action was influenced by educational theories in particular the works of Brazilian educator Freire.

3.4.1 Paulo Freire

*La Peña*’s aim of democratisation of culture was intrinsic to the work of Freire, where people would be framed as subjects and not only recipients of culture. These ideas have certainly regained interest in recent years with a plethora of work on alternative and participatory media, where citizens are not only passive consumers of culture, but also active creators.

Freire (1921-1997) developed the pedagogy of the oppressed in Recife, Brazil. He aimed at a dialogical and democratic 'teacher-student' and 'student-teacher' relationship, trying to abolish the teacher-student dichotomy. Freire’s theories were opposing authoritarian or 'banking' concepts of education, where teachers just fill up students with content. His aim was the decolonisation of the minds of the 'learners' and in practical terms it was helping those ‘student-teachers’ in deconstructing the world. As a consequence of that process, both parts of the equation were learning the tools for deep political change.

*La Peña* reflected in many ways the dialogical and democratic aspects of Freire’s philosophy for communication and in that sense, it was at the vanguard cultural practices in Australia at the time. While Freire’s ideas were hardly accredited as influential at *La Peña*, his views considerably framed our praxis. The organisation aimed at empowering audiences; anyone could become a member of *La Peña*, and participate in the various activities. Many people became involved as organisers first and eventually some, after becoming involved with the music workshops, performed as a member of a music group. For more than a decade, *La Peña* and Papalote were involved in that educational process of promoting respect for diversity in music and other art forms.

‘*La cultura es la verdad*

*Que el pueblo debe saber*

*Para más nunca perder*
Su amor por la libertad
Que no se quede nadie sin aprender!
Son de la alfabetización’
(Carlos Puebla).

Freire’s ideas were very influential in that social movement, as they are in this thesis. This work attempts to construct a dialogue between the writer and the subjects of research, the present and the past, and the Australian diaspora with the experiences in Latin America. La Peña was close to his postulates. As Freire said, freedom had to be conquered in the quest for humanity. The aims of La Peña were in the realms of culture and principally music and politics, and music and solidarity. Most of the other activities were an extension of that practice. Their practice of dialogical communication helped the activists to understand and to interact with other local cultural processes.

Early La Peña members Marcos and Margaret Furtado comment on their dialogical relationship within the organisation: ‘The opinion of everybody was considered. People felt that La Peña was ‘theirs’, a place where they belonged, a place where they could always be listened to and where their ideas would be valued. This is not to imply that all was total Utopia, as any social group will also fall into disagreement’ (personal correspondence 2009).

The acting upon and confronting the reality was the radical action of La Peña’s cultural activists. The education factor was always present. ‘La Peña also came to be a place of learning. Education was further promoted through workshops and discussion groups for the wider community’ (Furtado 2009). La Peña was not a literacy group, but it actively helped the development of a group of people, in critical thinking and on cultural action. All this was achieved throughout a constant debate, even if they were lacking a systematised methodology applied to the culture circles. ‘In the culture circles, we attempted through group debate either to clarify situations or to seek actions rising from that clarification’ (Freire 1969: 39).

As many of the practices of La Peña were informed by Freire’s ideas, I will continue borrowing some of his ideas in dialogue with many of the issues discussed. Today, Freire is
becoming current again, his writings dealt with issues of education, cultural power and human rights. There are many reasons to apply Freire’s ideas to this work: historical, geographical, ideological, pedagogical and therapeutic.

Historical: Freire’s experiences and teachings were very current in La Peña days. Some members were familiar with his theories and some people from the original founding group were trained in his pedagogy and methodology (I was one of them).

Geographical: He developed his theories in the part of the world where those La Peña people came from. It was developed in Brazil and later used in neighbouring countries such as Chile and Argentina.

Ideological: Freire, a Christian, discovered Marxism in his encounter with the oppressed; Christianity and Marxism were also dominant ideological forces in the section of the Latin American community La Peña represented.

Pedagogical: Papalote first and La Peña later were deeply committed to dialogical communication and pedagogical praxis. We attempted a dialectical practice of learning about this country and teaching about our culture, problems and difficulties. This was also inclusive of other minorities co-existing in multicultural Australia. It was pedagogy of communication: a liberating pedagogy.

Therapeutic: La Peña’s praxis counteracted the negative consequences arising from the arrival of those migrants and exiles to a new social milieu, to an asymmetric and alienating situation, a culture of silence with the aggravating aspect of assimilation as cultural invasion, where ‘those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority’ (Freire 1972: 122).

Exile, migration and displacement are traumatic because of the loss of security, family and friends. Migration is an option as an attempt to improve an economic situation. For refugees and exiles it is not, you are escaping and you are a fugitive of your own land. La Peña was confronting a culture of silence with a culture of communication through ‘the use of Freire’s liberation pedagogy in the problem identification and seeking to understand the mechanism
of the “culture of silence”. Freire’s liberating pedagogy becomes a communication practice in the development of solutions’ (Hemer & Tufte, 2005: 169).

That communication practice Freire refers to became the radical action of *La Peña*. Those new migrants were interacting in a difficult cultural environment and were invaded and fragmented by the local media. *La Peña* was responding to this violence of assimilation with cultural practices. Migrants experience a cultural invasion, they suddenly become aliens, even when they manage to maintain their culture, as they suddenly become ‘the other’, they are outside their original environments, they find it difficult to organically re-establish cultural values and to negotiate them with the mainstream cultural groups.

At *La Peña*, many people believed that we, as migrants, had to lead this process of change, to participate and help modify attitudes or situations of power. Freire argues that ‘the pedagogy of the oppressed cannot be developed or practiced by the oppressor. It would be a contradiction in terms if the oppressors not only defended but actually implemented a liberating education’, adding that ‘implementation of this kind of education implies political power and the oppressed have none’ (1972). There was no political or economic power at *La Peña*, only good will and plenty of voluntary work. There was moral power, the will to gather, to confront, to be independent and groundbreaking, and to accept and promote difference. The dynamics at *La Peña* were in fact very stimulating and motivating. The long-term survival of the organisation was a consequence of those dynamics and motivation.

Australia is at a cultural crossroads between its traditional inhabitants, the early settlers (or invaders), the post-1950s migration flows and its own placement in Asia. In the area of music, this crossroad opens up many opportunities for convergence, particularly with newly arrived migrants bringing to Australia new music traditions and instruments. These opportunities nevertheless co-exist within a commercial entertainment industry that exerts a tight control on diversity. The music industry has no roots in any particular location, tradition or cultural solidarities; its imperative is aimed at standardisation of taste and maximisation of profits. How did *La Peña* participate in the Australian multicultural transformations?
3.5 Australia’s Early Multiculturalism

‘La tierra, me quiere arrebatar,
El agua, me quiere arrebatar
El aire, me quiere arrebatar
Y solo fuego, y solo fuego voy a dar’
(Silvio Rodríguez).

With few exceptions, the literature on Latin Americans in Australia centres mostly on statistical and broad sociological quantitative studies and reports. As Hodge and O’Carroll poignantly reveal, ‘Latin America is a continent that Australians cannot see, a huge, populous region that is part of our multicultural global world... Why can Australian governments so clearly see Anglo-America, especially the United States, yet not Spanish – or Portuguese-speaking America?’ (2006: 193).

In Australia, multiculturalism was developed as a government policy during the term of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in the early 1970s. At its inception, it was a radical break with the so-called ‘White Australia Policy’, the concept of Australia as a ‘white nation’ founded by European settlers. As Ang and Stratton discuss, it was in 1972 when the Whitlam government ‘finally scrap all references to race from immigration law. This was the same Government which introduced multiculturalism as a diversity-oriented population management policy’ (Ang and Stratton 1998: 30). Whitlam took a personal stand on those issues. He expressed concerns about the international image of Australia as a consequence of racial politics. He expressed that he ‘was deeply concerned that Australia had failed to ratify the UN convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination’ (1985: 505). For Whitlam, Australia ‘should show a clean face to the world in terms of racial matters’ (1985: 499). According to Jayasuriya (2007), the new settlers achieved social rights, equality and citizenship during the 1970s. The concept of multiculturalism continued developing during the Fraser (1975-83) and the Hawke-Keating (1983-96) eras. It was during the time of the Howard (1996-2007) government when a ‘new agenda’ came into place; multiculturalism
was then linked with ‘core values’ of Australian society, meaning Anglo-Celtic heritage (Jayasuriya in Galligan 2007).

So how did the Latin American community respond to those multicultural concepts and policies? The arrival of Latin Americans coincided with the times when Australia was reinventing itself as a multicultural nation. The Latin American migration was culturally very diverse and the cultural and political input and contributions of these communities were very important during that period. However, other groups, including Indigenous Australians, did not have an impact in the Australian narrative of national identity. Freire calls this a ‘democracy of silence’ where ‘to glorify democracy and to silence the people is a farce; to discourse on humanism and to negate people is a lie’ (1972). If Australia could be a paradise for multicultural experiences and research, why have cultural minorities had so little exposure and power here? We should wonder if while we glorify multiculturalism we negate and, in practical terms, censor the ‘many voices’ and the ‘many stories’ of Australia. Regardless of the multicultural claims of this country, cultural minorities are muted. There is very little knowledge about or exposure of the contributions of many cultural groups cohabiting here.

Mark Dumbar (1990) quotes the acknowledgement of the Australia Council on the migrant musical experiences and contributions in the days of our research: ‘We can guess that much ethnic music exists more in potential than in actuality’ (Australia Council 1986: 2-71 in Dumbar 1990: 66). Is this silence or just ignorance? In 1986, there were many public spaces dedicated to ‘ethnic’ music and one of them was La Peña.

However, this ignorance could be interpreted as an expression of cultural control or censorship: ‘invisibility’ is unnatural. Many public venues promoted ‘ethnic’ music, culture and politics well before the 1980s, but as Oodgeroo Noonuccal comments, there is a resistance to learn about the other: ‘White Australians must accept that it is time for them to be the listeners and the learners. They must accept that Aboriginal and ethnic people have their own traditional and contemporary tutors and that they are available here and now’ (1989: 2 in Hodge and O’ Carroll 2006: 111). Again, the right to talk and to be listened to is pertinent here.
There could be many reasons for this institutional ignorance. Those reasons could be racial, as remnants of the White Australia mentality, or colonial or neo-colonial. Unfortunately, in Australia today, cultural perceptions through colonial prisms still prevail. As an example, in the arts world, many organisations or government bodies look only towards the West, or the North, for a source of ‘art’. Many festival organisers mimic international festivals in their programming, unfortunately not supporting the local, including the multicultural. One of the biggest ‘world music’ expressions in Australia is WOMADelaide, borrowing the name of the WOMAD Festival. The local content of many festivals is not recognised, as it should be. This lack of vision, internal and external put us behind in a world that is becoming increasingly dynamic and interrelated.

SBS in their *Living diversity papers* (2002), notes that the long-time Australians are becoming insular in the society. They rarely have a language other than English, five per cent are not likely to socialise with people from other cultures, listen to music or watch films in a language other than English or country of ancestry, and they are the less positive about cultural diversity (in Ang et al. 2002).

According to Jakubowicz (2006), Australia seems to be stepping out of international trends on cultural pluralism: ‘The 2001 UNESCO Universal declaration on cultural diversity directly challenges current government thinking on these issues – for instance, the decision by recent Arts and Culture ministers to remove cultural diversity as a criterion for considering appointments to the Australia Council for the Arts’ (2006: 260).

Slim and Thomson discuss the issue of cultural capital as an issue of the written word: ‘One of the reasons why poor communities are seldom heard is because the documentary bias – the bias of the written word ... People are not consulted enough because the main debates take place in documents which they do not write, or in meetings which they do not attend’ (1994: 454).

The problem here goes beyond the written word: it is structural. It should be a debate over cultural democracy, but not to discuss if migrants are good or bad for Australia, or as ‘rituals
of White empowerment’ (Hage 1998). Most migrants are as Australian as the grandchildren of any early settler or convict. The musicologist Peter Parkhill questions the consequences of the ominous attitude of the music industry in particular: ‘In subscribing to the products and rhetoric of this industry, and allowing it to speak for all transplanted (and indigenous) music, we are led to ignore the rich and diverse traditions that now exist in Australia’ (1993: 256).

This creates serious consequences for the migrant groups, as the only value given to their cultural contribution is in the realm of ‘community culture’, just the ‘social’ element (community as a negative, meaning non-professional). The ‘real’ arts are kept under the safe control of the more ‘powerful groups’, the major art organisations and the arts industry.

The concept of ‘community’, as used for radio and community access television, is to design ‘institutions responsive to demands and priorities from below (the working class plus women plus minority ethnic groups plus lesbians and gays, plus...)’ (Downing 2001: 39). In Australia today, the concept of community (as ethnic or multicultural) has many pejorative connotations, of a second-class culture.

Minorities, as discussed earlier in relation to migrants, suffer a kind of cultural invasion. They find it difficult to assert themselves to organically establish their cultural values, and negotiate them with the more established cultural groups. The Australian identity, in a world becoming more homogenised, can only be reinforced with difference, variety and multiplicity. Australian music could be highly improved if incorporating Asian scales, African rhythms and Latin American feels (these are just examples, as all those cultures can offer a variety of rhythms or melodies, feels or harmonies).

According to Hage, in the White fantasy the diverse multicultural groups would not be able to mix without leading to tensions (Hage 1998). However, in the case of the early La Peña, the experience proved the opposite: many of the people interviewed were very positive about the exchange with other cultures through that process. The guidance of that ‘White aristocracy’ in La Peña was not essential either.
One of the key successes of the contemporary ‘world music’ Café Carnivale, and a continuity with the experience of La Peña, is the expression of the hidden (multi) cultural music. Australia is in itself a mini cosmos, a ‘cultural world’, that is its great uniqueness. But for migrants in general, visibility and ‘cultural power’ are difficult to reach. Migrant cultural groups only occasionally access government funding. The general Australian community is missing out on many ‘invisible’ cultural contributions that cultural minorities make, and the media plays a key role in limiting their visibility.

The alienating role of the media is not only a prerogative of the Australian situation. Kathryn Lehman, writing about Argentinian documentaries, discusses the role of the media and its links with the political system: ‘politicians took every opportunity to use the media to entertain citizens, and the media avoided serious discussion of economic issues by converting politics into a form of entertainment. This phenomenon should not be surprising, because in 1989 major national media assets were privatized’ (Lehman 2008).

Lehman (2008) is pointing to a key element for the discussion: privatisation. Can cultures develop while the main objective is the profit to be made? This raises many questions concerning the privatisation of the media and culture in general. Is the media informing or profiting? Why is it becoming more entertaining than critical? Why the extensive coverage of the entertainment industry? Is it because they represent the same interests, capitals, investors and ideology? Are marriages and divorces of television personalities real news? Is that journalism? Is there media democracy? Who owns information, communication, and culture? Privatisation and culture are difficult to reconcile. Can truth be privatised?

Capellano points out how this media compartmentalisation of reality benefits the market, but he acknowledges that the encounters occur in the borders, outside those realities, in the cultural peripheries: ‘Y los medios de difusión son funcionales al mercado, por lo tanto, como ocurrió casi siempre, definen, parcializan y limitan la realidad, propagandizando la zona industrial de éxitos y fama, y la zona cultural burguesa de transferencia de prestigio. Sin embargo, los acontecimientos y las confluencias suceden en los bordes y las afueras de ese fragmento de la realidad’ (2004: 52).
La Peña operated from a periphery, from a South, a South within a South. La Peña operated as a social movement. It is a common experience for migrants to encounter those ‘managerial nationalist’ people or to be zoologised (Hage 1998), but in the early period of La Peña, the organisation had an internal strength not to be much affected by those attitudes. None of the interviewees expressed concerns about white Australians, even if many groups and individuals found it difficult to perform outside La Peña. The Australian Music Centre’s rejected Papalote’s material for the library in the 1980s, as our music was ‘not Australian’. When we performed at folk festivals, we were often segregated to ‘ethnic’ or multicultural stages.

Hage discusses white multiculturalism as part of a fantasy of white supremacy (Hage 1998). In the case of La Peña, it might have been a fantasy of ‘migrant multiculturalism’ or ‘Latin American multiculturalism’. The history of La Peña was a voyage, the road of a few people who believed in the multicultural fantasy, as part of a better world. Following those beliefs, they created a utopian centre. That experience conveyed ideals about equality, solidarity, cultural democracy and education. That fantasy was actualised (realised) for a few years and left many of those people deeply impressed by that experience. But those were as well, utopic times in Latin America, and thousands of people struggled in the belief that the world was changing towards more equalitarian societies.

Maybe the lack of exposure is, as Hage also notes, because ‘white multiculturalism’ keeps ‘out of public discourse, other multicultural realities in which White people are not the overwhelming occupiers of the centre of national space’ (Hage 1998). In order to be included in the public discourse, it is necessary to address issues of visibility.

3.5.1 La Peña’s Visibility

La Peña existed for more than a decade, and was, for a few years, the preferred venue of the solidarity and alternative issues in Sydney. Thousands of people attended the weekly concerts, forums, solidarity evenings, festivals and workshops. Why is there no research literature about the process? Why the silence, the oblivion? It may be that the lack of
exposure and research was because, as Hage (1998) would argue, it was considered inferior as a cultural manifestation as it was the expression of migrants coming from Third World countries, or Third World-looking Australians.

Could the invisibility be also a consequence of the lack of status of the Latin American people in Australia? Maybe that is the ‘lack of newsworthiness’ that Hage refers to for a cooperative expression of cultural action (Hage 1998). The situation of the Latin Americans here is in many ways a reflection of colonial relationships, and of those of the industrialised countries and the Third World. Is this also an expression of internal colonialism? Ang (2008) discusses the invisibility as a consequence of a white media. Should we refer to the Australian media as a ‘White Australia’ media?

‘The Australian media in the early seventies were relentlessly white; the great waves of post-World War II migrants were virtually invisible in media cultures. For Anglo-Australian audiences this may have been comforting and reassuring: at least on television and radio an idealized white Australia still existed. However, for migrant audiences it was alienating and exclusionary’ (Ang 2008: 8). Has this situation changed much?

The people gathering around La Peña experienced in many cases that double handicap, their disturbing past experience plus the immersion in this new culture of silence; a culture of silence in which migrants have to live until they acquire enough ‘cultural capital’ to attempt exercising their subjectivity and humanity.

The work of La Peña was well ahead of the times, it was anticipating new musical trends, and aiming at expressing and reflecting multiculturalism. The history of this country cannot be complete without those particular stories. In Latin America, I was often asked to describe the role of La Peña in multicultural Australia: ‘era el único lugar en Sidney donde se hacía música latinoamericana y donde se abría una puerta a todas las otras culturas que no fueran la anglosajona’ (Díaz in La Unión 28/7/2002: 4).

Freire was discussing dehumanisation in Brazil while, in Australia; the government was attempting to eliminate the White Australia policy. Silence and invisibility dehumanise, not
only the victims of those attitudes but also those enforcing the process (1972).

Many projects, some critical for future Australian identity, are silenced because of migrant invisibility. There seems to be little general interest, at government or media levels, in ‘migrant’ expressions. It is important to reflect La Peña’s cultural processes to find out more about Latin Americans and other minority groups. Is all this silencing and invisibility coordinated ignorance, cultural censorship, just media manipulation or an expression of ‘cultural tarzanism’?

3.5.2 Tarzanism

‘Perhaps I am not hopeful. I keep thinking that Tarzan is alive, well and actively at work still forming US attitudes about Africa. Until we adults are able to lay his myth to rest, it is unlikely that the books we produce for our children will be free of the ‘Tarzan image’ (Sri Kantha 2008).

The Latin American newcomers had a double handicap; they were oppressed in their home countries as they came from poor socio-economic backgrounds or were involved in socio-political activities. But here in Australia, they had to confront a culture of silence, indifference as they encountered what I call ‘cultural tarzanism’, where they were placed, along with many other minority groups, as a second-class culture.

Tarzan was a funny character; he reflected a colonial perception of races: a superior, white, civilised race, and inferior, exotic and colourful races. Tarzan was a white person who grew up in the jungle. He was raised in Africa by apes. Tarzan managed to do everything better than the locals, the black ‘natives’. He could run and swim faster, fight better, as if that was a positive value, wrestle with and kill dangerous animals but in fair encounters (there was not much discussion then about endangered species). He had western concepts of justice and fairness, obviously genetically inherited, and if that was not enough, he even managed to fall in love with Jane, and she was white as well.
This myth, or its significance, permeates in many ways the entire cultural life of Western societies. It is reflected in the stereotyped images of ‘foreigners’ on television (obviously mimicking American television), and manifests itself in cases such as, in Australia the extreme social experiments with the Aboriginal community; in what is known as the Stolen Generations. Many of these policies reflect the ‘tarzanist’ concept of, ‘we know better and we have the power to enforce it’.

Travelling in Guatemala, with an Australian film crew, we wanted footage from a local (political) music group but the musicians refused to be filmed. After (unintelligent) insinuations of cowardice, they explained to us – to my embarrassment, as no explanation was necessary – the possible risk to important projects, and lives, if they appeared in a foreign documentary. In the film, the footage would have been just a ‘risk-free’ musical decoration for the director. When dealing with people from different cultures, not only sensitivity is needed, but also a strong sense of ethics and awareness. Tarzan is not that sensitive. How often do documentary makers go to the Third World looking for stories with shock value to be consumed by Western television? How often have people from poor countries been ‘cunnamullised’ by these ‘tarzanist’ attitudes, and their realities simplified or trivialised by the directors or producers’ perspective (a reference to O'Rourke's film on the Queensland town, Cunnamulla, 2000). Obviously, reality is extremely dynamic and complex: television and Tarzan are often not.

We simply need to observe the ‘ethnic’ composition of senior management in government, art organisations and corporations, the racial distribution of population in rich and poor suburbs, the (Australian) human images broadcast in television and the pop music scene. Everything seems to be reflecting a western mono-cultural conception of beauty and power. Dumbar was questioning this obvious situation: ‘Why are all the senior lecturers at Monash University Music Department (a department internationally known for its ethnomusicology) filled by Anglo/Australians? Why are most senior academics Anglo/Australian? Why are most senior politicians, barristers, judges, rock stars, generals, actors, police, company directors, board members and bureaucrats Anglo/Australian?’ (1990: 76). Dumbar discussed this situation in 1990, but are these questions really out of date today?
SBS Radio broadcaster Rubén Fernández cynically parodies Tarzan attitudes when commenting in the emergence of SBS: ‘Here we go, this bunch of wogs attempting to do what we very professionally do on the ABC’ (in Ang 2008: 52).

In most societies, class seems to be a defining element towards power. Here the ethnic element is always present; this society is full of glass ceilings, walls, windows, doors and gates. The only exceptions seemed to be areas of safe ‘otherness’ such as SBS Radio or Café Carnivale. Tarzan seems to continue with his ability to perform better in every field. In cultural terms, migrants often enjoy nice trips but in segregated ‘cultural buses’, or swim in separate ‘cultural pools’. But there is not only control with silencing communities (Freire 1972) and their imagery here, there also is a curbing to culture in general as increasingly the economy and politics are invading the realms of culture and arts. Culture is suppressed by politics, as Martin Barbero argues: ‘The truth is that politics tends to suppress culture as a field of interest as it accepts an instrumental vision of power ... From here it is a logical step to convert cultural policy into a bureaucratic operation run by technocrats’ (1987: 338). Managers increasingly control the arts world, as a consequence it is generally well administered and sustainable, but that doesn’t mean that the cultural or artistic outcomes are better. Art and culture should be about dissent, discord, challenge and risk as well. The old programs of the deceased festival Carnivale reflect an aborted area of a flourishing Australian (multi) culture.

It should be clarified that not all Anglo-Australians belong to the Tarzan kind; many are also excluded as a consequence of their difference, or their solidarity – true generosity according to Freire – with minority groups or the underprivileged. In contemporary Australia, we may think of those many people confronting the security services at the Australian detention (concentration) camps; they were supporting imprisoned illegal migrants and their children, many paradoxically escaping from parts of the world where Australia was actively involved militarily. Or those vivid television images of a policeman risking his safety by physically protecting ‘migrant-looking people’ from racist mobs at Cronulla Beach in 2008.

Not all migrants are excluded from having oppressive attitudes either; Freire (1972) discusses how in early periods the oppressed tend to become oppressors. This 'petty tyranny'
(Castañeda 1984) is a consequence of the authoritarian and vertical way societies are organised as relations of power.

It would be unfair as well to claim that this ‘tarzanism’ is unique to Australia. Unfortunately, many societies all over the world enjoy racial prejudices and cultural determinism but we are in this work exploring its local manifestations. García Canclini comments on similar attitudes in the US: ‘El gobierno estadounidense ha decidido ignorar su propia multiculturalidad conflictiva e imaginarse el planeta como un espejo de quienes triunfaron en su selvático mercado’ (2002: 64). Speaking of jungle stories again ...

Is there a long-term assimilationist strategy in place, silencing minorities and promoting just white Australian (or English or American or Western) culture? Assimilation is cultural aggression; it is an invasion and an act of violence. They impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression. ... always an act of violence against the persons of the invaded culture’ (Freire 1972: 121). It seems that visibility and acceptance have only been achieved in areas of gastronomic multiculturalism.

Australia is in many ways culturally fragmented. Multiculturalism has not been able yet to welcome, to integrate, and to give equal opportunities or exposure to the contributions of the many Australian cultural minorities. What is necessary is a debate over representation and the right to visibility, to be heard and to be different. But, as previously discussed, the cultural problem goes beyond the background of the cultural workers or artists. Culture has been left to the media action of the powerful. Culture is becoming more an industry than a responsibility of the country’s guardians. We are ignoring the same people multiculturalism should be promoting.

In the area of music, that is devastating. Australian popular music, as the arts or media in general, does not reflect our cultural diversity. La Peña, Papalote and the recent ‘world music’ project Café Carnivale, habit in the realm of popular music. It used to be called ‘ethnic music’, later it was referred to as multicultural and today it receives the generic name of ‘world music’, but the scene is basically the same. Today, the discussion about music and
multiculturalism is currently mutating to the ‘world music’ sphere; it was displaced from the realm of cultural studies or radical media to the world of ‘popular music’ and entertainment.

### 3.6 Popular Music

Popular music is an ambiguous term and it is defined differently in different parts of the world. It is not the same as ‘*música popular*’ in the way it was understood in Latin America and around *La Peña*’s experience, as it will be argued later in the chapter.

Roy Shuker in *Understanding popular music* and while tracing many aspects of popular music (performance, technology, mass media, press, gender, folk music), discusses the ambiguity of the term popular, as a commercially produced, chart orientated product in a reciprocal relationship with the mass media and also as commonly liked or approved by a large audience or the general public (Shuker 2001: 3).

In the realm of popular music, everything becomes merchandise and discussions are not necessary, as sales define the success of projects as products. Today in Australia, the discussion of multicultural music has been displaced by the ‘world music’ agenda of the industry. A few years ago, and as an example of this trend, the multicultural representation for the Music Council of Australia was changed to ‘world music’.

In the funding arena, and as mentioned before, migrants have difficulties accessing ‘cultural power’, even if they can occasionally gain supported through grants for community projects. Artists are asked to develop projects and to apply for funding. That works to the benefit of major arts organisations, or those with more cultural capital, or the more established individuals, groups or institutions, but not to the benefit of the general Australian culture. Often, tags or definitions are used in order not only to differentiate or delimitate but also to discriminate. Dumbar studied the funding of recordings of multicultural music in 1989, the later period of *La Peña*. He wanted to show, or expose, Federal Government attitudes towards multiculturalism. He interviewed members of *Siracco, Southern Crossings, Bombarde, Blindman’s Holiday, Nakisa, Lenko* and the South American band *Tunari*. In his work, he
analyses critically those musicians’ attitudes to borrowed music, as most of them played music inspired by other cultures. As the trend was to fund Anglo-Australians playing multicultural music, he wondered how Tunari, a South American band, received the funding. The case was atypical; most of the successful applicants in this category were non-migrants. But in this case, ‘C’est ca Recording Studios’ was the applicant for the funding and they were – in the days of Mark’s research – still in a dispute about the copyright for the cassette Tunari recorded (Dumbar 1990).

As Freire (1972) discussed in regards to education, any banking mode of operation is necrophilic; banking media, banking music and banking funding are, from this perspective, necrophilic as well. It is paradoxical that ‘long-term Australian insularity mentalities’ and the tarzanism discussed previously were in a position of cultural and political power in a multicultural society. Has there been significant change since Dumbar’s research? Is it all this consequence of self-image? Is it because the Western cultural image/model that is disseminated and promoted globally does not coincide with the image of the local migrants? Is it also an internal reflection of the western (mono) cultural domination of the world? Is Tarzan now playing the guitar in a Rock band?

Could all this (funding) control of multicultural expressions be interpreted as a kind of cultural repression or ‘necrophilic suppression’ or an elegant ‘cultural genocide’ expressed at local level but dictated internationally? A record number of Indigenous languages have already disappeared from this country. How much more culture do we have to lose in order to be aware of the damage? There are natural processes of cultural mixture, hybridisation and disappearance of cultural traits but there should be basic discussions about interest groups controlling culture. By the same token many more non-Anglo or non-Australian-born artists (and their works) should be widely promoted and, why not, considered ‘Australian national treasures’. National treasures should be embedded in universalism, not of localism, ethnocentrism and tarzanism.

Another Australian ethnic group, the traditional owners of this land, expresses similar concerns. Janice Newton analyses the approach to aboriginal music, the attempts of a few composers to search for a national music idiom in response the Aboriginal culture:
Identification with the Aborigines has been sporadic and only fashionable during particular periods (1990: 95).

Australia underestimates the music cultures of those Third World-looking Australians and, simultaneously, promoted or exported as their own the sanitised expressions of ‘world music’ by white Australian groups such as Nakisa, Blindman’s Holidays or Sirocco (Dumbar 1990).

During La Peña’s years 1984/1985, as Dumbar (1990) explains, the Opera received $6,039,760, 57 per cent of combined federal and states music budgets; contemporary classical, 3.51 per cent; but, in a country where 28 per cent of the population were from Non-English Speaking Backgrounds, the funding for multicultural music was only 0.98 per cent (plus Tunari in that dispute about their cassette).

Shuker describes popular music as having ideological significance for consumers: ‘Essentially, all popular music consists of a hybrid of musical traditions, styles and influences, and is also an economic product which is invested with ideological significance by many of its consumers’ (Shuker 2001: 3). I would add that it also has ideological significance for producers and traders as well as governments.

Many approaches place ‘the emphasis on the “popular”, arguing that such appeal can be quantified through charts, radio airplay, and so forth’ (Shuker 2001: 3). As Shuker argues, there are diverse preferences in different countries, and cites the case of a meta-genre ‘world music’ that does not have the same level of appeal. He discusses its relationship with technology and especially recording, as some academics are maintaining a distinction between a folk mode based on live performance, and a mass culture associated with recording, even if this fact is changing with the development of home recording technologies (Shuker 2001).

Capellano discusses the aspect of technology in music. As music increasingly becomes a commodity and profit primes, musicians start to be replaced by music sequencers and computers, composers by producers, and DJs are considered musicians or performers: ‘La
Tecnología más sofisticada está puesta al servicio, mayoritariamente, de una franja densa de músicas mediocres. Los productores artísticos son “compositores” y los DJ’s “músicos” (2004: 47). This aspect has determined contemporary aspects of the local Latin American music environment. As the scene became more ‘popular’, many musicians (or not), created bands where rhythm machines or sequencers became the centre of the performance often degrading the music and the working environment. Technology can be used in a very creative way or just used to replace people, to save money. Some DJs can be composers when creating soundscapes, but they can also be a cheaper option of providing ‘canned’ music for parties or events.

García Canclini points out that the ideological aspect of popular culture comes from multinationals of message generation: ‘En los circuitos de producción locales, cada vez más conditionados por una hibridación heterónoma, coercitiva, que concentra las iniciativas combinatorias en unas pocas sedes transnacionales de generación de mensajes y bienes, de edición y administración del sentido social’ (2001: 28).

We can often hear today generalised concerns about junk food and child obesity, or fashion and bulimia, violent video games or films and youth violence, but there is not enough discussion about the consumerist media bombardment that children (and all of us) suffer. The way an ‘entertaining’ market economy is invading us, assimilating us, our children and, as a consequence, the next generations. We should not have a ‘return to the past’ or a nostalgia attitude, but a concern for a culture that is getting lost in this environment of ‘dumbed down’ consumerism. We should include in the listening rights, the right not to be invaded in public by contents, music or sounds we do not want to hear. People should have the right not to be ‘passive smokers’ of musical pollution.

We are becoming culturally and musically assimilated by musical and extra musical worlds. The entertainment industry is increasingly seducing us with voyeuristic access to an unreachable and ideal world of fantasy and personalities, where everything is safe, secure and beautiful. Occasionally, a member of the consuming-audiences is allowed to access that world, to cross the line and to get into that magic circle that makes us believe that the ‘fantasy’ is possible. That magic world is untouched by tsunamis, New Orleans, Haiti, Chile,
Iraq, Afghanistan, Guantanamo, ecological degradations, financial crisis, or any Third World-related issues. Martin Barbero discusses this marriage of the real and the imaginary: ‘This new popular culture was to be characterized by a new and strange intermingling of the real and the imaginary, a marriage of what one might term the informational and the fictional sphere, two realms that became inextricably intertwined’ (1979: 177).

But, in the period of my research, and at La Peña, a different concept of popular and music culture as ‘cultura popular’ and ‘música popular’ were used, and with an opposite meaning. Margulis (2007), as Adorno (1975) did before, discusses the concept of ‘Mass Culture’ not as a product of people’s direct interaction, but of the dominant culture forms disseminated through the media by a small group of specialists. The dominated classes would create ‘cultura popular’ by direct interaction and as a response to their own necessities (Margulis in Colombres 2007). ‘Cultura popular’ as a consequence would be a radical response to ‘popular (mass) culture’.

3.6.1 Música Popular

‘La era está pariendo un corazón
No puede más se muere de dolor
Y hay que acudir corriendo pues se cae,
el porvenir.
A cualquier selva del mundo,
a cualquier calle.
Debo dejar la casa y el sillón
La madre vive hasta que muere el sol
Y hay que quemar el cielo si es preciso,
por vivir’

‘La era está pariendo un corazón’ (Silvio Rodríguez).

In the 1980s, the literature in Latin America often reflected a strong commitment of artists, to political and cultural action for change. There were many discussions about ‘cultura popular’ as people’s culture and about music and political commitment. One example was the nueva
canción (New Song Movement). That literature and those theories are essential to the understanding of many of the events occurring at La Peña but are also good for addressing many contemporary cultural issues.

Ricardo Capellano (2004) attributes the origins of popular music to forced migrations. The development and emergence of Latin American popular music in Australia was a direct consequence of those movements. The migrants and political refugees contributed to that process. While the economic refugees had the option to remain, the political refugees did not. All of them left behind a deeply ingrained political – and cultural – process and needed, and wanted, to recreate it here.

Elitist culture is very different and can be easily identified (Stavenhagen in Colombres 1987), but ‘mass culture’ – what is currently in the West called popular culture or popular music today – is like a chameleon, it disguises itself as ‘cultura popular’ and invades and often undermines many cultural processes, organically developed by communities through extensive periods of time, polluting them with values of consumerism and often conformism.

In the creation of mass culture the socio-cultural dynamic of construction, transformation and legitimating of peoples’ music is replaced, as Capellano (2004) argues, with the symbolic predetermination of popularity and the insertion of a product in the ‘mass’ as the new way for imperialism to construct a neo-colonial imaginary (Capellano 2004).

García Canclini (2002) explores the way the concept of cultura popular is mutating, influenced by the way the Anglo-Saxon world designs an industrialised concept with the logic of the market. Eduardo Galeano offers us his perspective for the invisibility of the cultura popular experiences, as they are considered ‘non-specialised opinions’, but he credits the dictatorships with recognising its importance ... or its dangers as a form of radical media: ‘La cultura popular, que vive en los campos y en las calles, es siempre una “opinión no especializada”. Algunos intelectuales la miran por encima del hombro, pero las dictaduras no se equivocan cuando la prohíben’ (in Colombres 1987: 96).
Rodolfo Stavenhagen questions the way the folklore and popular music, as a collection of manipulated symbols, are used for ideological objectives. That seems to be an irreversible process unless they are used as a tool to defend identity and strengthen consciousness (Stavenhagen in Colombres 1987). That last aspect was in many ways the action taken at La Peña.

The concepts of música popular in the Latin American countries and the understanding of La Peña's cultural activists in the 1980s, were more related to music of the people, grassroots music or radical media than to the concepts of ‘popular music’ commonly used today in the Western countries. For these reasons, it was very compatible with the emerging policies of multiculturalism, with the music from other cultures, including the dominant, and was expressed through many works, including political songs.

3.7 Music and Politics

‘Pobre del cantor de nuestros días,
que no arriesgue su cuerda
por no arriesgar su vida’
Pobre del cantor (Pablo Milanés).

In Ethnic Minorities’ Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression, Martinello and Lafleur aim to provide a theoretical framework examining the links between music and politics. They claim that ‘political scientists – and to a lesser extent sociologists – have often forgotten that popular culture and arts can also be a form of political expression’ (Martinello and Lafleur 2008: 1192). The aim of their paper is to examine the extent to which immigrant ethnic cultural and artistic productions can be analysed in terms of political expression and participation.

They deal with the theory of music and politics, exploring how music was a potential source of power for Plato, how it was essential to maintain the social order for Gramsci, how for
Adorno music is a commodity and, when standardised, ‘contributes to greater passivity on the part of the listeners and progressively stupefies them’ (Martinello and Lafleur 2008: 1194). Many scholars have criticised Adorno for his ‘disregard for the complex social process by which music is appropriated by the listener’ (Martinello and Lafleur 2008: 1195).

This ‘appropriation’ concept seems to be current in cultural studies. Even if there is a degree of appropriation, which is increasing thanks to the music piracy in the internet, it is still a one-way communication process, unilateral, and from top to bottom. The consequences of this banking (Freire 1972) form of communication are passivity and apathy. It is sad to think that the only option people have in the ‘banking universe of sound’ is to appropriate.

The only way of appropriation that could be liberating is when we can, quoting Freire again, de-codify the many elements of the appropriated culture in order to incorporate them critically, and as a consequence to develop them qualitatively.

This thesis deals with issues similar to those Martinello and Lafleur are discussing, the music and politics of a minority group, in our case the music and politics of the Latin Americans in Australia. Many of those La Peña’s radical activists had a great advantage: they were back home, survivors of profound political experiences. They had exercised their right to struggle to defend their humanity, the right to be subjects of history and to promote change. Their music was influenced by these experiences. The reasons for singing were not superficial; it was not just for having a nice voice, even if there were nice voices as well. As Víctor Jara sings in his ‘Manifesto’, ‘Yo no canto por cantar, ni por tener buena voz. Canto porque la guitarra, tiene sentido y razón’: The guitar makes sense and has a reason.

Music played a role in their lives as a form of counteracting injustices, as Rislund (1989) exemplified in her work about Argentina. Music played a role before 1976, the year of the coup d’état, when folk musicians were helping in developing awareness about injustices, during the years of the military government expressed in rock protest songs, and after 1983, with the return of democracy, in relation to issues about disappearances and responsibilities.

The experience in Uruguay was not very different to the Argentinian one, as the most well
known artists had to go into exile. Two of those artists visited Australia: Alfredo Zitarrosa and Daniel Viglietti. Viglietti was a guest of honour in an early *La Peña* function, and he performed with local musicians José Barroso and Papalote at the Sydney Town Hall (photos of his performances are included in the video documentary ‘*La Peña*’). Inside Uruguay, a new generation of artists were composing songs quoting lyrics of ‘committed’ *canto popular* songs and developing lateral languages to address the extreme situation they were living, thus preventing censorship.

Coming from these kinds of experiences, many Latin Americans in Australia were well prepared to negotiate their status, their experience, and their consciousness within this new environment. *La Peña* was born from that negotiation. Many of the people involved had experience in radical media, and also were committed with, and aimed at building a more humane experience with their cultural approach. *La Peña* became the centre in Sydney of the ‘Latin American New Song Movement’, a key expression of Australian Political Song in the 1980s. *Nueva canción* was a local expression of *música popular*.

**3.8 ‘World Music’**

*La Peña* was operating in the realms of ‘*cultura popular*’ and ‘*música popular*’ as radical media, and was confronting mass and elitist conceptions of culture. *La Peña* aimed at presenting music and culture for their cultural and political values and as expressions of cultural resistance, not as mere entertainment. Many interviewees refer to *La Peña* as countering ‘commercial’ music. It interesting to observe that today there is hardly any other value in popular music than commercialism. *La Peña*, as a consequence of those philosophies, struggled to defend and promote cultural diversity (today’s ‘world music?’), recuperating locations and memories, and promoting development and creativity. I am not aware of any cultural body or centre in Australia today that could claim to have, or aim to have, similar objectives.

There are many definitions of ‘world music’, depending on the positioning. For the industry, it is an easy way to market styles and aesthetics impossible to match. In the West, like
multiculturalism, it is a way to incorporate the ‘other’, but from the non-Western parts of the world. In La Peña’s days the term ‘world music’ had not been invented yet, but there were musicians conceptualising their performances in similar ways to current ‘world music’ trends.

‘World music’ is a controversial concept; it was first used by Robert E. Brown in the early 1960s (Williams 2005) and was recycled, two decades later, to encompass different musical expressions in the context of globalisation. Denselow describes how it was manufactured. “The term “world music” was invented in 1987 by music executives and enthusiasts in order to simplify the task of finding heterogeneous forms of music produced outside the mainstream (Anglo-American) western markets in British music outlets, such as Brazilian lambada, Zairean soukous or Cuban son music” (2004 in Haynes 2005). It was a solution for the confusion (Western) customers, record shop owners and distributors encountered, for the marketing of many different styles and aesthetics. ‘If the visiting reps – the people who suggest new records to the stores – themselves were vague about the records they were recommending that the stores purchase from the distributor companies, how much harder would it be for the buyers, trying to anticipate demand? And then, at the last point of call, the record buying public?’ (Gray 2009: 15, 16).

‘World music’ is a reductionist concept, it describes its object in the negative: ‘world music’ is any music that does not fit into any ‘popular’ Western music categories, or into the (Western) music shop shelves. David Byrne agrees with the lack of real meaning of ‘world music’: ‘It is a marketing as well as a pseudo musical term – and a name for a bin in the record store signifying stuff that doesn’t belong anywhere else in the store’ (Byrne 1999).

‘World music’ is the ‘foreign’, the non-Western, classical or folk, the ‘different’, the ‘ethnic’, the ‘exotic’, in sum, the border and the periphery, the ‘other’. Non-Western musicians, and cultural minorities, nevertheless, are also appropriating the term to promote and market themselves in the Western economies. Today, Café Carnivale in Australia could be considered one of these appropriations.

For Haynes, ‘world music’ is often criticised as an expression of unequal power, but it is also benefiting cultural flows, exchange and cosmopolitanism: ‘World music is often perceived as an expression of asymmetrical power relations between West and East, between white
consumers/producers and black/Other performers and musicians based on an exploitative form of cultural exchange’ (2005: 380).

Peter Parkhill describes the ‘world music’ industry as presenting a ‘cultural show’ (by mostly Anglo performers to Anglo audiences) representing ‘other peoples’ traditions as authentic. Drawing a parallel with classical music, he discusses how the exotic nature of the culture is emphasised and how it is marketed in the West: ‘As such, “world music” constitutes a vast bank of material on which Western composers, record producers and musicians are encouraged to draw, as Western art-music composers have done for the last two hundred years’ (1993: 251).

Juan Carlos Ríos, an active performer and organiser since the days of La Peña, conceptualises a vision of ‘world music’ and from a local Latin American perspective: ‘En los 80 todavía no se había acuñado la palabra “World Music” para describir a la música que la sociedad australiana o su industria musical contempla como foránea. Para ser más exactos es la música que no nace en Estados Unidos o Gran Bretaña, lo que pone de manifiesto la mentalidad colonial existente y el carácter racista del término. Todos los géneros y formas musicales nacidos el pasado siglo en dichos países, aquí retienen su nombre original y se les copia y se les reproduce y se les hace australianos. Las otras formas musicales pierden su nombre y se les engloba dentro de dicho término así sean reproducidos y recreados en Australia’ (Ríos 2009).

The concept can be associated with colonialism, with cultural imperialism and misrepresentation. It is difficult for Brazilians to consider their music ‘world’, or for tango to be considered ‘world’ for Argentinians or Uruguayans. Could we say that ‘world music’ is the music of the periphery?

I remember renowned Brazilian composer/performer Egberto Gismonti, in his Australia tour in the early 1980s, personally expressing concerns about his music defined as Brazilian jazz (as the concept of ‘world’ was not used then). For him, his music was Brazilian music, full stop. The periphery does not conceive itself as periphery. Is Australia periphery? Is Aboriginal music ‘world music’?
Many traditional music styles are closely identified with locations. This ‘world’ description is a global view and in many ways, like the concept of nation, is losing relation with cultural identity. Some countries are not global. The US is the US, Great Britain, Germany or France are not intending to become globalised to become world, that is the fate of the less powerful countries. Watching Australian television, the US seems to be the centre of the universe. In music, the situation is similar. The globalised world reduces and melts everything, but US popular music or culture does not lose identity, the opposite, it becomes the universal reference.

The Australian case is strange as it has its mainstream Australian music, and ‘world music’ that includes Aboriginal and Pacific music. Is the local ‘world music’ the music of the internal south, the internal periphery? Is it a ‘tarzanist’ view of music? Capellano gives us his peripheral perspective of the meaning of ‘world music’. La ‘música del mundo’ saquea culturas desde la soberbia de la ignorancia y de la incomprensión’ (2004: 47).

Many musicians are appropriating the concept of ‘world music’ as well, to survive and to develop in Western countries. The more population moves, the more hybrid expressions arise. Many of those musical expressions will be defined as ‘world’, as in the past Gismonti’s music could have been considered jazz or “Latin” jazz. Latin Americans here do not conceive their music as ‘world’, they might call it Cuban, son or salsa, maybe mariachi, samba, bossa nova, tango, milonga, huayno, Bolivian, Andean or corridos. The ‘world music’ term is becoming generalised in festivals, institutions and grant applications. Today, after 30 years of the creation of La Peña, it is relevant to review processes that could highlight early periods of multicultural/‘world music’ activity, as early models and expressions of cross cultural relations. It is a must for cultural bodies and multicultural studies to start addressing issues of cross-cultural influences, politics and culture and understand processes like those of La Peña.

3.9 Latin American Music in Australia

As previously mentioned, there is not much literature about Latin American musical expressions in Australia. There are a few articles mentioning La Peña and Papalote, but they
were written mostly to promote particular events and targeted a general audience. What has been written about early Latin American political experiences?

Twenty years ago, Michael Ryan compared the ethnic music research in Australia and in the US, stating that the local one was in its infancy, in spite of available literature in other aspects of migration. Ryan studied the 1980s Festival del Sol to demonstrate that regardless of the many differences of the South American diaspora, immigrants achieve a ‘collective post-migration expression of their cultural and musical identities’ (1983 in Ryan 1989: 54). His ethnomusicological research mainly focuses on the Brazilian carnival music in Brazil and Sydney. The Festival del Sol he studied was the one just before La Peña’s creation; La Peña started the day after that particular celebration.


Seneviratne (1989) from a multicultural perspective, and also talking about Italian, Philippine, Iranian, Tibetan, Turkish and Arabic cultures, transcribes relevant interviews about some of the Latin American music experiences of the period, interviewing key participants such as members of La Peña, Festival del Sol – A Thanks Given To The Sun Goddess; Popularity Does Not Always Bring Success; Papalote – The Voice Of The New Song Movement; Canto Libre – The Music Of Liberation; Superlatino – A Commercial Approach; Luis Grimaldi – A Touch Of Latin American Classical Music; Sonido De Los Andes – The Addictive Music of the Andes; Ukamau – Andean Music From Bolivia; Así Es Peru – Dancing The Folklore Of Peru and Oki Kuna – Youthful Sounds of Latino-Australian Music.

This material is good as an historical reference but unfortunately, it was not carefully edited.

There were more articles written about Papalote, many of those in New Zealand, as the group maintained a (relatively) high media profile. The relationship between Papalote and La Peña was very close and La Peña was often mentioned in those articles.
In the context of the ‘world music’ literature, the Latin American component is only mentioned laterally, and mostly in the context of music for dancing, unfortunately reducing an influential cultural source of the local music scene. The literature is more concerned with the more visible and ‘commercial’ expressions, and visible as a consequence of the marketing machine of the (world) music industry. Ríos comments about this fact while addressing the situation of Latin American music within the ‘Ballroom dance’: ‘Llama la atención que aún en el circuito del Ballroom Dance, total y exclusivamente anglosajón ... mantiene sus nombres dentro de la categoría llamada “Latin” (también podemos discutir acerca de este término). Dentro de esta categoría pusieron el pasodoble, la rumba, la samba y al tango, pero por lo menos de alguna manera trataron de darle una identificación geográfico cultural más acertada que la vaguedad del término “World Music”’ (personal correspondence 2009).

Parkhill expresses concerns about the lack of representation of serious individuals in the commercial or educational Australian ‘world music’ experience: ‘In Australia today are many musicians who take individual music traditions very seriously... The “world music” industry however, has denied them a place in all but the most limited of performance venues, and they rarely appear on commercial recordings. Musicians and their music are also ignored as a potential educational resource’ (1993: 255-256).

As a response to the visual gaps in the reflection of multiculturalism, in particular of the Latin American experience, one of the aims of this work is to give visibility to some of the many people contributing to Australian multiculturalism, especially those Latin Americans involved in the work of La Peña in the 1980s. This is attempted with the video documentary ‘La Peña’.

3.10 Documentary Video: ‘La Peña’

This video component of this thesis is a historic-narrative reconstruction of the days of La Peña; its aim is to reconstruct the period and the experience. It is mostly based on original footage and original interviews of significant participants. It is an oral history document about Latin American multiculturalism. It insinuates some of the continuities with today’s
‘world music’ scene, at least with the way Café Carnivale today interprets the concept. La Peña is a documentary about a community narrating their collective history. Many people, key to La Peña, had the opportunity to tell their version of the events, to express their feelings, contradictions and nostalgia but also to analyse and discuss those events. No content or idea was censored. The editing process was planned to facilitate creating a narrative, which was the only manipulation. My idea was to make it as dialogic as possible, within the limitations of the medium. Everybody has a voice, memories, feelings, and opinions and deserves to be listened to. The friends of La Peña and the international interviewees were edited and mixed with the ‘media’ narrative of the television footage. It was edited sequencing the interviewees’ common experiences. I include myself, as I am one of them. The purpose of the edition was to give continuity to the discourse and to facilitate understanding. The discourse was naturally bilingual as most interviewees are Spanish speakers living in Australia and many opted to do it in Spanish. The people interviewed are part of a purpose sample group, a significant sample. Consequently, they express more similarities than differences. The only arbitrary criterion in the edition was to start with ‘the end’. La Peña was not fully functioning at the time of the early interviews and it was a way to situate the interviews with respect to the organisation, but also to start with the negative to finish in a more positive way.

Another objective of the video is to continue completing the cultural map of the Australian experience. More than for its artistic or technical quality, this is an invaluable document on one of the many constructions of multiculturalism, from the bottom up and without official, industry or media filters. The many voices of Australia should converse well beyond what SBS is providing, even if we are grateful for SBS’ existence in this Australian mono-cultural media world. This video does not aim to be anthropological or musicological, but at expressing the perspective La Peña’s musicians, members, friends and audiences had of themselves and their cultural action. The video is the visibility of La Peña; it aims at rescuing it from anonymity and oblivion.

To express the importance of those La Peña events in text only would have been limiting. In the video, there are elements of passion, emotion, humour and reflection only fully perceived during the interviews and the performances. The video gives another dimension to
this work and fulfils the necessity of exposure. These events really happened, in a particular location and were open to the public. Consequently, they were visible. La Peña's praxis was an innovative cultural action in Australia. It was not new in Latin America, but it was here. The exposure, the visibility of that pioneering work is the justification of this video material.

The interviewees conversed (or discoursed) about their involvement with La Peña, Resource and Action Committee for Latin America (RACLA) or Papalote, and the importance of the organisation for the community. In this video the early ‘world music’ aspect of La Peña was not discussed, that was not the main interest of the interviewees, it only appears in one interview (Vidal 2004), but the multicultural aspect often emerged. They did not perceive themselves as providing ‘world music’ but mainly Latin American music of a political nature, although the music of other cultures was also supported as a commitment to multiculturalism and internationalism.

They also discussed the reasons for the creation of the centre, Papalote’s importance, and issues of exile, migration, Latin Americanism and multiculturalism. The activities, the concerts, RACLA, the workshops, the political aspects of music, the influences in other parts of Australia, the personal implications, the importance for the new generations and the legacies for the future. They discussed as well the causes for the disappearance of La Peña; the change of the objective conditions, La Peña losing, in the late days, its basic principles, the decadence at least partially as a consequence of the return home of some of the exiles, the moral decay as it was used for personal gain, the internal fighting and the organisation losing its cultural and community role.

The video interviews were the main data source for the investigation. They were used as general data for this thesis but also as video footage for the video component. The video talks by itself. It is enriching listening to many of these people and learning about the way they experienced and elaborated on this common and multicultural praxis.

The video format is an advantage. It can be easily accessed by anyone, understood by many and not relegated exclusively to the realm of academia. As a statement, the video is bilingual, that is in Spanish and English. People express themselves in one or the other language,
regardless of their mother tongue. I present it in that manner on purpose, that is a practical way to understand (or not) the language experience of many migrants. In the future, it could be subtitled for the sake of more general understanding.

In the video, the protagonists tell their story, our story, the story of many Latin Americans in Australia and their radical media contributions here.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the broad argument that in spite of the largest ever migration of political exiles from Latin America (between 1973 and 1982), during a time when Australia was reinventing itself as a multicultural nation, and within the studies of Multiculturalism, since the early 1980s to the first decade of the twenty-first century, the radical media contribution of Latin American culture, music and politics remains rather invisible. *La Peña’s* members, predominantly Latin Americans, achieved in the first years of the centre, when multiculturalism was still in gestation, the creation of a unique environment where culture and politics (left wing politics) meant integration and acceptance of cultural diversity.

Many areas deserve further research; emic multiculturalism, arts and politics in a multicultural frame, and the history of the festival *Carnivale* from that perspective, the role of music in the solidarity movement of the 1980s, the media’s reflection of cultural minorities, cultural or media democracy and cultural apartheid. The theme of cultural ecology could be researched as well to study the maintenance of often-fragile local cultural experiences in a marketing saturated and culturally polluted environment.

The study of organisations and groups such as *La Peña* or *Papalote* could help to redefine the political nature of popular music, as radical media, and also the educational nature of social movements. The video component of this thesis documents *La Peña* as a social movement. It is not a musicological work, is not analysing the music performers or the variety of musical instruments (Appendix I has an organological descriptions). The importance of the video is
to reflect the experience of culture and ‘music as radical media’ and as a vehicle for ‘popular’ education. The objective of the video also was to gather information, to give visibility to the social movement and had a methodological purpose, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: ‘World Music’, Another Perspective

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the discussion of multicultural music has been displaced to the ‘world music’ agenda of the industry, moving from cultural studies to the realm of popular music. ‘World music’ was a manufactured concept. A manufactured genre does not have a history, a particular culture or human group behind it; it is not performed in any particular way nor has a dance that goes with it. From a musical or aesthetic perspective, it is an empty concept and often people involved in that particular field agree that it does not mean much (Byrne 1999). In fact, as a music director of Café Carnivale, I regularly receive expressions of interest from almost every style of contemporary popular and classical music (even música popular), all claiming to represent ‘world music’. The problem lies at an institutional level. It is fair enough for an industry to try to market their products placing them under the same basket, but the funding institutions should be clearer conceptually.

What is ‘world music’ if not a contemporary representation of Australian culture? Australia is becoming a cultural hybrid and most musicians are in many ways playing ‘Australian world’. Rock or jazz bands are playing “Latin” feels with salsa riffs, jazz groups incorporating an oud player. Iranian groups perform with heavy rock sonorities; congas are so common that it would be hard to believe that they are not Australian traditional instruments. The didgeridoo has been played in almost every genre and Aboriginal dancers have made themselves famous worldwide for reinterpreting ‘Zorba the Greek’ on YouTube.

Unfortunately, Australia did not embrace its own Aboriginal tradition; as a consequence it does not have the same musical consistency of countries that have embraced their indigenous cultures. Jazz, blues, tango, fado, corrido, samba, rembetika and many more music genres have emerged from societies that have strong relationships with their local cultural history, environment and tradition.
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indigenous cultures. Jazz, blues, tango, fado, corrido, samba, rembetika and many more
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cultural history, environment and tradition.
The Anglo-American popular music has an enormous influence, but because of overdoses of formulas, it is exhausting itself. ‘World music’ seemed to be the refreshing force for the scene, but ‘world music’ in Australia is overlapping with multicultural music. Musicians and audiences of different cultural backgrounds are expecting and demanding opportunities and some representation in this new marketing field. Many people play bossa nova or samba in Australia, but to hear it played by Brazilians is spectacular. The same could be said of Cuban or African music, or fado, or tango. An often superficial use of a bouzouki or oud could justify claims to represent Greek or Turkish cultures, or “Latin” for the use of congas or a piano tumbao; it doesn’t seem to be enough.

In the next case studies, I want to discuss two contemporary ‘world music’ practices, one institutional, Café Carnivale and the other, that of one of the pioneers of this scene, the group Papalote.

4.1 Case Study 1: Café Carnivale

4.1.1 Institutional, Management, Marketing Built

Café Carnivale today represents in many ways the post-modern dialogue, La Peña was insinuating with the many multicultural interactions. However, the main source of attraction of La Peña was solidarity and music as a political media; Café Carnivale only reflects the multicultural aspect of La Peña. The periodical El Español states that influence: ‘Café Carnivale reconoce de esta manera la labor de esa organización (La Peña) como un antecedente importante de su actividad actual en el campo de la música’ (4-7-86: 6).

4.1.2 Creation

Café Carnivale began in Sydney in 2000. It was my first project as NSW Multicultural Music Coordinator and Music Director of Carnivale, a position shared between the then NSW multicultural arts festival body, Carnivale, and the NSW Ministry for the Arts (today Arts
We formed a partnership with Carol Hirt, the Program Director with Eastside Arts, the cultural wing of the Paddington Uniting Church, which provided the first venue that is still used for the *Café Carnivale* program.

*Café Carnivale* grew out of the multicultural festival *Carnivale*. This annual festival was strongly in support of cultural representation for multicultural communities living in NSW. *Café Carnivale* was developed to promote the work of professional musicians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, those who, because of the lack of cultural capital, find it difficult to access employment in their artistic field. In spite of a slow start, given the competition from the Sydney 2000 Olympics, *Café Carnivale* has been slowly but consistently growing. Many artists are building up or reconstructing their music careers based on their work and exposure with *Café Carnivale*.

Over the years, the marketing of the Café has hinged on the concept of ‘world music’ to promote its vast offering of music, musicians and performers from the many migrant communities that live and work in and around Sydney. *Café Carnivale* intentionally appropriated that term with the objective to recuperate and revalue, as La Peña did, the cultural diversity of Sydney and NSW, focusing on the promotion of migrants and their musical talents and expertise as here music of many ‘world’ countries is often performed poorly, or it is misrepresented and trivialised.

In 2004, *Carnivale* lost the financial support of the NSW Government, and as a consequence *Café Carnivale* was transferred to *Música Viva*, a major presenter of Chamber Music in Australia. It operates with a small budget, still works alternatively to the music industry but continues influencing the local perception of ‘world music’, as Elisa Blake comments about these influences in the Metro section of the Sydney Morning Herald: ‘The audiences have grown so much that other promoters are getting in on the act. The Opera House has its Hemispheres season’ (2009: 3).

*Café Carnivale*, for almost ten years, has been presenting weekly concerts of multicultural/‘world music’, or at least a particular stream of ‘world music’. This controversial terminology was adopted after many discussions and without reaching a definitive agreement;
it was hard to find a generic definition for the stream of multiculturalism the Café was promoting. Café Carnivale, as La Peña did in the early 1980s, is slowly expanding culturally and aesthetically the Australian music scene with many continuities and discontinuities with those early processes at the Latin American Cultural Centre.

*Café Carnivale*, even if marketing itself as ‘world music’, could be considered a contemporary expression of *La Peña*, perhaps a post-modern expression, sanitised, well organised and government funded, but deprived of many of the organic elements, the explicit politics, the dialogic, the horizontal style of self-management and cultural independence. Nevertheless, *Café Carnivale*, addressing this issue, operates within *Música Viva* as a team, with Greg Bull as Manager, Carolina Triana as the Coordinator, Sarah Czarnota in marketing and myself as the Music Director.

### 4.1.3 Artists

The wealth of *Café Carnivale* is the artists. The Café has an extensive database of musicians in Australia. That database was developed during my position as ‘Ministry for the Arts NSW Multicultural Music Coordinator’ based in Carnivale. One of my main objectives with this position was to develop that list, mostly of artists from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, multicultural musicians or ‘world’ musicians (*La Peña* had a similar a database in its days). *Café Carnivale* was a logical consequence of that research. The list has been updated many times since.

Many *Café* artists are accessing ‘mainstream’ festivals or venues because of their regular appearances at the *Café*. SBS Television has transmitted several times a documentary on the *Café* experience, interviewing the musicians Mandie Viera, Ngoc Tuan, Yaw, Jeannie Bastos, Larissa Burak and me. SBS Radio regularly broadcasts nationally many of the *Café* concerts in Spanish, and some of the Portuguese and Italian. A Maltese concert has also gone to air. *Café Carnivale* has also successfully negotiated a media partnership with SBS Radio. Music Deli on ABC Radio National has also transmitted a few concerts.
The first concert featured José Prates and band. José was a Brazilian bandleader with Australian, Portuguese, Peruvian, Polish, and Argentinian musicians in his band. A few of those performers had also played for La Peña or with Papalote.

The focus of Café Carnivale is to represent all Australian communities, not just Latin American. Between many bands, from Africa, Asia, Western and Eastern European and Australian groups many performers of Latin American or Spanish speaking background have performed for the Café, demonstrating a good sample of the local Latin American Music expressions in this new century. The soloists and groups Café Carnivale has presented over the years are: Armandito y su Trovasón, Freddy Aguilera and Blás Ojeda, Carlos Amaro and Antonio Gómez, Víctor Valdés and Marín Bros., Los Cuervos, Café Sur, Irene Livosli, Cambalache, Carlos Huari, Juan Carlos Ríos, Jorge Campano, Hugo Leal, Víctor Monasterio, Helen Rivero, Jorge do Prado, Malembé, José Barroso, The Ambassadors of Paraguay, Ricardo Andino, Ritmo Trío, Ricky Vargas, Sonido, Surkarán, Tumi, Papalote, Tango Bar, Cecilia Vilardo, Alejandra Canales, Eugenia Quinteros, My Sauce Good, Calle Macondo, Oscar Giménez Ensemble, Manango, Serenata, Pisa na Fule, Performing Brazil, Eddie do Brasil and Friends, Jeannie Bastos, Sandra Real, Banda Mundo, Iván Vivas and Henry Ávila, Samba Mundí, Casanova, The Latin American String Ensemble, Flamenco Crew, Víctor Martínez Parada, Luis Grimaldi, Isabel and Mauro León, Sofrito, Tina Rocha, Kalisaya, José and Emilio Barroso, Terry Pazmiño, Afro Perú, Ananí Alegre, Bandaluzia, Son Veneno, Es lo que hay, Candelario, Navegao, Afro Peruvian Project, Brazilian Samba Group, Magano, Ricosín, Martínez family and Mano a Mano. Few international performers such as Ariana and Ferrán Savall, Omar Cyrulnik and Edison Bordón Trío have also performed and Café Carnivale has dedicated one concert to the Cuban nueva trova and two to La Peña.

Many multicultural artists have toured with Música Viva CountryWide or played in festivals like WOMADelaide or at the Opera House or The Basement after establishing themselves at the Café and few have received ‘world music’ awards as well. The biggest asset of Café Carnivale is the support it gets from the musicians and the audiences.

4.1.4 Continuities and Discontinuities
There are many connections or continuities between *La Peña* and *Café Carnivale*.

The first is both personal and historical. Personal because of my role as the creator of the *Café* concept, I was also one of the founders of *Papalote* and *La Peña*. In many ways, those early cultural experiences have marked me and influenced today’s practices. The experiences of *Papalote* and *La Peña* were the only prerequisites I could offer for the *Carnivale* position. It was based on that record that I applied for the job, motivated by a longstanding and increasing frustration and disillusionment about the way migrant artists had been treated here. I was one of many artists that came to Australia with an international career to become ‘merely’ a community musician.

The second continuity is developmental. *Café Carnivale* promotes organic work, supporting the development of small ensembles and assisting them in finding other opportunities, something *La Peña* did.

*Café Carnivale*’s support for cultural diversity promoting arts and artists from all over the world is another continuity with *La Peña*. ‘Quizás *Café Carnivale* captura el concepto de *La Peña*. *Café Carnivale* ayuda a mantener la música del sector de la población que tiene una conciencia social y una preocupación en mantener una diferente visión del mundo’ (Mottola personal correspondance, 25 May 2009).

Freedom of expression continues as a theme in *Café Carnivale*’s work. Both *La Peña* and *Café Carnivale* have not censored any cultural expressions and have promoted diversity in those expressions.

Creating concerts and selecting material and venues that are family and children friendly is based on a philosophy that goes deeper than simply access or convenience. *Café Carnivale* believes, as *La Peña* did, in the importance for the development of the new and younger generations to access different music and multiculturalism. Here, it is also important to reiterate here the work of *Papalote*, which, since 1980, has continued to perform in schools, promoting the music and culture of minority groups.
There is a strong ethical continuity in the work of Café Carnivale. Just as Papalote and La Peña were focused on the significance of cultural representation, Café Carnivale has a strong commitment to acknowledging and supporting the local contribution, the diversity and the particularities of the cultures represented.

This continuity is best exemplified by Café Carnivale, in winter 2006, presenting a concert with the theme of ‘Café Carnivale goes back to La Peña’ inviting key musicians from that era to participate: Jeannie Lewis, Juan Carlos Ríos, Olympia Karanges, Mary Jane Field, Ricardo Andino and Jorge do Prado. That concert was an attempt to recreate some of their memories and experiences of La Peña and some footage has been used for the video component of this thesis.

Café Carnivale celebrated again in 2010 the 30th birthday of La Peña.

La Peña was a Latin American cultural centre founded in Newton in 1980 that morphed into Café Carnivale, a Sydney treasure of world music now in the Musica Viva fold. Tonight performers who had a hand in La Peña will mark 30 years since its inception... The bill includes Justo Díaz, Ricardo Andino, Jeannie Lewis, José Barroso and Olympia Karanges (SMH 13-8-2010: 13).

There are just as many (if not more) discontinuities in the work that was initiated and carried out by Papalote and La Peña, and that of Café Carnivale.

The first is political. The material performed at La Peña, and by Papalote, was deeply influenced by the New Song movement and was an expression of the political left. Café Carnivale follows a political charter of representation, of re-appropriation and of cultural diversity that is not linked to any part of the political spectrum.

In the educational realm, Café Carnivale has unsuccessfully attempted to organise workshops, while at La Peña they were the soul, the core and the backbone of the organisation.
In terms of the commitment and involvement of voluntary workers in shaping, leading and implementing projects, Café Carnivale, while it has a few volunteers, lacks the massive volunteer support that characterised La Peña, particularly the foregoing of fees by musicians and teachers.

Independence and self-sufficiency are two other core elements that no longer exist. La Peña and Papalote were for years completely independent and did not rely on government funding. Café Carnivale has become a small program of Música Viva Australia and exists due to funding from Arts NSW. Música Viva provides Café Carnivale with office space, bookkeeping, a box office and wages and costs. Funding is in many ways positive, as it pays for rents, wages and projects but it also politicises the arts, as the projects have to adhere to contingent political strategies and can be terminated at any time if funding ceases.

Marisa Mottola, a regular of La Peña and of Café Carnivale, reflects on the funding situation: ‘Si, fue relevante, ya que no existía ningún lugar como La Peña. En particular en los primeros años donde no recibía dinero del gobierno y las decisiones las tomaban los integrantes de La Peña. Lo que significa que no tenían que cumplir con las políticas del gobierno australiano’ (Mottola personal correspondance, 25 May 2009).

Café Carnivale is not a continuation of the model of the cultural centre. La Peña embodied a holistic concept of culture: the physical space and the music shared a realm with politics, education, arts and theatre. Café Carnivale is a multicultural music presentation.

Finally, the role of the membership in Café Carnivale is passive. La Peña was all organic and La Peña’s members were cultural and political activists. Café Carnivale’s members are not involved with the running of the Café. They pay a fee, join and can take advantage of special offers and discounts in ticket prices.

4.1.5 Conclusion
Times have definitely changed. Some people come to the Café with their memories of La Peña as one of the last spaces for music as culture. For those and others, the Café lacks that commitment and energy, and it is just another commercial endeavour.

What is important, however, is the fact that for the many culturally diverse artists who inhabit the margins of the mainstream music scene in Sydney, Café Carnivale is a unique possibility, not only to obtain another ‘gig’ (although for some it is just that) but to access a culturally diverse audience, perform outside their own communities and share their cultures – something they are very proud of and that is an essential part of the world’s cultural heritage.

4.2 Case Study 2: Papalote, a Musical and a Political Stand

‘El Papalote, cae, cae, cae, cae
Se va a bolina la imaginación,
buena cuchilla la picó’
El Papalote (Silvio Rodríguez).

4.2.1 Introduction

Papalote’s cultural activism has emerged in many chapters and as essential to the origins of La Peña. The band started almost a year before, and was an antecedent of La Peña in many philosophical and educational aspects. Papalote is a special case of ‘world music’, for its continuity and the diversity of activities. This section explores the creation and development of this Latin American music group, some of its projects, its educational practice, its repertoire and the key role this group played in the creation and philosophical grounding of La Peña.

In the song ‘El Papalote’ by Silvio Rodríguez, the Papalote, the kite, falls because of a blade cutting the string. The music group Papalote on the contrary has kept on flying even if negotiating with different environments, circumstances and cultural and political situations
in order to survive and recreate itself. ‘The band began in 1979, but was known as Papalote from 1980, when we played at the Cell Block Theatre in Darlinghurst. The original idea was to create music to go with the show Open Veins of Latin America, and eventually we started playing around as Papalote’ (Díaz Wallace 1997: 31). The name was taken from the ‘El Papalote’ song by the Cuban songwriter Silvio Rodríguez. The significance of the song was that it told the poignant story of a person from Silvio’s childhood. This person was marginal in terms of his economic status (he was doing the lowest jobs), his social and racial status (he was black), and his addictions (he was an alcoholic). Despite all this, he was popular with the children as he gave them lollies and was the local kite maker. The reflections about this real person from Silvio’s youth were inspirational for the group and for their Australian experiences. ‘Esa fue la conformación definitiva del grupo Papalote, nombre que Justo escogió y nosotros aprobamos’ (Rojas 2009).

From its inception, Papalote maintained a firm belief in solidarity and internationalism and this was reflected in the repertory and composition of the band over the years. The group was originally conformed by Héctor de Santiago (Mexican), Mario Rojas (Chilean) and me (Argentinian) as members. Raúl Bassa (Uruguayan) was soon incorporated, and over the years, the backgrounds of the members of the group included Brazilian, Colombian, Peruvian, Cuban, Greek, Armenian, Moroccan, El Salvadorian, Italian, Venezuelan and Anglo-Australians. Papalote was Latin American and international not only because of political conviction but also because of reflecting the unique diversity in the Australian population. It was thus not that difficult to meld with the current ideas of multiculturalism and, in the group’s particular case, of Latin Americanism.

Papalote’s emergence was based on the expression of a broad concept of Latin Americanism and a ‘nueva canción’ repertoire. The songs Papalote performed related to political movements and developments occurring in Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Central America. Mario Rojas, Raúl Bassa and Justo Díaz from Papalote were also part of the original core of people who later established La Peña.
Papalote was not created as a folkloric group. The first concert was performed interacting with the classical guitar of Luis Grimaldi, the songs of Jeannie Lewis and the jazz saxophone solos of Luigi Tesoriero. Papalote’s members went to study at the Sydney Conservatorium or assisted to the creation of the jazz courses later at La Peña in order to help develop a local musical language. They did use many traditional instruments, many learned on the practice, but their music was approached with contemporary harmonic uses in guitars and folk instruments.

Papalote was in many ways a continuation of La Peña’s experience as much as La Peña was also a continuity of Papalote’s work. Papalote is in many ways a continuity with the Latin American or ‘world music’ of the 1980s. ‘Papalote ... bueno, que ayudó a mantener canciones con un contenido político y social importante en esa época y ahora también’ (Mottola 2009).

4.2.2 History

‘Será por todo eso que mi memoria se empina a ratos,
como tus Papalotes, los invencibles, los más baratos’
(Silvio Rodríguez).

By the time La Peña started, Papalote was already successful and performing to full houses at La Vina. Papalote was exploring eclectic Latin American music with a political and a fusion edge. This fusion was reflected in the mixture of folk instruments, Afro-Latin percussion and saxophones, old and contemporary themes and lyrics, traditional rhythms, occasional music for dancing and often songs with jazz sounds ‘world music’ by today’s standards.

Papalote formed around August 1979, when Mario Rojas and I met in an activity to raise funds for Chilean women. Mario was coming from Canberra to perform at the event and I was a musician just abandoning an Arts Council international performing tour with the French Argentinian troupe, Malambo Latino. Mario updated me on the local music scene and discussed his ideas about how important it was to develop a music group to represent and
cater for Latin Americans in Australia, specifically the young and the progressive sectors of those communities.

Mario Rojas recalls some of the early experiences just before starting the band: ‘Al principio hicimos trío con el percusionista Guy Madigan, con quien tuvimos un intenso y memorable período de músicos callejeros en el Cross [Kings Cross] ... No recuerdo en qué momento ni por qué razón cambiamos de percusionista, pero en algún punto asumió los tambores Raúl Bassa ... En esos inicios también participaron por períodos breves Héctor de Santiago y Arturo Bassa’ (personal correspondence 2009).

My personal situation was fragile as I was only on a visa for an Australian tour of Malambo Latino. Nonetheless, we started discussing possible projects and the potential to create a music performance based on the ‘Open Veins of Latin America’. Mario and I played as a duo for a while, occasionally busking with other performers. Héctor de Santiago and Raúl Bassa came later on board to complete the band. The group immediately became involved in many and diverse experiences and activities, including education, political, aesthetic, and professional debates.

By 1980, Papalote had already developed a strong profile, for their good and innovative musical skills, their alternative ideas and mostly for their cultural action and political commitment. The situation in Latin America was volatile and solidarity was needed to support the many participative movements this region. Papalote contributed by donating much of its work for most of the solidarity causes it was approached to support. ‘Desde un principio Papalote se caracterizó por su colaboración en las actividades solidarias hacia quienes sufrían y luchaban en contra de las dictaduras en nuestros países de origen’ (Sarna 1992: 28).

Papalote continued to develop over the years, incorporating Hernán Flores and Jorge Villazón from the group Antara first and Janis Carter later, all from Chile. In 1987, Olympia Karanges and Ricardo Andino joined and the group has since performed with many friends and freelance musicians. Papalote has been a reference point for the solidarity community. ‘Papalote fue el referente en el medio en su oportunidad, como lo es hoy Café Carnivale’ (Figueroa 2009).
Papalote also interacted with local artists involved in similar lines of cultural action. ‘Aparte de la alta calidad artística de este último trabajo está la novedad de haber incorporado el aporte de las prestigiosas canta-autoras Jeannie Lewis y Margaret RoadKnight quienes cantan en español. Una prueba más de la fuerza de atracción de nuestra música y de las dotas estéticas de Papalote, para integrar a tan valiosas artistas’ (Sarna 1992: 28).

But everything has a price, and as a consequence of their political work and exposure, Papalote has experienced difficulties and lost much work and professional opportunities. Mario Rojas, during an early Sydney Festival, received a death threat for singing a Cuban song. There were reliable rumours of a ban on Papalote in some of the local Chilean clubs, even after the return of democracy in Chile. During an outdoor event for the Chilean community, the power was intentionally cut off interrupting Papalote’s performance of a Nicaraguan song about literacy. Fortunately, a large part of the audience kept on singing the chorus in support of the band, and in a defiant mood, until the power was fully restored.

Despite this, there were also many rewards and accolades for those contributions. Papalote was invited to share performances with key artists such as Daniel Viglietti, Volcanto, Patricio Manns, Inti Illimani, Illapu and Savia Andina, and was invited to perform for Joan Jara and Rigoberta Menchú in their visits to Australia. I was invited to present a paper at the International Festival of the New Song in Ecuador in 1984, and, with Olympia Karanges, shared performances and forums with musicians such as Bernardo Palombo, Tania Libertad, Noel Nicola, Santiago Feliú, Jaime Guevara, Sweet Honey in the Rock and Pete Seeger. We were also asked to open the inaugural evening of ‘House of the New Song’ in Mexico DF in 1984, performing for artists such as Yolocamba Ita, Amparo Ochoa, Daniel Tuchman, Gabino Palomares with Garabato, Jorge Briseño and Joan Manuel Serrat.

In early 1980, Papalote developed a school project based on the cultural and musical diversity of Latin America. The performance was a narration of the history of the continent through its folk music and instruments. The project was approved by the NSW Education Department in 1980 and was one of the first multicultural shows for schools in Australia, well before the creation of Música Viva in schools.
4.2.3 School Performances

Inspired by the work of Eduardo Galeano (1980), *Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina* (The Open Veins of Latin America), *Papalote* devised a musical journey through Latin-American history through songs, musical instruments and stories. This show for schools has toured Australia and New Zealand, and other groups have performed different versions of it’ (Díaz-Gómez 2003: 396). *Papalote*’s intention with those school shows was to generate understanding about migration and diversity through the history of Latin America and its music.

It was presented as a performance piece that incorporated traditional music and instruments and included a rendition of ancient indigenous music (of which there was little known as a consequence of the destruction brought about by the European invasion) using original indigenous instruments such as *ocarinas, quenas, quenachos, huakra pucu, zamponas, rondadores, antaras, tabla sikus, pinkillos, erques, erquenchos, mocenios* and *tarkas* (see Appendix I). The early music was exemplified with environmental sounds, with percussion and wind instruments originating from or made of environmental materials. As the early indigenous music is not known improvised sound scapes were used to represent it. Over the years, *Papalote* has recorded experimental music along similar lines to those sound examples. The close relationship of the instruments and the environment was always emphasised. The school performances told the story of the indigenous populations and their instruments, enhanced by those creative sound scapes where often the children were invited to participate by playing ocarinas, horns and percussion instruments, imitating sounds of the environment.

A second part of the show explored the arrival of Europeans in Latin America, the violence of the invasion and the introduction of new diseases. The Spanish colonisers also brought with them early string instruments, which, thanks to indigenous creativity, multiplied into *charango, jarana, viola, cuatro, tiple, cavaquinho, mandolin, guitarrón, guitar, tres, laúd, tiple, bandolín* and *requinto*, amongst others.

Later, and while exposing the human cost of the invasion and the introduction of the slave trade, the musical contribution of the African slaves in the Americas was discussed. The
instruments brought by the Africans were mainly percussive, and while telling about the extreme hardship of the slave trade, some of the instruments and rhythms introduced or developed by those people were performed.

The show also explored the avarice and cruel attitudes and practices of the European colonisers, the destruction of indigenous cultures during the conquest, making parallels with events that occurred during the early European settlement in Australia. The performance aimed to be educative but also ‘entertaining’; it had a dose of humour but was charged with history and respect. The show has since changed and evolved many times over the years, with some examples of contemporary music later included in order to create an empathy with the children’s knowledge. The video documentary shows a news item of Papalote performing for children in Alice Springs.

The inner-city Education Centre produced a booklet and cassette about these performances, with a brief history of Latin America, its instruments, songs and music transcriptions. This material has become an early multicultural, or ‘world music’, education resource for schools.

Papalote aimed at developing the music scene and helping the community in a musical way, and La Peña followed this commitment with popular education via the music workshops. Students of La Peña’s workshops as recognition of the importance of this work also performed this concept. Chimigüín performed Papalote’s school show in 1983 touring country NSW, and Mesteña continued it later. Years later, with or without acknowledgement, ex-freelance members of the group have performed variations of this original project in NSW and other states, contributing to expand the reach of the original idea.

As a complement to the music show, and thanks to a study grant and various other research trips to Latin America, a unique instrument collection was gathered. Today, it contains approximately 300 pieces and is one of the main private ‘world music’ instruments collections in Australia. The collection is mostly comprised of traditional, percussion, wind and string instruments from Latin America, but also incorporates today instruments from China, Turkey, Greece and Egypt. It has been exhibited many times in NSW and once in the Northern Territory. Papalote takes on tour only a sample of the huge instrumental variety of
this collection but has used many of them in recordings to create sound tracks and soundscapes (see footage of the instrument collection in the video documentary, also see Appendix I, of musical instruments).

4.2.4 Repertoire and Members

On the one hand, Papalote’s repertoire reflected the ideas of the Latin American New Song movement, and on the other, their collaborations with Australian, Italian, Greek and Persian artists were early expressions of ‘world music’. The collaborations, with Jeannie Lewis, José Barroso and Davood Tabrizi, have survived and have been replicated – very differently and two decades later – in performances at Café Carnivale. The part of the documentary discussing multicultural music has, as music background, an improvisation of Davood Tabrizi with members of Papalote. This was recorded in La Peña in the early 1980s.

A reason for Papalote’s success (in relative terms) was its particular repertoire focused on the poetry of the songs that fused the traditional with the contemporary, without compromising the rhythmic element. Papalote never played jazz, although many of its members had been trained in jazz music and many of the musicians playing with the band would call jazz their first musical idiom. Musicians such as Luigi Tesoriero, Ricardo Andino, Jorge Rico, Reynaldo Portillo, Moisés Menéndez, Jorge do Prado, Sadin, Eddie Ribeiro, Francisco Tejera, Sergio Mulet, Jacinto Herrera, Miguel Guzmán, Daniel Martino, José Márquez, Toño Márquez, Mike Ryan, Greg Gibson, Ara Nercessian, Tony Lewis, Peter Guarino, Eddie Ignacio, Jane Butler, Marcelo García, Cecilia Vilardo, Ney Arrúa, Ivan Vivas and Brazilian ‘maestro’ José Prates are, amongst many others, some of the musicians that have played, collaborated with or were part of Papalote. Papalote has also collaborated for many years with the Brisbane group Jumping Fences and guitarist Luis Grimaldi. Margret RoadKnight recorded the vocals for one track on Papalote’s CD album, Chiselled in Stone and has released that song in one of her CDs.

‘Papalote tiene sus raíces en esa corriente renovadora artístico-cultural que, con un sentido crítico, luchaba allá por el rescate de la genuina identidad y en busca de la belleza y la justicia, como esa reafirmación de la
condición humana, conocida como la ‘nueva canción’, cuyos progenitores fueron Atahualpa Yupanqui y Violeta Parra’ (Sarna 1992: 28).

_Papalote_’s songs were the main source of material taught at _La Peña_’s workshops and many people learned their arrangements. Female groups, _Chimigüín_ and _Mestena_, originally built their repertoires based on those songs. From 1988, and for a decade, _El Español en Australia_ started publishing them. They included the lyrics, charango and guitar chords and, occasionally, the graphic notation for Andean wind instruments. _El Español_ first published a collection of New Song Movement and Cuban _Nueva Trova_ songs, later incorporating _boleros_ and _tangos_ as well. A few of those songs have been recently published by Orpheus music, this time incorporating arrangements for recorders and strings.

_Papalote_ never sang songs with nationalist or sexist overtones and was very aware of cultural sensitivities. _La Peña_ was, in many ways, a continuity of _Papalote_ in those philosophical approaches.

### 4.2.5 The Role of _Papalote_ in _La Peña_

_Papalote_ was a central ’peña’ in this wider _peña_, singing of struggles across the continent’ (Anderson personal correspondence 23 May 2009).

_Papalote_ is origin of and follow up of _La Peña_. In the early days, it was very difficult to separate _Papalote_ and _La Peña_. Discussing the history of this group and its involvement in _La Peña_ helps us to understand early multicultural – ‘world music’ – practices, those originating from within local migrant communities. _Papalote_ was a key element in the formation, philosophy and development of _La Peña_. The members of _Papalote_ shared their musical knowledge and, when that was scarce, generated the participation of many new musicians and groups. As members of _La Peña_, _Papalote_ was instrumental in facilitating access to the venue to performers from many different cultures and in helping promoting them. Up until _Café Carnivale_, there had not been similar cultural attitudes and practices. That is one of the continuities of _Café Carnivale_ with _Papalote_ and _La Peña_.

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Papalote had a relatively good media profile. There were many articles written about the group, often mentioning La Peña, in newspapers in Australia (in English, Spanish, Greek and Italian), New Zealand, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil and Nicaragua. Papalote was also featured in radio and television programs and documentaries in New Zealand, Brazil and Greece. In Australia, Papalote has been featured on SBS, ABC and Channel 7, with some of these programs being released internationally (some of that footage has been used for La Peña’s documentary).

David Santana commented on the role Papalote had as one of the catalysts for the creation of the group that would dialogue and sow the seeds for the formation of La Peña. ‘The group where we inserted ourselves, where we found ourselves one day, gave us the possibility to talk, to say, to express ourselves, and I believe Papalote was one of the reasons that helped catalyse this situation’ (video interview 1994, my translation).

La Peña would not have existed without Papalote. Papalote’s members were not just cultural workers or theorists; they were also deeply involved in the creation and survival of the venue. They did this by donating weekly performances and teaching fees, and went as far as – in the case of Mario Rojas and David Santana – renting rooms and living at the first venue to help to pay the rent. It must be acknowledged that many other people were also donating work, but many of the interviews reflect recognition for Papalote’s contribution. ‘Una de sus más importantes realizaciones [Papalote] fue su parte en la formación del Centro Cultural latinoamericano ‘La Peña’ (Sarna 1992).

‘All those who were around Papalote, following them to almost all the venues. That circumstance make us think that we needed a place, a house, our house, where to say, OK, we need to express ourselves, we are going to do it and that was the action’ (Santana video interview 1994, my translation).

It could be argued that the first La Peña concert was a performance by Papalote, Jeannie Lewis and Luis Grimaldi in 1980. That concert was at the Cell Block Theatre in Darlinghurst and was a preamble to what La Peña would later become. There are no photos of that performance but there is a cassette recording of the concert made by Elias Pebaque. On that
performance there were lots of musical interaction, with Luis Grimaldi performing Latin American guitar classics solo or in duo, Jeannie Lewis singing on her own and with Papalote (when the song ‘El Papalote’ was performed), and Papalote playing on their own. Papalote – then Mario Rojas, Raúl Bassa, Héctor de Santiago and I – was performing with Luigi Tesoriero on saxophone, giving the group a contemporary sound that was rare amongst Latin American groups in Australia in those days. The material Papalote performed ranged from traditional folk music, Brazilian; the eclectic contemporary works of Los Jaivas and the Nueva Trova Cubana, otherwise unheard in those days in Australia (the soundtrack during the reference to Georgina Street in the video documentary has been taken from that performance).

4.2.6 Papalote and the Workshops

This previously discussed educational practice was based on dialogical ideas. That dialogical aspect is a continuity of the work of Papalote and La Peña. Papalote’s music workshops started in early 1980 before the official opening of La Peña at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. The first event held at La Peña – before the official opening party – was also a music workshop. That educational experience incorporated the dialectical exchange of learning about this new country and teaching the locals about our culture, our problems and difficulties, and about other cultures co-existing in multicultural Australia. ‘Se organizaron talleres de música, en los cuales Papalote enseñaba, formando un buen número de músicos de nuestra comunidad’ (Sarna 1992: 28).

4.2.7 Papalote Today

Papalote is still active today, we are still performing, working on education and striving for different avenues to promote cross-cultural understanding. The group has continued to promote their work and has kept the memories of La Peña alive. It was involved in attempts to create similar experiences to La Peña, such as the public television group, Romperemos TV. This operated for a while along similar lines and a few La Peña members were involved. Romperemos TV was bilingual television promoting Latin American culture.
Solidarity work, or what it was left of it, took on more of a dance than a concert nature as well. Following the path of *Tumbalé* and The Mambologists, local dancing bands with political overtones, *Papalote* attempted at recycling music with relevant political or poetic lyrics into music with a dance beat. That was a difficult process in itself. The new rhythms were different and challenging, and established dance bands already occupied the territories of dance music. *Papalote* focused again on the school shows and went back to extensive touring, performing less often in the Sydney’s music scene.

In March 2001, I went to Cuba with the ‘*Proyecto Papalote*’, the main objective of this project was to express solidarity with the Cuban musicians, creators of many of the music styles extensively performed in Australia. I went to Santiago de Cuba with a digital recorder and one good microphone, and taught local sound engineers to use digital equipment while recording music groups of contrasting music styles. This project was greatly applauded and appreciated by the Music Centre Miguel Matamoros, the organisation that represented the interests of musicians in Santiago de Cuba. More than a hundred local musicians and sound engineers were given the opportunity to learn to use and record their music with digital equipment. Fifteen CDs of diverse styles were produced as a result of the project. The local filmmaker, José Antonio Prades Hung, made a documentary called *Proyecto Papalote*. The Miguel Matamoros Music Centre assisted this project with logistics (Music Forum November 2001).

*Papalote* has also influenced the work of *Café Carnivale*, ‘en muchos aspectos es bastante similar al trabajo que realizáramos con La Peña. Yo trato de siempre dar a La Peña el crédito de ser pionera en eso de la ‘Música del Mundo’ a nivel institución, así como Papalote lo tuvo a nivel artístico’ (Diaz in 2008).

*Papalote*’s first tour was to Newcastle in 1980. In 2009, we toured north-western NSW with *Música Viva*’s CountryWide. We also celebrated our 30th anniversary with concerts at Fiesta in Darling Harbour and performed for *Café Carnivale*, in August 2010 for its 10th year celebration, in Addison Rd for an audience of almost 600 people.

4.2.8 Conclusion
Papalote has been an active music force in Australia for 31 years. As a consequence of the local acoustic music scene being weaker today and one of the few avenues for (multicultural or ‘world music’) work being Café Carnivale, the group is not as active in Sydney as it was in the past. The members have diversified into radio, lectures, Café Carnivale and collaborations and musical exchanges with other musicians and groups, with occasional tours and performances. The core group today is a trio formed by Olympia Karanges, Juan Carlos Ríos and myself.

Papalote has toured extensively in Australia and New Zealand over the years and has recorded many projects on cassette, vinyl and on CD, such as the album, Chiselled in Stone. The music of Papalote has also been included in compilations for the ABC, World Music, Los Barroso and other Latin American musicians, and collaborated on a recording of original music for ABC Radio with singer Paul Capsis. The school show is still performed with many variants and updates, as it has also incorporated electronic elements and contemporary materials.

The group has been featured on a local ‘world music’ compilation with internationally acclaimed artists such as Angelique Kidjo, Deep Forest, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Sierra Maestra, Papa Wemba, Rita Marley, Peter Gabriel and Ali Farka Toure with Ry Cooder. In performances and recordings, Papalote has used balalaikas, mandolins, Chinese flutes, electronic and midi instruments, and many Latin American folk instruments from their extensive collection. Papalote has been a major player in the Latin American, multicultural and ‘world music’ scenes for an extensive period. Papalote que de alguna manera demuestra ha sabido moverse dentro de ese concepto de recambio aunque demostrando continuidad estilística y de conciencia social (Ríos personal correspondence 2009).

Papalote was a key element in the development of La Peña, of the local Latin American music scene and early constructions of ‘world music’. Today, and with many changes, Papalote continues performing, working in education, and promoting respect and Latin American culture, but mostly reinventing itself to survive and contribute to the contemporary and fast changing cultural environment. Papalote has always maintained a multicultural composition and has positioned itself to support solidarity, multiculturalism and the local live music scene.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

‘El lado oscuro del corazón’ (Eliseo Subiela).

La Peña as a cultural project grew and had, in cultural and political areas, a high profile for an extended period of time. But the world changed. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall and democracies returning to Latin America, the necessity of a centre for solidarity became less important and its role became redundant. While La Peña lost much of the internal energy and community support, the group Papalote continued reinventing itself, still supporting different political causes and surviving as a music group.

Were La Peña or Papalote early expressions of a ‘world music idiom’?

The musical idioms the Latin American musicians explored were based on their past music experiences but in the interaction with local musicians they also developed music influenced by the Australian landscape and traditions. Papalote in particular tried on one hand to represent as many Latin American traditions as possible, with the many musical instruments they used and with the variety of origins of its members; on the other hand they recorded songs such as “Aboriginal Land” and Australasia, José Barroso composed “Blue wings” and Frances Paterson recorded her compositions using Latin American instruments and rhythms as accompaniments. Papalote has occasionally played with Kev Karmody in didgeridoo but that was not a common feature. The interesting fact is that La Peña’s musicians explored lateral fusion, not just conventional fusion with classical, jazz or rock music idioms but a fusion of the peripheries, of the borders. From Greek musicians playing their music with Andean instruments, or the Iranian “Latin” fusion, to the contemporary collaborations of Cafe Carnivale there are today many expressions of a new ‘world’ music idiom. Many of those experiments without ‘music aristocracies’ (where some styles are supposed to be superior to others) or ‘banking’ elements started at La Peña.

Papalote began in August 1979, La Peña in August 1980 and Café Carnivale in September 2000. They were anniversaries of different processes with a common thread of radical action:
music and multiculturalism, music and education and music and politics. Many performers of La Peña have performed at Café Carnivale and many of those audiences at La Peña have attended Café Carnivale as well. Every so often, there are comments about La Peña. Was La Peña presenting ‘world music’? Non-Western? “Latin”? Political? Multicultural? What Café Carnivale is presenting, is it essentially different? One could argue it is not.

Maybe ‘world music’ will become political; it is in many ways multicultural already. The industry will continue profiting from the cultural work of musicians and particular ‘world music’ styles will more than likely be re-defined. Issues of profit and culture and music and entertainment need to be addressed. As culture becomes another commodity and audiences become consumers, the whole society is saturated with fierce marketing and music pollution abounds. We should learn from the damage done to the environment, since in cultural areas we are moving in a similar direction. In this work, the term ‘organic has’ been often used. It was used with an ecological meaning and to address music without chemical-marketing or industrial (cultural) fertilisers. Culture, music in particular, is too important to leave it only on the hands of the private (and multinational) sector.

There does need to be a musical popular stream, popular from people, from the bottom up, as La Peña was and Papalote and Café Carnivale continue to be, in order to maintain cultural sanity and to represent all Australians, regardless of their cultural backgrounds to provide musicians with work and to further their professional development. All this, in a dialogical relationship with audiences, could help consolidate the future of Australian music idioms.

In the mainstream debates about multiculturalism in Australia, the discussion is often centred on the ‘other’, the people arriving to ‘our’ country and undermining the local culture and values with their religion, language, practices, dress codes or lack of English. Migration has been proven to be a necessity for Australian growth and the right of those ‘new-er’ Australians to fully express their cultural diversity should be respected and acknowledged in the public arena. The only question that should be debated is the way by which official bodies can facilitate that basic cultural and human right.
The public (and tarzanist) practice of limiting or underestimating those ‘other’ Australians based on their recent arrival date or their ‘difference’ is regularly exercised on talk back radio and the spaces which migrants are ‘allowed’ to legitimately occupy are defined and limited. Vidal expresses the way many Latin American migrants feel: ‘We became the exotic other, only when we can entertain we have a space’ (2008).

The areas of safe otherness should be expanded. ABC, the commercial television channels and radio stations and newspapers should represent closely the ethnic and cultural composition of this country. It is not healthy to show multiculturalism only through SBS Television and Radio, Café Carnivale and a couple of council and community broadcasts and celebrations. Australia by now should be embracing and celebrating multiculturalism everywhere. In this regard, we should carefully look at the path La Peña initiated in the 1980s.

Many continuities and discontinuities of the processes of Papalote, La Peña and Café Carnivale have been exposed and addressed. The aim of this work was to give visibility to La Peña’s radical action experience and by doing that to promote the achievements of minorities in Australia, and to contribute to filling research gaps in this area. There is also the hope that this material will encourage further research on grassroots cultural organisations and movements and on the manifestations of the many different cultural groups sharing Australia today.

It is admirable the cultural resistance of Latin America, especially in the area of culture and music, and the resistance of Latin Americans here against stereotyping and cultural assimilation. The new generation of Latin American musicians are more integrated into the local music landscape, in spite of an absence of explicit, local and political issues expressed in their music. This is a reflection of the demands of the industry in general but the scene is evolving, partly influenced by the growing importance of the “Latin” and ‘world music’ environments in Australia.

They are new expressions of Australian music and they are at different stages of development. All these processes are very healthy, but the original owners of migrant
cultures are demanding acknowledgment, representation and respect as well. The scene is extremely complex and diverse – that is the positive element of the Australian culture. The ‘world music’ terminology can be tactically appropriated as long as a continuity of multiculturalism is assured. Not a superficial, or assimilationist multiculturalism, but a creative multiculturalism and not trivialised by the short-term objectives of the entertainment industry. The music that best represents Australia today is ‘multicultural music’ or ‘world music’, regardless of its contradictions or the vague meanings of the second expression.

We need more cultural planning as the countries’ identity is embedded in (multi) culture, a culture of belonging, expressing diversity and demanding more participation. In the arts, the funding institutions should abandon passive attitudes and increase cultural research in many invisible expressions of our contemporary society. Are cultural administrators going to justify their multicultural practices solely with ‘world music’ funding and presentations? The (lack of) cultural representation in funding and the light embrace of manufactured, or vague, concepts should be questioned. We need people deeply inserted in many – and plural-cultural fields, informed by strategists visualising possible cultural paths and assisting artists to explore them. More dynamic and horizontal processes could help facilitate cultural explorations, developments and activities, quantitatively and qualitatively. The lack of minorities’ participation in the arts is not just as performers and it is a consequence of neglect and tarzanist attitudes: According to Fulton (2010) “Migrants from non-English-speaking countries also had ‘significantly lower’ participation; others for whom English was not the main household language were also under-represented”. The finding was not surprising, says Innes, who is also the Race Discrimination Commissioner. “We're paying for not having an effective multicultural policy for the last 10 to 15 years” (Fulton SMH 6-3-2010).

We, in Australia, are very fortunate. The rest of the world is steadily moving towards what this country has spent decades developing and embracing, towards cultural diversity and multiculturalism. It will be difficult to maintain peace without cultural recognition, acceptance and respect. Research like that presented here may contribute to facilitate a better understanding of each other and to present a more inclusive cultural map of this society, a map of a cultural democracy.
Bibliography


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Appendices

This part includes a Catalogue of Latin American musical instruments, La Peña’s document Guidelines for Coordinators, the ‘Declaration of New Song Committee’ and the subsequent article in the local Spanish language media, an article titled La Peña silenced and the programs of La Peña from 1980 until 1986.
Appendix I: Catalogue of Musical Instruments

The classification of the musical instruments has been completed according to the system of E. von Hornbostel and C. Sachs. The instruments are divided into four groups:

1. Idiophones: instruments whose materials are also the source of sound.
3. Aerophones: wind instruments.

1 IDIOPHONES

1.1 MARACAS. An indigenous instrument made of a hollow fruit gourd, emptied, dried and then filled with stones or seeds. The hole is sealed by applying a handle ('mango'), made of wood. They are played in pairs, one tuned at a higher register than the other, and sound when shaken. They were used to communicate with ancestors and supernatural powers. In Brazil, they are called Chocalhos and are made of tin with an African origin. In Mozambique, they are called Gocha.

1.2 RASPADORES. GÜIRO AND RECO-RECO. The Güiro is an oblong, dried gourd with ridges cut into its surface. It is played with a wooden or metal stick rubbed over the ridges. It can also be made of bamboo, bone or turtle shell (ayotl), and can be dated back to ancient times when it was associated with death and funeral rites. Güiros are played in Central America and in the north of South America. The bamboo Reco-Reco is played in Brazil, where it can be traced back to Africa.

1.3 TRIÁNGULO (TRIANGLE). This is similar to the European instrument and is used extensively all over the continent in folk music. It is also played in accompaniment with the concertina (sanfona) and bass drum in the forro from North East Brazil.
1.4 CAJÓN. Is a scaled wooden box with a round hole at the back. It is placed on the ground vertically, sat on and played with the hands like a drum. It was devised on the Peruvian coast and is used to accompany the marinera dance, along with other rhythmic instruments such as the cajita, quijada, tablitas and paimas (clapping). The cajón comes in two sizes, the ‘llamador’ and ‘repicador’, names that come from the original African pottery drums played until the beginning of this century. It is used also in Mexico and Cuba they use ‘Cajones’ to play the ‘Rumba’.

1.5 AGOGO. Two metal bells joined by a handle, one tuned higher than the other two and played with a wooden stick. It is a characteristic sound of the Brazilian samba.

1.6 FRIGIDEIRA. Two different sized frying pans joined by a steel handle. They are struck by a wooden or steel stick, producing a high and low sound.

1.7 CAIXIXI. A small woven basket in the shape of a bell with a handle on top and a gourd or wood base filled with seeds or stones. It is shaken by the berimbao player (during the dance of capoeira) being placed in the fourth finger of the stick hand (i.e. the right hand).

1.8 MARIMBA DE ARCO. A wooden xylophone type instrument consisting of wooden keys on a horizontal frame with hollow-wood resonator tubes hanging underneath. The keys are tuned to a major scale and the resonators scaled in accordance with the notes. The arc is used to carry the instrument, but more importantly is sat on so that the keys rest on the players knees. Each wooden resonator has a hole partly filled with wax and scaled with very fine pig skin, which gives each note a vibrating sound. It is played in Nicaragua and Guatemala. The instrument originates from the African piano or gourd xylophone called Mbila in Mozambique and Rongo in Sudan. In Latin America, Marimbas differ from country to country in tuning and sound. They are also played in Ecuador (Esmeraldas), Colombia, Mexico and Costa Rica. It has become extinct in Uruguay, Brazil and Peru.
1.9 CLAVES. The claves are two pieces of round, hard wood which make a sharp sound when struck together. They originated in Cuba and are used today for the rhythmic base in ‘rumba’, ‘son’, ‘guajira’ and other Caribbean and Central American dance music.

1.10 CENCERROS (COW BELLS). Metal bells of different sizes, struck with a stick and used for rhythmic accompaniment.

1.11 GUASÁ. A stick of bamboo scaled at both ends and filled with seeds, shells or stones. Wooden nails are passed through the tube adding to the sound of the shells when shaken. It is used on the coasts of Ecuador and Colombia in the marimba groups.

1.12 PEZUÑAS. Animal hooves attached to a piece of cloth or leather and arranged in a bunch. They can be attached to different parts of the body such as the knees, wrists, or ankles and played by body movement or simply played in the hands or tied to a stick. They are used all over Latin America especially in the Andean areas.

1.13 AFOXÊ. A gourd with a handle and seeds (cuentas) attached to the exterior. It is played by twisting the handle with one hand and rubbing the seeds with the other. In Cuba, a similar instrument is called Chekeré.

1.14 TEPONAZTLI (TUN). This is an ancient Mexican and Central American xylophone type instrument. It is made of a block of wood hollowed out with an ‘H’ shaped hole on the top, producing two different sounds when hit with mallets. Nowadays it can be made of bamboo.

1.15 CHAUCHA. This is a dried bean pod used for percussive effects.

1.16 PALO DE AGUA (PALO DE LLUVIA). This instrument comes originally from Brazil and consists of a long reed tube with beans inside. The beans move slowly simulating the sound of water, today they are made in different Latin American countries using cactus plants and rice.
1.17 QUIJADA. Donkey jawbones, dried in the sun. The teeth rattle when hit because of the lack of gum. They are used to playing Afro-Peruvian music, it is held by the front part by one hand and hit by the other hand, which also holds a stick to scratch the teeth.

The percussive expression of the continent also used matracas, marímbulas, catás, manguarés and working tools such as machines (sewing), machetes, utensils such as spoons, tins, kettles and plastic containers and natural elements such as turtle shells and the sounds of the human body like hands, feet and mouth which are probably the oldest musical instruments and often the only available to peasants and workers.

2. MEMBRANOPHONES

2.1 BOMBO LEGÜERO. A drum made of a hollowed tree trunk named legüero because it could be heard from a leagues distance. The hides on either ends of the trunk are generally made of cow or sheep skin. Leather strips attached to both skins are used to tune the drum by tension. It is played with two sticks hitting one skin and the sides, called ‘aros’ and has a deep bass sound. It was used mainly in Argentina but has now extended all over the continent.

2.2 BONGÓS. A drum from the Antilles, always played in pairs with one being a lower pitch than the other, tuned in fourths. It is played between the knees of the musician and can produce varying sounds according to the position of the hands on the surface. It is used in Caribbean styles but its use now has extended all over the world.

2.3 TUMBADORA OR CONGA. Large cylindrical drums played with the hands and tuned in fourths. There are three sizes, large, medium and small (the ‘quinto’), which improvises in the Rumbas. They are called Atabaques in Brazil.

2.4 PANDERO. Tamborine widely used in Chile to play the rhythm of cueca and in Brazil to play samba where it is called Pandeiro. They have small, round metal plates attached to the sides.
2.5 TINYA. A side drum played in Peru and Bolivia with two membranes and played with a gourd. A snare made of string with small wooden sticks is attached to the lower membrane. The Tínya is often played with another ancient drum called the Wankar. Drums were associated with royalty, war or death depending on the type used. The manner of playing also determined whether it was directed to the earth, moon, fertility, sky, thunder or rain.

2.6 CUICA. A cylinder, made in different sizes and materials (i.e. wood or metal), with a skin on one side and a narrow stick protruding from the centre of the skin into the drum. This stick is waxed and when rubbed with a wet cloth produces a sharp, squeaky sound. The right hand controls the stick and the left manipulates the skin to produce more or less tension thus changing the pitch of the squeak. In Mozambique it is called Ngulula.

There are many more membranophones throughout Latin America, such as tamboritos, tambores batá, cajas (side drums), pailas (timbales), cultrunes (Chilean drums), tamboriles (Uruguayan candombe drums), surdo (Brazilian bass drum), tamboras (Venezuela), and huehuetl and zambomba (Mexico).

3 AEROPHONES

3.1 QUENA (KENA or KHENA). The Quenas are Andean cane flutes of indigenous origins, still played by Indians and now widely played throughout Latin America. It consists of a cane 30-40 centimetres long that has five or six front holes and one in the back. There is no mouthpiece, just a ‘U’ shaped groove at the top. It used to be played into a clay pot by the Indians for greater resonance but this was banned by the colonisers as they said the sadness of the sound drove the Indians to depression and suicide – ignoring the real causes.

3.2 QUENACHO (KENACHO OR KENA-KENA). This is a longer and wider quena producing a deeper sound. It is also made of cane and originated in the Andean region. Its use has been extended, like the quena, all over Latin America.

3.3 QUENALI (KENALI or FLAUTILLA). A smaller version of the quena, producing a
higher pitched sound. The symbolism of flutes was phallic and associated with fertility and resurrection.

3.4 MOCEÑOS (PINQUILLOS MOHOCEÑOS). A family of bass flutes played in the region of Hualata Grande near La Paz, Bolivia. They are made of cane, in three different sizes, the two larger ones played traversely and the other vertically. They are usually overblown and played in big bands with percussion.

3.5 PINKULLO (PINKILLO OR PINQUILLO OR PINGULLO). This is a cane flute with a recorder-like mouthpiece. It is a shepherd's instrument, similar to the quena except for the mouthpiece. It is played in Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and Ecuador. A similar instrument called pífano is played in Brazil.

3.6 TARKA (THARKA). This is a solid wood (orange tree) flute also with a recorder-like mouthpiece. The wood is hollowed and carved into a square shape with six holes in the front. There are three different sizes to be played in trio. The Indians produce a double sound for each note and use it as a travelling companion on trips. It is played in Bolivia, Peru, north of Chile and in Argentina where it is called Anata.

3.7 ROLLANOS. Large flutes with a mouthpiece from Bolivia, made of wood cut in half to be hollowed and bound together again with gut or hide.

3.8 FLAUTAS TRAVERSAS (TRAVERSE FLUTES). We find these flutes all over Latin America with different tunings, sizes and names. They are made of cane, wood, plastic, bone, or metal. In Brazil, they are called Pífanos.

3.9 OCARINAS. Clay instrument from ancient times (then called huilacapitzli). Many are made in animal shapes (zoomorphic) and usually have four holes that produce five notes. There are many clay flutes with similar characteristics.

3.10 APITOS. These wooden whistles from Brazil are used as bird calls for hunting and to play music.
3.11 DOUBLE FLUTES. They are called Gaitas or Pareadas in Peru. These instruments play a pentatonic scale with a harmony note when playing the same fingering in both hands.

3.12 DULZAINAS. A pair of attached flutes with mouthpieces that and are tuned to play melody and harmony simultaneously. They are usually made of tin, cane or plastic, and played in Ecuador.

3.13 CAÑA OR ERKENCHO. A long horn-type instrument, three to six metres long, made of different pieces of hollow cane joined together and reinforced by leather strips. A horn, which, originally was made from a cow tail moulded to the shape of a horn, is attached to its end. Today, animal horns, tin or steel are used and the cane may be replaced by a plastic pipe or a coiled hose. The caña is mainly played in Tarija (Bolivia), in the north of Argentina (called Erke or Corneta), in Peru (Clarín) and in Ecuador (Bocina).

3.14 ERKE. A rustic clarinet made of a cow horn or a bronze or copper horn, with a cane mouthpiece. It is played in Bolivia (Tarija), Chile and Argentina where it is called Erkencho and usually played with a drum called caja. It is often played in carnivals and festivities.

3.15 TRUTRUKA. This is a long horn-like instrument, two to three metres long, similar to the caña but differing in the mouthpiece. It is played by the Araucanian Indians of Chile and its fabrication is similar to that of the caña. Today it is usually made of gas or water pipes with an animal horn on its end.

3.16 PUTUTO. The pututo is a conch shell instrument from ancient times. The sound is low and deep and was associated with war or death as well as with fertility and the gods' breath. It is called Huaylla-quepa in Peru and is played in Ecuador, Brazil, Mexico and Central America. It can also be made with a piece of animal horn or even metal. In Ecuador, it is called Quipa.

3.17 WAQRA-PUKU. This instrument is also known as Haccra-puco, Huagay-condor, huajkra and Wara pucu. A trumpet made of various bull or deer horns tied together with wax
or nails in a spiral shape. It is played in Ayacucho and Apurimac in Peru. It is believed that the animals will grow healthier and happier with the waqra's singing.

**3.18 SIKU OR ZAMPOÑA.** Indigenous panpipes originally made of clay, stone or hollowed hard wood. Today they are made of cane pipes attached in a line. Each line has six or seven tubes tuned in thirds, thus having half a scale. The shorter line is called *ira* (male) and the longer *arca* (female) and together they complete a diatonic scale. The two lines may be played by different people thus creating the true effect, or by one person. Sometimes another parallel row of pipes is added to each line producing a sound an octave higher or perhaps a row of empty pipes, which adds to the resonance of the line. Another variation is the tabla sikus distinguished by its square shape. The siku comes in three main sizes and in Peru; they are named as follows: Tayka (the largest), Ankuta (the medium) and Chili (the smallest). In Bolivia, they are called Toyos, Sankas, Maltas and Chulis. They are usually played in big bands with percussion and dancing, mainly in the areas of Bolivia, Peru, Argentina and Chile. The zampoña is a collective instrument and reflects the dual conception of the world in the musical dialogue of the instruments.

**3.19 ANTARA.** Single-row pan pipes played in the Peruvian Andes. They may be made of clay, bone, metal or more commonly of cane and consist of three to fourteen tubes attached to each other by string or wax. In the Peruvian Amazon, they are called Yupanas.

**3.20 RONDADOR.** This pan pipe's name comes from the ‘rondador’ – the night vigilant of the streets of Quito, Ecuador, who did his rounds announcing his presence by playing this pan flute. It is made of different sized cane pipes attached to each other with two sticks of cane and string. They can also be made of feathers. They are made in different sizes – from eight to more than 30 tubes, some being played all year round while others only in ritual situations. The main difference with other panpipes is that they contain the notes of a pentatonic (five note) scale and harmony notes are placed beside them thus giving the impression that two instruments are being played at once. In Peru, it is called Rondadora major or Yuphana and in Colombia and Venezuela there are panpipes called mare-mare or carrizos.
3.21 CHIRIMÍA. A rustic oboe made of wood played by the Guatemalan, Ecuadorian and Mexican Indians and in Peru where it is called Chirisuya. It originated from the European instruments brought by the colonisers.

In Latin America, many types of flutes and whistles are used including giant flutes (tarabuca, bajón, jula jula) and nose flutes, as well as many European instruments such as classical flutes, clarinets, saxophones, trumpets, harmonicas, accordions, bandoneón, etc.

4 CORDOPHONES

4.1 BERIMBAU. This is a musical arc, with a gourd resonator, of African origin. In Mozambique, it is called Chitende. The musician hits the wire string with a light stick in one hand and produces a higher and lower tone by pressing a stone or coin against the wire with the other hand. A ‘caixixi’ is held and shaken in the same hand as the stick and expression through the gourd is produced by moving it towards and away from the body thus changing the resonance. The Berimbao is played in Brazil as an accompaniment to the dance Capoeira – a dance that originates from a martial art said to have come from Angola.

4.2 CHARANGO. Small guitar or mandolin type instrument with five double strings tuned as follows: G, C, E, A, E. It was usually made with an armadillo shell but also with a turtle shell or wooden sound box. It is used in the highlands and comes in many different sizes, tunings and methods of playing, such as strumming and pickings. It can have nylon or steel strings but originally had gut strings (sometimes from cats). The larger size is called Ronroco and the smaller Maulincho and it is played in Peru, Bolivia, Chile and northern Argentina.

4.3 CUATRO. As its name suggests (cuatro means four in Spanish) this is a four string instrument used to play harmony and intricate strumming rhythms, backing vocals or a group. Today it is also played as a solo instrument and can be heard in the plains of Venezuela and Colombia. The Cuatro from Puerto Rico has paradoxically five double steel strings tuned all in fourths.
4.4 **GUITARRA (GUITAR)**. This six string instrument, which originated probably in Iran or Egypt, has travelled not only to Europe to become European but also to Latin America where it is by far the most popular string instrument. The Latin guitar is characterised by a faster and softer sound than that of the European. In Brazil, they use a seven string guitar, extending the range a fourth lower to include a B note. This guitar is called Violão 7 cordas and is played in chorinho music.

4.5 **CAVAQUINHO**. A small guitar with four steel strings tuned an octave higher than the first four strings of the guitar, i.e., D, G, B, E or D, G, B, D. It is used in Brazil in music like chorinho and samba.

4.6 **REQUINTO**. A small, six nylon string guitar tuned a fourth higher than a guitar and used for solo and backing. Its use has extended all over Latin America.

4.7 **REQUINTO CUYANO**. A small six or twelve string guitar usually tuned a fourth higher than a twelve-string guitar. It originated in Chile and moved to Argentina where it is still in use. It is mainly used to reinforce the melodic line.

4.8 **BANDOLÍN**. Ecuadorian fifteen steel string instrument tuned in groups of three. It has different tunings and shapes and is usually played with a plectrum. When played with guitars the bandolin plays the lead and the groups are called ‘rondallas’. The instrument seems to have developed from the lute and the Spanish bandurria.

4.9 **MANDOLÍN OR MANDOLINA**. This is similar to the European instrument and is played widely all over Latin America. The four strings are in groups of two or three and it is usually played with a plectrum. Sometimes the sound box is made with an armadillo or quirquincho shell.

4.10 **GUITARRÓN**. This name is given to the Mexican, Peruvian, Argentinian and Chilean bass guitars. The Mexican bass is tuned a fifth lower than a Spanish guitar with the first and second nylon strings doubling the fifth and sixth, i.e., A, D, G, B, A, D. Its body is much bigger than a normal guitar and takes on a wide bulbous form. This version is also played in El
Salvador. The Peruvian and Argentinian Guitarrones on the other hand are only slightly larger than a normal guitar but are tuned a fourth lower producing a deeper sound. In Chile, it has twenty one steel or gut strings and four short metal strings (called diablitos) that give resonance.

4.11 VIOLA CAIPIRA. This instrument of the Brazilian improvisers (repentistas) has ten steel strings, however, musicians may change the number, the tuning and may put them in groups of two or three, depending on their musical necessities.

4.12 VIOLINES CHAPACOS. Violins and Ravels are instruments that are spread widely over the continent. They come in different shapes and can have one, two, three or four strings. The Violin Chapaco comes from Tarija in Bolivia.

4.13 BANDURRIA. A twelve-string guitar tuned in fourths similar to the Spanish instrument. The Bandurria is played in Bolivia, Venezuela and Peru where it has four groups of three strings.

4.14 TIPLE. The tiple is a small string instrument with twelve steel strings, grouped in threes and tuned in unison or octaves. It is tuned like the first four strings of the guitar and is used for backing or solo work. It is originally from Colombia and Venezuela and its use has been extended all over Latin America by the groups of the New Song Movement.

4.15 GUITARRILLA. This is a small rustic steel string guitar played by the peasants in Bolivia. In Nicaragua, they also have a small guitar called Guitarrilla, which is played in the marimba groups.

4.16 TRES CUBANO. Originated in Cuba this instrument has 3 double stings, it is usually tuned in C Major (G, C, E) being the 1st and 3rd strings tuned in octaves, it could also be tuned in D Major or E minor (G, B, E). The first strings could be tuned in unison as well.

There are many other string instruments used throughout Latin America such as harps, jaranas, guitarrón sexto, requinto jarocho, leona, lutes, vihuelas, mandolas, mejoranas and
double basses. As an example, Venezuela, apart from the cuatro and tiple, uses the cinco, the seis, the cuatro y medio, cinco y medio, (medio is a resonance string), bandola, bandolín, mandolina, bandurria and arpa criolla.
Appendix II: Guidelines for Co-Ordinators

La Peña Latin American Cultural Centre 585 b King St. Newtown Ph 519-4874

The Coordinators, Secretary and paid Coordinators ideally should work jointly as a group coordinating La Peña in its activities at the direction of the General Committee (or with the approval of the Committee). The Coordinators are not elected to coordinate Sunday Concerts only, but to take an interest and if needed, give direction in the operations of La Peña. Therefore it is important that the Coordinators are familiar with the different Committees and the La Peña procedures. For example, if there is an area not working to a reasonable level (e.g. a Commission) then a Co-coordinator should be able to recognize it, point out the problem at the time, or discuss it at a Coordinators' or the General meeting (or both if necessary). Whilst the Coordinators don't in most cases have the time to participate with the paid workers in their detailed work, they should request proposed plans for work at the Coordinators meetings and discuss the results in the following meeting with perhaps a brief report given at the General Meeting. It may be preferable that the Coordinators keep copies of the minutes from meetings in order to compare the decisions taken to how they were implemented (or why they were not if the case). The results could be discussed at a Coordinators' meeting with a report or summary given at the General Meeting as part of the Coordinators' report. The Coordinators' being responsible for their Sunday Group, need to ensure that the main requirements are covered as outlined under SUNDAY GROUP COORDINATORS' DUTIES.

How the Sunday Group works and who takes responsibility for duties is between the Coordinator and the group. The main point is the night should function smoothly and if there are problems the Co-coordinator takes responsibility and corrects the problem areas.

End of page 1.

1 SUNDAY GROUP COORDINATORS' DUTIES

During the Week: - Decide what job each Sunday Group member will do in preparation for
the Sunday Concert. e.g. who will order the empanadas, buy the cakes, and prepare sangria. - Contact your Sunday Group members early in the week and work out who does various jobs and arrival/departure times. - Check with Finance that the checks for empanadas/performers/sound are in the office. - Check that the sound equipment will be coming.

On the Sunday - Try to be at La Peña by 5.00 pm. - Unlock the back door (for emergencies in case of fires etc.). - Disconnect answering machine and connect phone on. Collect the petty cash from office for the door ($40) and the canteen ($60); the Sunday Receipt books; the checks; the Petty Voucher pads; raffle tickets and the raffle prize. - Check the money (float) for the door and canteen.

Once Sunday Group Members arrive Work Out: - Who will be the announcer/public relations (1). - Who will work in the canteen (3). - Who will work at the door (2)? (See notes attached for the duties of the above)

Before You Leave: - Count the balance of the door and check it against the tickets sold. - Count the balance of the canteen and write out approximately the amount of empanadas sold, juices, cakes etc, sold. - Finance person has received all takings so it can be banked. - Petty Voucher pad has been filled in properly if members have charged La Peña for any food expenses. - Write out balance of the night's takings in your Sunday Receipt book. - Put the petty cash back in the office: $60 canteen, $40 door. - Check that rubbish has been removed from the back room, the children's room, the toilet area and the main hall. - Check that chairs have been put away; the hall swept and that kitchen is clean. - Leave all garbage outside (maximum 10 bags). - Disconnect the phone and reconnect answering machine.

End of page 2.

2 DUTIES OF PEOPLE AT THE CANTEEN N.B Remember that there should be three persons at the canteen and that at least one those persons should belong to Finance.
Before the Concert: - Preferably, if possible someone to put drinks in fridge some hours earlier (so drinks are cold by time Concert commences) and to buy fruit for sangria or if time, prepare it also beforehand. - Collect the petty cash of the canteen $60 from the Sunday Coordinator. - Prepare coffee, empanadas, cakes and organize kitchen generally. - Inform your Sunday Coordinator of anything which is in low supply in the storeroom.

During the Concert: - Try to keep the kitchen clean and tidy so it is easier to wrap things up at the end of the night. - Try to keep a list of all that is sold and give list to the Sunday Coordinator.

Before you leave: - Count balance of canteen takings and hand it to the Sunday Coordinator. Also hand in the petty cash of the canteen $60. - Count all the empanadas that are left and put them away wrapped in foil in the fridge. - Put away wrapped in glad wrap cakes/sweets in the fridge. - Wash-up cups, mugs etc. and clean kitchen generally. - Turn off all electrical switches except the fridge.

End of page 3.

DUTIES OF PERSONS AT THE DOOR

Before the Concert: - Arrive about 5 PM. - Help put out the chairs and distribute programs on them. - Collect from the Sunday Coordinator raffle tickets (one colour for full rate, another colour for concession rate). Write down the date of the concert on the first tickets of both books. - Collect from the Sunday Coordinator petty cash of the door $40.

During Concert: - Try to attend to any queries from the public if you are not too busy, otherwise refer them to the Announcer/Public Relations. - Turn off/on lights (near back door) when acts are on and when the breaks start. - La Peña members do not pay and Amigos de La Peña who show you a card pay concession rate.

Before You Leave: - Count the tickets and check them against the door takings. Write down the number of people who came to the concert. - Write out the balance of the door takings.
and hand it in to the Sunday Group Coordinator. Also hand in the petty cash of the door $40 and the tickets. Help the chairs away, sweep the hall, the stairs and the entrance area.

End of page 4.

4 DUTIES OF THE ANNOUNCER/PUBLIC RELATIONS
Before the Concert: - Arrive about 5.00 pm. - Collect from the Sunday Coordinator the checks for the performers and the sound people. Pay the performers at the end of each act and the sound people at the end of the night. - Work out the order of the night's performances e.g. how many breaks, are any La Peña regular performers going to play and in what order. (Remember that apart from the advertised program 3 more acts are allowed to perform on the night). - You are also the liaison between the sound people and the performers. - Work out the announcements which you plan to do for the night. Try to include as many La Peña activities and important events outside of La Peña as you can. - Collect raffle prize from Sunday Coordinator.

During the Concert: - As Public Relations person, know basics about La Peña activities (Latin American Music Workshops including Children’s Workshops; Choir Classes; Spanish Classes; Percussion Classes; Jazz Impro Workshops; who takes care of the bookings etc). - During one of the breaks draw raffle and give prize.

Before You Leave: - Ensure that no instruments or stands are left on stage and are returned to music room. - Turn off all lights concerning those 3 areas (stage, children's room and back room).

End of page 5.

CULTURE COMMISSION The Culture Commission is the basis or central part of La Peña with almost all activities coming from this Commission. Ideally much of the inspiration and creativity of La Peña should come from the Culture Commission in which also there would be hopefully a large number of participating members (and non-members). The Commission has an elected Co-coordinator who has the position of being responsible for most of La
Peña's activities which in practice are broken into their particular areas for other people to manage. For example a Finance person may take responsibility for the collection of fees and operating the canteen during the Music Workshop or a Commission may be set up to organize a Fiesta. Nevertheless the Coordinator would hopefully be aware of how the different areas operate and be able to know what parts need to be distributed to other people (in practice this would probably be done in a meeting), either within or outside the Commission, depending on available people. The Co-coordinator is to organize regular Culture Meetings (about once a month) with reasonable notice given. It should be remembered that non-members may participate (but not formally vote) and should be encouraged to join the Commission for greater diversity of opinion and contribution. Not taking into account as to whether an area is organized by Culture Commission directly or not, the broad areas under the Commission are (or potentially could be): ORGANIZING CULTURE MEETINGS, PROGRAM FOR SUNDAY CONCERT, WORKSHOPS/CLASSES, PUBLICITY, RESOURCE ACTIVITIES, FIESTAS, FESTIVAL DEL SOL, FUTURE ACTIVITIES.

ORGANIZING CULTURE MEETINGS * Time and date of meetings. * Reports and proposals on activities at the meeting and to the General Meeting.

PROGRAM for SUNDAY CONCERT * Selection of performers. * Format or layout of program in conjunction with publicity.

End of page 6.

WORKSHOPS/ CLASSES * Selection of teachers (by chosen panel). * Division or grades of classes. * Coordination of classes. * Time period per class and cost. For the following: Music Workshop (Monday night) Children's workshop Choir Percussion Jazz Theatre Spanish language classes.

FIESTAS* Three fiestas per year (in addition to Festival del Sol), largely for fundraising purposes. Co-coordinated by a selected group to decide bands/venues/promotion etc. The final proposal should be submitted to the General Meeting for approval.

FESTIVAL DEL SOL: A Festival del Sol Committee be set up to organize this event. For further details refer to Festival del Sol Planner or the reports from previous Festivals.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES
After a number of Culture Meetings (and informal discussions) the general feeling seems to be that La Peña should expand its activities into other art forms. Suggestions to date have been: Visual arts (including mural painting) Young artist group Craft activities (including fabric printing/ceramics) Exhibitions Film Literature competition

SPANISH CLASSES: Teacher to issue cash receipt for any money received, then total amounts collected in an invoice book (with cash receipt numbers next to amounts collected). The invoice receipt copy (with total) and cash should be given to person from Finance commission to bank. At the end of each term both the cash and invoice book should be given to and checked by person from Finance. The number of books bought should be checked against the number sold or left over.

CLASSES IN GENERAL: Classes in general depend on arrangements decided by Finance in conjunction with Culture or the General Committee.

HIRE OF LA PENA: Money for hire $50/$90 and deposit $20 (total hire amount and deposit received initially with receipt issued) to be given to and recorded by secretary. Hire fee-$50 solidarity, $90 private. Both hire and deposit amounts to be received before hire period. Deposit to be returned after premises have been inspected and left the same as when taken.
PETTY CASH: People claiming petty cash should keep receipts and give these to appropriate finance person for payment. Periodically finance person totals dockets/receipts on a single sheet of paper and balances these against amount remaining in petty cash float. A check is written for the total amount owing which is then listed (in correct categories) in the expenditure book.

INSPECTION OF BOOKS: Finance person (or people) should regularly check invoices/statements that have been or are to be paid and how these are written up in the expenditure book. All aspects of both the income/expenditure books should be jointly inspected at least once a month (perhaps prior to the monthly meeting) by finance member/s with the Co-coordinator/Secretary. This is important, as Finance Commission should know what is being paid and what balances are in the account to allow for future budgeting.

FINANCE REPORT: A finance report should be made jointly with Finance/Coordinator/Secretary for the monthly meetings. This should entail what the bank balance is, know outstanding debts, income received, expenditure from previous month. An opinion could be given on the results and how finance should proceed for the future. A photocopy could be made of the summary of results and be distributed at the monthly meeting.

NOTE: THE SUCCESS OF HOW EFFICIENT FINANCE IS MAY DEPEND AT TIMES ON WHAT THE EXPECTATIONS FROM THE GENERAL COMMITTEE IS. EACH INDIVIDUAL MEMBER HAS THE OPTION OF INSPECTING THE BOOKS AND REQUESTING ANY INFORMATION.

End of page 8.

PUBLICITY COMMISSION GUIDELINES FOR AREAS WITHIN THE COMMISSION, MEDIA PROGRAM, PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION, MAILING LIST, LEAFLETS/POSTERS, MEMBERSHIP, MEMBERSHIP LIST, MEDIA – Radio, print-media,
Radio. Radio list to be maintained of stations that broadcast What’s on or other community announcements, section or program name within each station and how far in advance information needs to be sent prior for broadcasting.

Print-media. A list of political/ethnic/local/community papers/periodicals etc. should be made, especially those that do not charge for community announcements. Details of where to address the information, time needed before print and when printed (weekly/monthly etc.) should be made and maintained. Both radio and print-media lists should be on computer list with relevant information if printout is needed or alternatively, a printout of addressed labels for mail out. A book on procedures and the main media contacts could be maintained. For further information (though not complete) refer to Margaret Gees Media Book etc.

Program. Write-up of program of performers or other relevant information, graphics or suggestions of layout etc.

Distribution of programs. List to be made and maintained of places for distribution e.g. cinemas, community centres etc. New program should be available at least a week before previous program ends with a few people organized and ready to distribute it to various centres, cinemas etc.

End of page 9.

GUIDELINES FOR FINANCE COMMISSION OPERATION

AREAS OF WORK AND METHOD OF OPERATION FOR:SUNDAY CONCERT
MUSIC WORKSHOPS CHOIR CLASSES SPANISH CLASSES
HIRE OF LA PENA PETTY CASH INSPECTION OF BOOKS FINANCE REPORT

SUNDAY CONCERT: Procedure for door/ canteen.

Door- Check float ($40) and number of entry tickets for both full and concession. At end of night count number of tickets issued against the amount of money received after deducting the float (and replace float with correct change if possible for following week). Canteen-

Check float ($60), record costs of empanadas, cakes etc. and quantities sold in book and at end of night total money and replace float with correct change if possible for following week.
It is the Finance person’s responsibility to take the cash for the night and bank it as soon as possible by making arrangements for it to be given to the appropriate person in Finance to deposit. Musicians- Amounts payable to musicians to be determined by Culture commission and then relayed to Finance for the two-month program if possible. Cheques should be written out in advance for the Sunday Concert Coordinator to give to musicians on the night. Empanadas- Amount payable to be given to Finance by Coordinator of Sunday group early the same week. Cheque should be written out in advance for the night. For both door/canteen amounts should be counted and recorded the same night and money taken by person in Finance commission.

**MUSIC WORKSHOPS:** Names of students to be recorded against payments and totalled. The total should equal amount of cash held. Canteen sales refer to canteen. Money put in safe overnight or taken by finance person.

**CHOIR CLASS:** To be determined by Finance.

End of page 10.

**BASES DEL CONCURSO LITERARIO DE ‘LA PENA’**

1) Toda persona mayor de 16 años será bienvenida a este: concurso.
2) El concurso abarcara los géneros de. cuento y poesía.
3) Las obras deberán; ser inéditas y estar escritas en castellano, pudiendo cada participante,, enviar un máximo de una obra por genero.
4) La extensión máxima. para cuento será de 12 carillas, y para poema de 40 versos, ambos deberán sen escritos a maquina y a doble espacio.
5) El original y tres copias deberán ser enviados en dos sobres diferentes, con pseudónimo exterior y detallando si es Original o copia, al I CONCURSO LITERARIO DE ‘LA PENA’ 585 B King St. Newtown NSW, el original deberá contener en su interior la identificación completa del autor.
6) La carta conteniendo a1 original, se abrirá para dar a. conocer la identidad del ganador, una vez que el jurado haya dado su veredicto, y anunciado públicamente los trabajos premiados.
7) El fallo del jurado será inapelable. 8) Los concursantes aceptarán las bases del concurso. La presentación de las obras y entrega de premios, se llevara a cabo el día 7 de agosto próximo, en el edificio del Paddington Town Hall durante el Festival del Sol. Los trabajos premiados, primer y segundo premio, serán publicados en este periódico.

Primer premio para cuento y poesía. respectivamente: 100 dólares segundo premio: mención especial. Las inscripciones quedaran abiertas a partir de la publicación de estas bases, y se cerrarán el 24 de julio próximo.

End of page 11.

FESTIVAL DEL SOL PLANNER FEBRUARY-APRIL

Select 2 people who are to receive the Poncho and Sombrero. The persons should be people who have helped the community at large especially minority groups.

2) Select groups for entertainment.
3) Decide on ticket price.
4) Make enquiries on sound equipment.
5) Place advertisement in newspapers about poster competition.

MAY
1) Send invitations to Al Grassby, Ethnic Affairs Commission, past winners, Consuls, Australia Council and trade unions.
2) Confirm awarded people.
3) Confirm groups.
4) Organize ticket print out. June print out A4 leaflet and distribute (perhaps from six weeks prior). 2) print out tickets. 3) Select winning poster entry. 4) Organize poster print out which would include performing groups.
5) Contact media through letters of invitation to both events.
6) Decide on alcohol supplies and prices.

JULY Print out poster and paste-up one to three weeks beforehand.
2) Organize interviews in the media.
3) Buy poncho and sombrero.

AUGUST Send letters on last one to two weeks before to the media (News Staff; Editor; Chief of Staff).
2) Insert advertisements one to two weeks before in print media.
3) Ring the media the day before and on D-Day
4) Organize ceremony catering.
5) Organize festival night.

End of page 12.

Mail out of Program- Mail out list on computer (addressed labels) to be maintained especially to Spanish speaking groups, arts agencies (Australia Council etc.), ethnic and other community groups. At the time for mail out the sequence could be: 1- Printout of labels is made.2- (optional) Cover letter asking the receiver to display the program on notice board is typed and after photocopies of appropriate number made.3-Folding of letters and programs into envelops after which are posted.

Leaflets/posters. Publicity of this type to be organized by Publicity Commission and distribution on similar basis to the Program or whatever way is preferable.

Membership. Amigos de La Peña to have program and any other available material (not necessarily that of La Peña) sent as soon as new program is available. New membership fees can be paid from October onwards for the following year, thereby send reminders of renewal from October onwards.

End of page 13 end of document.
Appendix III: Declaration of New Song Committee

‘COMITE NACIONAL AUSTRALIANO DE LA NUEVA CANCION’ ‘AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW SONG

‘En reunión plenaria efectuada con fecha 7 de Septiembre de 1986 en el local de ‘LA PEÑA’ en Sidney. Be constituyó el COMITÉ AUSTRALIANO DE LA NUEVA CANCIÓN, con asistencia de representantes de grupos e individuales músicos, que han venido desarrollando en el hecho, las instancias del movimiento en Australia por varios años. Las resoluciones aprobadas por acuerdo unánime son las siguientes:

1.- Constituirse en organización que se denominará ‘COMITE NACIONAL AUSTRALIANO DE LA NUEVA CANCION’ (AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW SONG).

2.-Afiliarse al ‘Comité Internacional de la Nueva Canción’ (CINC) con sede en ciudad de Méjico, aprobando sus objetivos y resoluciones.

3.- Emitir la siguiente declaración:

a) ‘Tomamos el compromiso de contribuir y fomentar, por medio del canto, la música y otras disciplinas culturales- la solidaridad con los pueblos del mundo que luchan por la paz y la justicia medio la paz y

b) Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los pueblos, el derecho a la tierra de los aborígenes, la soberanía de los países y el control de sus recursos naturales.

c) Apoyamos la lucha para terminar con el racismo, sexismo y discriminación sexual.

d) Solidarizamos con los movimientos que luchan por un mundo sin armas nucleares ni contaminación toxica.

e) Apoyamos los derechos sindicales de los trabajadores.

f) Rechazamos la explotación en el trabajo, el desempleo que atenta contra el derecho fundamental al trabajo y la discriminación laboral de los inmigrantes.
g) Rechazamos todo tipo de intervención imperialista de los Estados Unidos de Norte América y sus aliados, especialmente en los países que luchan por su liberación.

h) Finalmente queremos expresar nuestra decisión de contribuir, a través de nuestro canto y nuestra música, al desarrollo y difusión de las expresiones artísticas y culturales de los pueblos del mundo como forma de resistencia a la penetración, deformación y explotación cultural mercantilista del Imperialismo.

‘CON LA VERDAD DEL PUEBLO LA ETERNIDAD DEL CANTO’
PABLO NERUDA ‘ODAS ELEMENTALES’

Agnes Huhn - Alberto Platero - Justo Díaz (Papalote)-Danie1 Rosas - Olimpia Karanges (Papalote)-Janis Carter (Papalote)-Elías Pebaque - Fernando y Sonia Arancibia (Cantolibre Group)-José y Emilio Barroso- Hernán Flores (Papalote) - Jeannie Lewis, Luis Franco (Arcatao) - Pepe - Manuel Valenzuela (La Peña).

2 La Nueva Canción El Español en Australia, November 1986

Arcatao, Barroso Bros., Canto Libre, Celina Centurión, Hugo Leal, Agnes Huhn, Papalote, Lucho Silva.

Desde hace varios años la música popular ha tomado un notable impulso y ha logrado un crecimiento cuantitativo y cualitativo de sus integrantes. Tal vez ese crecimiento se deba a que la Nueva Canción está a inserta en la realidad social, cultural y laboral del medio.

Tal vez porque ese movimiento sea el único con el que los pueblos puedan, sin reservas, identificarse plenamente. La Nueva Canción es un fenómeno internacional, al que Australia no puede ni debe sustraerse. Por eso, se ha llegado a la creación del Comité Nacional Australiano de la Nueva Canción, que intenta establecer los vínculos necesarios para integrar el trabajo realizado en este país al ya realizado en otras partes del mundo. Sus integrantes, y los muchos que aun se integraran en el futuro, se definen como trabajadores de la cultura, por tal, parte auténtica de la clase trabajadora. Sólo partiendo de una misma realidad, pueden los artistas - de cualquier índole que sean - representar genuinamente al resto de nosotros.

Pero este movimiento no se limita sólo a la música. La Nueva Canción incluye toda
expresión artística - como lo deja en claro la declaración de objetivos del comité australiano - y mantendrá la necesaria apertura respecto a las concepciones estéticas. El trabajo deberá en suma representar todas las diferentes extracciones culturales que conforman la sociedad australiana actual.

‘Es nuestro propósito - dice el documento con los objetivos - mejorar nuestros niveles de comunicación con el pueblo en general, a través del dialogo constructivo, del intercambio de experiencias, con un espíritu crítico y autocrítico, enfrentando todo síntoma competitivo con una actitud humilde y de cooperación mutua’.

Otro de los objetivos - no menos importante - es cumplimentar la obligación moral que los integrantes del Comité tienen de hacer respetar el trabajo de los artistas, en muchos casos, la única fuente de ingresos de que el artista dispone, en un medio difícil para la realización de tareas vinculadas ya a la música, como a cualquier otra expresión de la cultura.

Y este Movimiento de la Nueva Canción Australia - la muestra es, en todo caso primordialmente australiana por ubicación, sin dejar de reconocer sus raíces- parte como no podía ser de otra manera: Haciéndose conocer en un concierto que, además: de proporcionar la oportunidad de dialogar directamente con el público, permitirá que otros músicos, plásticos, escritores y demás trabajadores de la cultura, se acerquen a discutir la idea con los que ya dan fuerza e impulso inicial al Comité en Australia.

Entre ellos, y presentes en el concierto del próximo sábado 6 de diciembre en La Peña: Arcatao, Los Barrosos, Canto Libre, Celina Centurión, Hugo Leal, Agnes Huhn, Papalote y Lucho Silva. La Nueva Canción, es entonces, una idea de la que todos podemos y debemos participar. Un juntar de manos y fuerzas en torno a la defensa de la cultura. Sólo con todos, el movimiento puede tener en Australia el éxito ya experimentado en todos nuestros países. Como el Comité mismo antepone - a modo de presentación - en su documento de objetivos, y de la pluma de Pablo Neruda: ‘Con la verdad del pueblo, la eternidad del canto’.
Appendix IV: La Peña Enmudecida, Chispazos de Belarmino

El Español en Australia No. 32 Pág. 3

En días pasados, el local de ‘La Peña’ fue violentado y su equipo de sonido, sustraído. Por un valor de cinco mil dólares, el equipo había sido adquirido a través de grandes sacrificios. Sin el sonido, ‘La Peña’ queda enmudecida; es tanto como cortarle la lengua a un trovador.

Pero, qué es ‘La Peña’? Un Centro Latinoamericano que, sin ánimo de lucro, difunde nuestra cultura.

Surgió como inquietud de un grupo de latinoamericanos exiliados, -económicos y de los otros-, necesitados de un rincón donde rumiar la nostalgia, poder conversar para no olvidar la lengua; un lugar donde discutir la situación de nuestros países de origen, -derrocando dictaduras a base de buenos deseos- y, aflorar el regreso; - un Centro donde tratar de mantener vivo el escaso bagaje artístico-cultural, antes de que se nos oxidara, y darlo a conocer a los australianos sin propósito mercantilista.

El local era una bodega abandonada. Mientras los compañeros corrían detrás de las ratas para ahuyentarlas, las compañeras en ‘short’ encaramadas sobre cajones quitaban las telarañas y pintaban las paredes, hasta hacerlo aceptable.

Las actividades iniciales giraban exclusivamente alrededor de la música teniendo como núcleo fundamental a ‘Papalote’ y ‘Antara’, quienes a puro pulmón, sacaban adelante las presentaciones.

Se formaron los talleres musicales, de los cuales, ya se han obtenido buenas promociones. En ‘La Peña’, los artistas, a sus anchas, sin el acoso del compromiso comercial, han podido dar rienda suelta a su creatividad. En esas condiciones, allí se han forjado músicos que después se han destacado en nuestro medio; ejecutantes que no solo entretienen, sino que han ido de escuela en escuela, dando a conocer interpretativa y pedagógicamente, el arte.
Latinoamericano.

En ‘La Peña’, se montan exposiciones de pintura, de artesanía, se muestran películas, se llevan a cabo representaciones teatrales, recitales poéticos, se ejecutan danzas, etc. En aras de la supervivencia de nuestros valores se han realizado actividades de alto relieve cultural, como los homenajes a Pablo Neruda y a Violeta Parra, entre otros.

‘La Peña’, organiza el ‘FESTIVAL DEL SOL’ evento ya tradicional y popular, exponente del folclor andino y latinoamericano de reconocido prestigio entre la comunidad y los australianos.

En ‘La Peña’ se presentan actividades en solidaridad con los pueblos latinoamericanos que padecen las dictaduras y la injusticia social. Desde ‘La Peña’, se han organizado las visitas de destacados artistas como Daniel Viglietti, que han venido a difundir el arte, y en solidaridad. Se llevan a cabo - foros. de contenido político, social, económico y religioso, que permiten dar a conocer la problemática de nuestro continente.

Abierta ‘La Peña’ al influjo cultural progresista australiano, ha cantado con la valiosa colaboración de artistas locales, como la excelente cantante Jeannie Lewis animada de un propósito internacionalista, en defensa de los pueblos sometidos.

Dentro de un ambiente austero, el local estrecho y nada elegante-, allí solo se ofrece la empanada chilena la pascualina uruguaya, el tamalito salvadoreño, y el café, no colombiano, desde luego, pero en una atmósfera de camaradería. ‘La Peña’ acoge cariñosamente a sus asistentes; allí, mientras los artistas actúan, los chiquillos se nos meten por debajo de la silla, entre las piernas, o salen al escenario haciendo malabarismos con las latas vacías de coca-cola, o pegan sonidos ensordecedores que no dejan escuchar. Pero ni los artistas ni los espectadores nos disgustamos, porque son nuestros hijos o los hijos de nuestros amigos que es lo mismo.

‘La Peña’, - en fin, ha sido el refugio de ese sector de descarriados desperdiçando la oportunidad de "hacer plata’ en el Lucky Country, se han vinculado a actividades de orden
cultural y solidario que les permita, antes que llenar los bolsillos, regocijar el espíritu y tranquilizar la conciencia.

La sustracción bien puede ser un atentado de quienes están interesados en silenciar el Centro por el tipo de actividades que desarrolla, o el robo común y corriente, producto de la descomposición social que se está agudizando en Australia.

Amigos de la institución, han iniciado una campana para recolectar fondos y reponer el indispensable equipo de sonido para que ‘La Peña’ pueda continuar su labor en bien de la comunidad y de la solidaridad con nuestros pueblos.

Se espera que los simpatizantes de ‘La Peña’, hagan llegar su colaboración. Desde luego, la mínima ayuda es asistiendo a sus actividades programadas, especialmente a su acostumbrado Concierto Dominical.

Ojala que además de recobrar la voz con el equipo de sonido, ‘La Peña’ se pudiera cambiar a un mejor local y sector mas apropiado, correspondiendo a su desarrollo y jerarquía alcanzados.
## Appendix V: La Peña Programs 1980-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity/Concert</th>
<th>La Peña’s supporting group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17/6/80</td>
<td>Workshops Newtown Neighbourhood Centre</td>
<td>Papalote</td>
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<tr>
<td>3/8/80</td>
<td>Opening Papalote- Grimaldi- Barroso- Quechuas</td>
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<td>Jose &amp; Emilio Barroso</td>
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<td>7/9/80</td>
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<td>Pedro y el Capitan (Theatre)</td>
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<td>31/1/82</td>
<td>Bindi-eye</td>
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<td>7/2/81</td>
<td>Azteca /A. Gómez- M. Guzmán (Arg)</td>
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<td>Music M. Theodorakis</td>
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<td>Mary Jane Field</td>
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<td>Jim Taylor</td>
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<td>D’ark Swan</td>
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<td>Gill and Jenny</td>
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<td>Sonido de los Andes</td>
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<td>Aconcagua</td>
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<td>1/5/83</td>
<td>Fiesta; Papalote + Chimigüín + M J Field</td>
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<td>+ Frances + Luis &amp; Antonio</td>
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<td>Sister Trek</td>
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<td>Luis Olivera + Papalote</td>
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<td>Judy Small</td>
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<td>Lost Civilizations; H Flores + J Díaz (slides)</td>
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<td>South to North; H Flores + J Díaz (slides)</td>
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<td>Chimigüín + Furious Chicken</td>
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<td>Lucy &amp; Cathy Gibson Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Maria &amp; Dimitri Fotiadis + V Bakusis (Greek) Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Victor Mishalow (Ukraine) Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Music Workshops Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Festival del Sol 83 Papalote + Chimigüín + SdeLosAndes + ExpPercGroup + LosBarroso + Jay &amp; Br Cuckroaches</td>
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<td>Gabriela Cabral (Uruguay) Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Roland Chadwick (guitar) Papalote + M J Field + Chimigüín</td>
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<td>Side Track + Papalote, Chilean Coup + Jara</td>
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<td>José Barroso</td>
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<td>25/9/83</td>
<td>Frances Paterson &amp; Friends</td>
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<td>19/1/86</td>
<td>Lucho &amp; Juan Carlos+ Poetry</td>
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<td>Penny Davies &amp; Roger Ilott+ Los Quechuas</td>
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<td>Folk Federation; Papalote Peter Parkhill, C. Jones, B.</td>
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<td>Brayson</td>
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<tr>
<td>7/12/86</td>
<td>Azziz N'Diaje</td>
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<tr>
<td>14/12/86</td>
<td>Paranormal Music Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>21/12/86</td>
<td>Guitar Evening</td>
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<tr>
<td>28/12/86</td>
<td>End Of Year: Chichitote?</td>
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