

Music, Negritude, and the “African Renaissance”:  
Performing Blackness at the World Festivals of Black Arts in Dakar, 1966 and 2010

By

Melissa D. Reiser

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Music)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2014

Date of final oral examination: 4/28/2014

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Ronald M. Radano, Professor, School of Music

Florence Bernault, Professor, History

Jerome Camal, Assistant Professor, Anthropology

Tejumola Olaniyan, Louise Durham Mead Professor of English and African Languages  
and Literature

R. Anderson Sutton, Dean, School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawaii at  
Manoa

MUSIC, NEGRITUDE, AND THE “AFRICAN RENAISSANCE”:  
PERFORMING BLACKNESS AT THE WORLD FESTIVALS OF BLACK ARTS IN DAKAR, 1966 AND 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Index of Appendices	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter I: From Negrophilia to Negritude: the Formation of a Musically Grounded Philosophy in Colonial Paris	19
Chapter II: From Pan-African Philosophy to National Cultural Policy: Senghor, Negritude, and the First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, 1966	73
Chapter III: Sounding Blackness: Musical Dialogues at FESMAN 1966	134
“Entracte”: FESMAN’s Aftermath	188
Chapter IV: The Third World Festival of Black Arts, Dakar, 2010: An “African Renaissance” for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century?	204
Chapter V: Contesting “Blackness” and Re-Sounding Race: Musical Performances at FESMAN 2010	241
Conclusion	286
Appendices	297
Bibliography	369

## INDEX OF APPENDICES

I: “Festival Express” Daily Festival Calendar Updates in <i>Dakar Matin</i> , April 1-24, 1966	297
II: FESMAN I: Performances by Country	299
III: FESMAN I: Performances by Venue	301
IV: FESMAN I: National Ensembles	303
V: “L’animation du Dakar dans le cadre du Festival” (Performances by local and regional acts) in <i>Dakar Matin</i> , April 1-24, 1966	304
VI: FESMA: All Performers, in Alphabetical Order	308
VII: <i>Dakar Matin</i> FESMAN I Coverage Index	311
VIII: FESMAN I: Financials (Final Financial Report)	328
IX: FESMAN I: Financial Statistics (Budget and Expenses)	333
X: FESMAN I: Grand Prizes in Music	335
XI: FESMAN III: Official Festival Program	336
XII: FESMAN III: Performers by Genre	348
XIII: FESMAN III: Hip Hop Performers by Country	353
XIV: FESMAN III: Performances by Venue	354
XV: FESMAN III: All Performers, Alphabetical Order	362

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the U.S. Department of Education for providing me the financial support to conduct my research in Dakar, Senegal from November 2010-July 2011 through the auspices of a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship.

From my time in Dakar, I have the following people to thank: Papa Bambi Diop, the musicians of MILIM, (Damien Masterson, Joël, Jeannot Mendy, Abou, Papis), l'Endroit (my favorite place to work and play in Dakar), Tabou (Tabara Ngom), Tidiane Diallo and the musicians of the Senegalese National Orchestra (Alioune Ndiaye Taxuran, Cheikh Cisse, Vieux Keita, William Badji, Alassane Cisse, Lamine Tan, Assane Nar Fall, Baaye Sy, and especially the saxophonists: Sano and Thierno Sarr – and thank you Thierno for fixing my saxophone!), Ablaaye Thioassane, Serge Huchard, Robert Lahoud, Aziz Dieng, Balla Ndiaye, Lamine Diagne (for my turtle namesake), Kristin Stewart and Fatou Diakhate at the U.S. Embassy in Dakar, Moutarou Diallo (my Wolof teacher), Fou Malade (Malal Almany Talla), Dider Awadi, Amadou Sow and Mamdou Thior at RTS, Papa Momar Diop and Babacar Ndiaye at the Senegalese National Archives, Ousmane Sène and Mame Coumba at WARC; the Moreno family, Eva Vandamme, Paula Kittendaugh, Thomas Lacquemant, and Florent Mazzoleni.

In Paris, thank you to Sarah Frioux-Salgas at the Musée du Quai Branly, Alexandre Coutelle at the UNESCO Archives, Laurent Fairon aka “Continuo”, Jacques Brierre, and the Fondation des Etats-Unis.

For research guidance in the United States, thank you to Mary Markey at the Smithsonian Institution Archives, Marieta Harper of the Library of Congress' African and Middle Eastern

Division, Khalil Gibran Muhammad and Tamar Evangelestia-Dougherty at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center, and my research assistant, Iris Blake. Thanks also to Mike Dole for hosting me during my research trip to Washington, D.C., and Lisa and Scott Wolfe for hosting me in New York.

In Madison, thank you to Gayle Kane for the free Wolof lessons; at the University, thank you to Liz Coleman for helping me negotiate the intricacies of Fulbright financials, Marina Drake for your tireless work on behalf of the School of Music's graduate students, to my writing workshop community (Fritz Schenker, Scott Carter, Julian Lynch, Steve Laronga, Brendan Loula), to fellow ethnomusicologist graduate Raquel Paraiso, to Professor Neil Kodesh for inspiring my first research on FESMAN, to Lois Anderson for all of your amazing dedication and support, to my dissertation committee members R. Anderson Sutton, Tejumola Olaniyan, Florence Bernault, and Jerome Camal, and lastly, my deepest thanks go to my advisor, Ron Radano, who has helped guide and inspire me for eleven years.

Finally, thank you to my parents, Matt and Lydia Reiser for your encouragement, and above all, I am tremendously grateful to my husband Matt Sintchak. To you, I owe everything and then some.

## INTRODUCTION

Less than a week after arriving in Dakar in November, 2010, I found myself on stage at a neighborhood nightclub, *L'Endroit*, navigating my way through an unpredictable array of truly pan-African tunes. *L'Endroit* serves as an internet café during the day, and while working there I met a sound engineer setting up for the evening's show. He asked what I was doing in Dakar, and when it came up that I was a saxophonist, I soon had an invitation to meet the band's American saxophonist that evening, with the possibility of playing along on a few tunes. When I came back to *l'Endroit* a few hours later, the saxophonist introduced me to his band's manager who asked if I'd like to play on a few songs with Tabou, their opening act. I felt apprehensive, having never played Senegalese music before, but agreed. The young guitarist and vocalist asked me if I knew "Sodade," a song made famous by the Cape Verdean chanteuse Cesaria Evora. Surprised, I smiled in relief – I love Cesaria Evora and have almost every album she's ever recorded. Fortunately, the song is relatively easy to play by ear, and my accompanying was received positively. I played along with Tabou on a few more songs, ranging from rumba to morna to some of her own compositions, sung in Wolof.

Bambi, the band manager, congratulated me after Tabou finished her set and suggested that I stay on the stage for a few of his group's songs too. Milim, who describes itself as an Afro-Caribbean jazz band, consists of a guitar player from the somewhat separatist, musically distinct sub-Gambian portion of Senegal known as Casamance, a Wolof bass player, a Martinican drummer, and an American saxophonist and harmonica player from San Francisco. Their repertoire was all over the map: Casamance-infused originals sung in Wolof by guitarist

Jeannot Mendy, classic rumba, reggae, and funk, “Spain,” by Chick Corea, a few Stevie Wonder classics, old standards such as “Autumn Leaves” and “Take Five,” and some true curve balls for me: Wham’s “Careless Whisper,” for instance. As a saxophonist in a town replete with guitarists, bassists and drummers but few wind players, and as a white American woman to boot, I was considered a novelty and thus found it relatively easy to work my way into the Dakar music scene. Over time, I became a temporary member of Milim and a featured guest in several other groups, including an old-school “variété”<sup>1</sup> band that played weekly at a four-star hotel, a classic Afro-Cuban rumba band, a jazz trio, a rap group, and the Senegalese National Ensemble, whose repertoire was a truly pan-African amalgamation of traditional Wolof, Serer, Fouta, and Mandinka songs, 1940s-era variété, Bob Marley classics, and of course, rumba.<sup>2</sup>

My experiences performing in these diverse groups offered me a unique ethnographic perspective on the malleability and plasticity of local musicians’ perceptions nationality, ethnicity, and race. The American saxophonist who performed with Milim told me his band mates often teased him for being more “African” than they were because he was fluent in Wolof, practically broke, and lived and dressed like a *baye fall*.<sup>3</sup> My own day to be congratulated as “Senegalese” came when I was invited to perform with a rumba band led by the National Orchestra’s violinist. “World Musiciens,” as they called themselves, played strictly old-time

---

<sup>1</sup> Variété music was described to me by my Senegalese musician colleagues as an amalgam of French and American “easy listening” and “soft rock” tunes along with French popular songs from the 1940s-50s. Sometimes this style of music is referred to as “variété française,” “chanson français” or “musette,” but in Dakar the only term I ever heard for this music was “variété,” so this is the term I will use.

<sup>2</sup> What I am referring to here would actually be considered *son montuno* in Cuba, but the record companies exporting this music around the world in the early twentieth century labeled it “rumba,” which is how it has come to be known in Senegal and across African continent. Any mention of rumba in this work is therefore intended in the Senegalese sense of the term. See Richard Shain, “Roots in Reverse: Cubanismo in Twentieth-Century Senegalese Music,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, 1 (2002): 89n21.

<sup>3</sup> The *baye fall* are a Senegalese branch of Sufis founded by Cheikh Ibrahima Fall. They believe in manual labor as a form of devotion to God, solicit alms around the city, wear dreadlocks and dress in colorful rags.

Cuban fare sung in the original Spanish.<sup>4</sup> While I'm familiar with rumba, I hadn't had much experience performing it, and it took some coaching from William, the violinist, for me to internalize the style's rhythms and melodic nuances. By the last tune, however, William told me that I had gotten it, that I was "in" the music, and that now I truly sounded "Senegalese." While bewildering at first, these experiences gradually taught me that Senegal's conception of cultural nationhood is a distinctly postcolonial, pan-African one. To be a "Senegalese" musician, I found, meant feeling rumba like a Cuban, nailing intricate Cassamançais rhythms, and having a virtual fake-book of 1940s-era variété at your fingertips. Being "black" did not seem to be critical. One could be "honorarily" black, "African," or "Senegalese," so long as the above-mentioned, more culturally-informed criteria were met.

At the same time that I was negotiating my way through these seemingly contradictory standards of race and nation in Dakar at the micro-local level, a vast pan-African assemblage was in the city doing the same thing on a much larger scale for the occasion of the Third World Festival of Black Arts. The first such festival had been hosted by Senegal in the same city exactly forty-four years earlier, in 1966. Senegal had made a bold international statement by hosting such an unprecedented pan-African arts festival just six years after gaining independence. While black intellectuals in the U.S. and Europe had already been convening pan-Africanist congresses for decades as forums for discussing common struggles and dreams of independence, these earlier events had taken place within a colonial framework.<sup>5</sup> Moreover,

---

<sup>4</sup> Originally, all Senegalese rumba was sung in Spanish, even if the singers didn't understand the language, but over time the genre became more localized and Wolof started to replace Spanish lyrics.

<sup>5</sup> As early as 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago held an eight-day "Congress on Africa" (see Christopher Robert Reed, "The Black Presence at 'White City': African and African-American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893-October 31, 1893," *Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection* (1999) <http://columbus.iit.edu/reed2.html> (accessed 15 March 2014). The first official pan-African

these earlier congresses were primarily intellectual gatherings rather than cultural festivals intended for popular audiences.<sup>6</sup> While musical references had long figured prominently in pan-Africanist literature as a potent symbol connecting the diaspora to the continent, the Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres (FESMAN) was the first large-scale pan-African event to prioritize actual music performance as the primary medium from which to sound out the aspirations of Africa's hopeful new postcolonial generation.<sup>7</sup> The first FESMAN event therefore broke new ground by performing, rather than merely discussing, transformative interpretations of pan-African cultural solidarity within a more populist, celebratory framework that reflected the optimistic spirit of Africa's first years of independence.

Somewhere along the way, however, the very concept of "black arts" seems to have lost its primary *raison d'être*. Well into the 1960s, African Americans and southern Africans still struggled for their basic civil rights, and non-black powerbrokers served as a common source of opposition linking diverse black populations around the world. While the dawn of the twenty-first century has not brought with it an end to racial inequality and international trade agreements still clearly privilege the global North, parts of the world have seen some significant progress. The United States has elected its first black President. Racism, at least its most overt forms, has become increasingly stigmatized in the U.S. and Europe as well as other racially diverse nations such as Brazil and South Africa. Many parts of the world (particularly in nations with more

---

Congress was held in London in 1900, followed by successors in Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923), New York (1927), and Manchester (1945).

<sup>6</sup> There were a few musical performances at some of these gatherings, but they constituted only very small percentages of such events and instead centered primarily around spoken presentations on current issues relevant to black peoples, particularly African-Americans (see Reed, "The Black Presence at 'White City'").

<sup>7</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folks* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903) being the most notable example.

economic advantages) have become more wary of intolerant, separatist ideologies in the wake of tragic terrorist attacks. Given these changes, are the original aims of FESMAN consistent with the challenges the Senegalese face in the twenty-first century? My experience as a white American saxophonist who was complimented for sounding particularly “Senegalese” while playing with a rumba band in Dakar suggests that notions of cultural “blackness” have changed significantly in Senegal since the early days of independence. Senegal’s decision to revisit FESMAN after a forty-four year hiatus suggests that FESMAN continues to reverberate strongly in the collective Senegalese memory almost a half century later.

At FESMAN III (2010), a white American steel drum virtuoso and a young Franco-Cypriot female rapper<sup>8</sup> were as welcome on stage as giants like Salif Keita, Angélique Kidjo and Youssou N’Dour. While such ecumenical notions of race should be applauded, they also point to the implicit contradictions hidden within well-intentioned events such as “black arts” festivals. Edwards addresses the ways in which the diaspora and the continent of Africa, both desiring to connect with each other through the commonality of their origins, are never quite able to reach each other. He explains this through the notion of *décalage* (a discrepancy, shift, or gap), a dynamic space that facilitates articulations between (metaphorical) joints.<sup>9</sup> Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing’s theory of global connections as points of friction offers a similar way to approach the relationship between idealism and practice, and relates aptly to the performance of musical blackness in pan-African festival settings such as FESMAN. According to Tsing, “the universal offers us the chance to participate in the global stream of humanity.” Universals, however, can

---

<sup>8</sup> I’m referring to Andy Narell (steel drums) and Diam’s (rap), respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

only exist in two ways: either as imagined, theoretical ideals or as attempted realizations in the “sticky materiality of practical encounters.”<sup>10</sup> At the heart of the intersection between idealism and practice lies a paradox: namely, that musically optimistic notions of racial universals are necessarily compromised through the very act of sounding them into existence. A noteworthy performance I witnessed at the third FESMAN by the Congolese pianist and vocalist Ray Lema brilliantly illuminates the friction which lies at the heart of efforts to enact the universal ideal of “les arts nègres.”

Before he began to play for FESMAN’s “Soirée Classissimo” on the French Cultural Institute’s small outdoor stage, Ray Lema surprised his older, elite, and largely expat audience with an unscripted speech. First calling attention to the third Festival’s problematic theme, Lema began, “The theme for this edition is the ‘African Renaissance,’ [and] if I speak of a renaissance, I suppose that there’s been some kind of a problem. Because we aren’t talking about a birth, but a *rebirth*” (La thème pour cette édition c’est la “Renaissance Africaine,” [et] si je parle d’une renaissance, je suppose qu’il y a eu en quelque sorte de problème. Parce qu’on ne parle pas d’une naissance, mais une *renaissance*).<sup>11</sup> Lema’s critique here may seem obscure, but I believe he was referring to the same problem which was more clearly explained to me by another person I interviewed for this project, the music producer Robert Lahoud. Lahoud pointed out the regrettable side of the phrase “rebirth” by asking me facetiously, “Does this mean we’ve been dead up until now?”<sup>12</sup> Lema was hinting, I believe, at this troublesome implication that for

---

<sup>10</sup> Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnology of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ray Lema, Informal speech presented at FESMAN III’s “Soirée Classissimo” Concert at the French Institute of Dakar (l’Institut Français de Dakar), Dakar, Senegal (December 13, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Robert Lahoud, Personal interview with the author (December 22, 2010).

Africa to be reborn in the twenty-first century it would have to have been “dead” in some way – in a state of stagnation or decay – the century before. Thus the optimistic image of an African “rebirth” is in a way ironically pessimistic, as it requires the maintenance of a fixed historical image of prior African failure in order to function. Immediately after critiquing the Festival’s problematic theme, Lema added a passing comment which, though short, speaks to the potential anachronicity of the entire Festival project in a “reborn” Africa: “If we want to resolve these kinds of problems, we’ll also have to deal with terms like ‘black.’” In a few short sentences, Lema had highlighted two very significant complications with FESMAN then and now: first, if Africa was in the process of being reborn, when had it “died”? In other words, when did it all go wrong? And second, that words such as “black” or “negre” are conditional to historical context, and therefore cannot be used cavalierly across the decades with expectations of any uniform meaning.

After a slight pause, Lema continued, now turning to two different concerts from the previous evening: one by the white French rapper, Diam’s, and the other by Cameroonian saxophonist Manu Dibango:

I can’t understand how at a festival of black arts which I’ve waited I don’t know how many years for, Manu Dibango, who is *my* symbol, should be playing somewhere out there without a single camera,... while over on the other side of town a young woman is singing [about] ‘her France’ – because that’s her song, ‘Ma France à moi.’ Yeah, well, I live in France, too, excuse me. And I’m talking about *my* continent.<sup>13</sup>

The crowd cheered as Lema thanked the audience, turned toward the piano and began to play. He started to sing a plaintive love song in his native Lingala, accompanying himself on the piano in

---

<sup>13</sup> Lema, Informal speech. [Note: Lema spoke for several minutes, so I have shortened his speech considerably while leaving his essential message in tact. I have indicated the moments when his voice became more emphatic with italics]. All English translations of French texts are my own unless otherwise noted.

a hybrid style that incorporated Latin, jazz, classical, and pop elements. Toward the end of his set, Lema invited Dibango, who had played a rare piano set just before Lema on the same program, to join him back on stage for a piano duet. Despite both of their reputations as musical innovators, the duo fell back into the comfortable nostalgia of 1960's-era musical blackness, a Cuban-styled, Congolese-infused rumba that had been both musicians' bread and butter when they were first cutting their professional teeth. At some point during their improvisation Manu Dibango wittily added a quote from "Salt Peanuts," Dizzy Gillespie's own nod to Afro-Cuban music back in the 1940s. This spontaneous riffing on what it means to be "black" or "African" demonstrates the friction that is at the heart of FESMAN's staging of conflicting sonic imaginations.<sup>14</sup> I argue that the power of this festival lies in these very moments, when imaginations collide and in the process, create something new.

In his speech, Lema was referring to what he perceived to be the festival's unfair press bias towards trendy young performers like Diam's at the expense of older legends such as his 'symbol,' Manu Dibango. This bias, however, is indicative of the very friction at work in global encounters such as FESMAN. At a gathering intended to celebrate cultural blackness, disparate individual perspectives on what exactly constitutes that blackness are forced to confront each other. Lema's critique revealed the underlying tensions at work throughout the entire Festival – French versus African, young versus old, female versus male, white versus black – and demonstrated how the intersection of such conflicting forces transform into individual, personal experiences. The two artists' concerts had been simultaneously programmed at two different venues, each geared for a different audience. Lema considered Dibango his mentor and attended

---

<sup>14</sup> I am again referring to themes outlined in Tsing, *Friction*.

the saxophonist's performance at the recently unveiled "Renaissance Monument." Few if any press covered the concert, something that deeply offended Lema.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, Diams was entertaining an audience of hundreds, if not thousands, of Senegalese youth at the high-profile Obélisque stage, where a barrage of press captured her every move. "Ma France à Moi" (My France), the rap Lema referred to in his speech the following night, was actually a scathing critique of French racism. "This is not my France, ... the one we feel ashamed about, ... My France is a mix, it's a rainbow" (C'est pas ma France à moi... celle qui nous fout la honte... ma France à moi se mélange, c'est un arc en ciel), she rapped.<sup>16</sup> Lema, who presumably learned about Diam's performance the next day in the same papers that completely ignored Dibango, was unmoved by her gesture of solidarity, however. Clearly, Lema and Diams experienced just the sort of *décalage* Edwards was referring to. Both legitimately desired to celebrate black culture, one through personal experience, and one through a gesture of solidarity. Indeed, non-black support of the anticolonialist struggle is nothing new and has played an important role in the history of pan-Africanism from the days of the first abolitionists. The question Lema posed is to what extent such supportive roles should be celebrated at a black cultural arts festival.

Lema's critique clearly demonstrates the fascinating power of musical performance to translate, or mistranslate, notions of black unity, and it brings into stark relief how meanings of "blackness" oscillate, musically and generationally, within the resonance of a pan-African festival. The seeming short shrift that Lema felt was being given to Africa's first generation of

---

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted, however, that Dibango had been given a privileged, high-profile spot in FESMAN III's Opening Ceremonies. It's possible that Lema was not aware of this, or else in his mind it simply didn't negate the inequality of the night in question.

<sup>16</sup> Diam's (Mélanie Georgiades), "Ma France à moi," *Dans ma bulle* (Capitol Records-EMI Music France, 0946 3547220 2, 2006); Lyrics from: <http://musique.ados.fr/Diam-S/Ma-France-A-Moi-t42452.html> (all translations from French into English are my own unless otherwise specified) (accessed April 18, 2014).

pan-African stars clearly illuminates the sharp divisions in perspective between those who lived through Africa's transition to independence and those who have known nothing else. Such terms as "African Renaissance" and "black," so integral to an event like FESMAN, cannot possibly mean the same thing today that they did over forty years ago. Lema acknowledged this when he noted that the conversation about these words is far from over, but he seemed saddened to realize that his "symbols" seem to carry so much less weight today. Speaking with hope, disappointment, pride, and frustration all in the same breath, Lema's speech mirrored the tensions underlying a postcolonial shift racial consciousnesses.

As Veit Erlmann has observed, music has been a privileged signifier for constructions of black modernity for over a century.<sup>17</sup> Through the performance of music, worlds are constantly being made and re-made, exchanged and in flux. A multitude of complex meanings can be heard in the same sound as it resonates within the ears and minds of different listeners, even as those very sounds simultaneously continue to perpetuate and reinforce fundamental racial, national, and ethnic markers. Festivals teem with communal energy and hold symbolic weight as a perceived force for identity formation, celebration, and change. They hold a unique power to mediate encounters between diverse peoples and demonstrate "how empire and unreality constitute each other in ways rooted in the deepest layers of modern consciousness."<sup>18</sup> Such spectacles, too, are sites which enact what Anna Tsing refers to as "friction." When people attempt to engage with or enact the ideals of universalism, the purity of that universal is necessarily compromised as it leaves the realm of the ether and touches ground in the here and

---

<sup>17</sup> Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*.

now. “Whether we place ourselves inside or outside the West,” Tsing reminds us, “we are stuck with universals created in cultural dialogue.” She elaborates, “The specificity of global connections is an ever-present reminder that universal claims do not actually make everything everywhere the same. Global connections give *grip* to universal aspirations.”<sup>19</sup> In other words, it is only in the real moments of tangible, and messy intersection between disparate global and local forces that concepts of unity can ever manifest, and as such, they can never become more than entangled layers of approximation; hence “friction.” Similarly, Brent Hayes Edwards considers the relationship between the diaspora and African continent to be a dynamic, practiced encounter in which unifying ideals intersect in real time at points of connection, or “joints.” The articulation of these joints (literally and metaphorically), Edwards reminds us, can only occur through the very gaps (or *décalages*) that separate them. In other words, Tsing and Edwards both argue that universal concepts can only be articulated in the imperfect world of real encounters and awkward misperceptions between the diverse peoples that such universals seek to unite. I argue that Dakar’s musically-infused productions of FESMAN, in 1966 and 2010, were two such nexuses of a greater Atlantic friction, occasions in which sound engaged with the ideologies of universal pan-Africanism through the “*décalage*” of musical performance.<sup>20</sup> Situated at opposite ends of a postcolonial time continuum, a comparative study of Dakar’s two FESMAN productions provide a useful framework from which to investigate how regional, national, continental, and pan-African performances of “negritude,” or “blackness,” or

---

<sup>19</sup> Tsing, *Friction*, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*. Here, Edwards is referring to the Senegalese President Senghor’s dismissal of any disconnection between the Diaspora and the homeland as mere “*décalage*” (jet-lag), but rather than underplaying its importance, Edwards considers this “*décalage*” to be a the very point of connection itself.

“Africanness,” have resonated over time. This thesis will investigate the journey of musically constructed narratives of black unity over the course of Africa’s trajectory from colonial subjects to independent nations to entangled postcolonial entities. From its largely literary, though musically inspired colonial beginnings, I argue that pan-Africanism has become increasingly grounded in musical performance over time.

My thesis will proceed chronologically, beginning in the late colonial era and the interplay of music and African philosophy. Chapter one explores the musical inspirations behind the philosophy of negritude, a distinctly Francophone pan-Africanist philosophy championed by Senegal’s future first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor. From his days as a young student to his growth as a poet and philosopher and finally to his gradual emergence as an astute politician, Senghor’s time in Paris was saturated with musical performances that brought modern French conceptions of blackness to life. *Negrophilia*, the fascination with all things black, was at its height in Paris during the interwar period, and nightclubs on every block blasted the latest dance music from across the Atlantic.<sup>21</sup> All of this music – be it rumba or tango, the Charleston or the cha-cha – was called “jazz” by the French at this time, and whites and blacks alike considered these dance songs to be fashionable new manifestations of diasporic cultures still authentically linked to the African continent. The extreme success of such a musical hodgepodge lie in peoples’ desire to unify these diverse sounds under the common label of “*nègre*.” I argue that Senghor’s gradual development of negritude from an idealized philosophy into the national cultural policy of Senegal was directly inspired by the unifying sounds of musical negrophilia

---

<sup>21</sup> *Negrophilia* was a term avant-garde artists in interwar Paris used to describe their fascination with black culture. For more in-depth studies on Parisian negrophilia, see: Petrine Archer-Straw, *Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African-Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); and Jody Blake, *Le Tumulte Noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900-1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

which surrounded him as a student in Paris. As a part of a cohesive Parisian pan-African community, Senghor regularly frequented social and literary gatherings which took place to the accompaniment of black music; in the cafes and nightclubs of Paris, as well as in the private soirées of literary hosts, black music provided the atmosphere and the inspiration for meetings intended to reflect, discuss, and strengthen the cause of pan-Africanism.

Against this background, I will proceed with a comparative study of Dakar's two stagings of FESMAN from its optimistic premiere shortly after independence (Chapters Two and Three) to its more jaded reprise in 2010 (Chapters Four and Five). For each of the two festivals, I will devote one chapter to a broad overview of the event before delving more deeply into the musical heart of each festival in a subsequent chapter. More specifically, each festival will be initially considered from three extra-musical perspectives: national cultural policy, academic and social discourse, and formalized or institutionalized narratives of blackness. Three distinctly musical perspectives will follow in the second half of each Festival study: the sounding of a national, Senegalese identity through the layering of diasporic and pan-African musical vernaculars; the exportation of a pan-Africanist musical aesthetic around the world through the voices of the continent's superstars; and lastly, the festival's musical aftermath.

Chapter Two will first investigate the extra-musical significance of FESMAN 1966 from the lens of negritude's transformation from philosophy into nationalized cultural policy. I will then expand the inquiry to dialogues among scholars and in the media about negritude or other conceptions of blackness during this time. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the new, formalized, and Senegalese-centered black historical narrative that the Festival performed in its nightly pan-African "folk opera." This performance, called the *Spectacle féerique son et lumière*

*de Gorée*, presented the history of the Ile de Gorée, a former slave-transport hub. Set in the shadow of the stone circular pen which held slaves waiting to be shipped across the Atlantic, the opera used indigenous Senegalese as well as African-American musics to help illustrate the story of Africa's historical and emotional link to its diaspora. Chapter Three will then narrow the focus of the Festival to the significance of its musical programming. I will begin with an examination of the role of diasporic musics, particularly those of Cuba and African-America, in establishing a sense of national cohesiveness in Senegal. A study of the festival's first generation of pan-African stars, whose performances exposed the world to a new, African-centered aesthetic of sonic blackness, will follow.

I will take a brief "entracte" (intermission) between the two FESMANs to trace the dramatic changes in musical perspectives of blackness that occurred in the wake of the first FESMAN. In particular, I will consider the event's musical and political aftermath in a comparison with its two followers: a counter-festival from three years later, the First Pan-African Cultural Festival (Panef) in Algiers of 1969, and FESMAN's second, Anglophone edition, the Festival of African Culture (FESTAC) held in Lagos in 1977. While the focus of my dissertation remains the two Dakar Festivals, I am including this segment on the two festivals which took place in the years between them in order to more completely represent the story of FESMAN's historical trajectory. As a direct and blatant challenge to Senghor's negritude and the perceived neo-colonialist slant of the first FESMAN, Panef presents a coda of sorts to the inaugural postcolonial festival in Dakar. That the message and content of Panef, both philosophically and musically, differ so greatly from another pan-African festival that occurred only three years before implies a serious shift in consciousness in a very short time. It also

suggests a very deliberate attempt to present an alternative vision to that of its predecessor, and as such the specter of FESMAN lies at the very core of Panef's presentation. For this reason, I believe that Panef must be included in my study in order to more fully understand the impact that FESMAN had across the pan-African community at the time. FESTAC, for its part, was the second edition of FESMAN. The acronyms are different because Nigeria, an Anglophone country, hosted the second festival; however, they did not merely adopt the same name as the first Festival in its English translation, but, notably, omitted the "black" from the title entirely, centering the event more exclusively around the continent of Africa itself (the Festival of African Culture). Again, such changes reflect shifts in consciousness over time; by 1977 the word "black" had come to carry different implications than it had in 1966. Additionally, Panef and FESMAN were both necessarily still in the collective memory of FESTAC festival organizers and participants; Nigeria's own staging of the festival was therefore consciously responding to its predecessors, just as Panef had done. For this reason it, too, must be included for a full telling of the FESMAN story. Chapter Four will then resume the story of FESMAN through its third incarnation (2010), focusing on three extra-musical angles: national cultural policy, social discourse, and the new, institutionalized narrative of black modernity. I will begin the chapter by considering the political motivations of Senegalese President Wade's reprisal of Senghor's legendary festival after such a long hiatus. An ethnographic consideration of the personal significance and relevance of FESMAN III to individual Senegalese will follow, gleaned from my informal conversations and formal interviews with local residents as well as the output of local media. Finally, I will examine the significance of the Festival's institutionalized presentation of pan-African musical history at its inaugural Black Music Exhibition.

Chapter Five will cover musically performative themes from 2010 that parallel those applied to Chapter Three. Namely, I will discuss how the convergence of local and diasporic musical vernaculars helps perform Senegalese identity, how a second generation of pan-African stars continues to export new sonic interpretations of “Africa,” and finally, the Festival’s aftermath. To elaborate, the chapter will open with a study of the ubiquitous presence and significance of hip hop at FESMAN III before moving on to discuss how a second generation of pan-African performers reflect changing attitudes about “blackness” and Africanity for a more instantly connected, globalized audience. I will conclude with a reflection on how hip hop once again mobilized Senegalese youth shortly after the close of FESMAN III.

This project weaves together the strands of two different methodologies: the historical and the ethnographic. Having had the good fortune to be in Dakar at the exact time that this rare Festival was once again coming to fruition, my work was always intended to be a study of the dialogue between past and present. Thus neither a strict fieldwork approach nor an exclusively archival one would have proved sufficient to the telling of FESMAN’s story. Throughout my research process I have found that each Festival could not help but inform the other; my perspective on the event’s debut in 1966 is colored by my knowledge of its aftermath and its legacy, and my experience as a concert-goer and ethnographer at the 2010 version was always enriched by my understanding of its history. Archival research constituted the majority of my historical analysis. Among the archives consulted, the Senegalese National Archives afforded the singlemost comprehensive collection FESMAN materials anywhere in the world. Divided into almost fifty different sub-categories, the collection includes organizational committee meeting minutes from numerous participating countries, personal correspondences between

President Senghor, organizational leaders, and various heads of state, the financial details of all aspects of the Festival's production, specifics of infrastructural planning, and the dossiers of all participating countries. Despite the comprehensiveness of this collection, however, it is important to situate the materials gathered at the Senegalese National Archives within their appropriate context. That is to say, as Truilliot reminds us, archives cannot be taken at face value but must be considered within the context of their construction. In assembling a national archive, people choose what merits inclusion and exclusion. This selection process is necessarily compromised by the biases, whether conscious or unconscious, of those putting the collections together.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, I was aware of the importance of not relying entirely on one archival source for the bulk of my research and strove to obtain primary source material from a number of different collections. To this end, I also consulted the Musee du Quai Branly and the UNESCO archives in Paris, the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the archives of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African Art, the Library of Congress, and the Duke Ellington Collection of the U.S. National Archives in Washington, D.C. By using sources combined from multiple archives, I believe I was able to obtain the broadest perspective possible. In order to personalize my ethnography more than what mere archival study would allow, I also relied on personal interviews with past Festival participants to provide integral information which never made it into the formal archival narrative. My own personal experiences listening to music performances and the formal and informal dialogues of performers and spectators offer additional details which help illustrate the overarching themes I discuss in this text.

---

<sup>22</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

I should mention a third, perhaps less conventional methodology as well: a performative one. As I related at the beginning of this introduction, my musical life in Dakar offered a unique insight into the ways in which people in Senegal think about race, nation, and culture. By playing music with other Dakarois, I was better able to understand how such theoretical concepts as race, nation, “black,” or “African” resonate in peoples’ day-to-day lives and how loose these concepts are often applied depending on the circumstances (for instance, applying the descriptor “Senegalese” to a white American playing Cuban music). Additionally, the personal and inherently intimate nature of music-making opened doors for my research that otherwise would have remained closed. Virtually every contact I made came directly through my musical performances; either through interactions with other musicians or through conversations with audience members and band acquaintances. This third, musical layer is the one which, I believe, ties together the historical and ethnographic strands of this narrative. It is my hope that together these three stands strengthen each others’ effectiveness for a render a richer, more complete telling of this story.

## CHAPTER ONE

## FROM NEGROPHILIA TO NEGRITUDE:

## THE FORMATION OF A MUSICALLY GROUNDED PHILOSOPHY IN COLONIAL PARIS

When future Senegalese president Léopold Sédar Senghor first arrived in Paris as a student in 1928, he entered a city teeming with the sounds of a remarkably vibrant pan-African culture. From the smoky cabarets of Montmartre to intimate, music-filled pan-Africanist soirées, Senghor found himself in an environment thoroughly infused with black music.<sup>23</sup> These student years in Paris, from 1928-1939, were a critical time in the development of Senghor's black consciousness. As Senghor progressed in his undergraduate studies, he did so to the accompaniment of the sounds and rhythms of jazz, the blues, negro spirituals, the beguine, the Charleston and the foxtrot, all considered by black and white Parisians alike to be distinctly "African" in character. As an avid reader, moreover, the young Senghor encountered a growing body of black literature heavily laden with musical symbolism. From Du Bois to Hughes, Hurston to McKay, Senghor became more intimately acquainted with the ways in which literary intimations of sound, and more specifically, sounds of blackness, were penetrating new and innovative black narratives. The pan-Africanist movement to which Senghor was introduced in interwar Paris had already been linked to a developing black musical consciousness for some

---

<sup>23</sup> Throughout this dissertation I consciously use the term "pan-African" in the sense described by George Shepperson, who distinguishes this more broad conception of black internationalism as a diverse and somewhat ephemeral group of movements with both cultural and political agendas which often differed widely from each other. Shepperson juxtaposes this lower-cased "pan-Africanism" with the more formally unified transnational black movement associated with the Pan-African Congresses that began in 1900. See George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon* 23 (winter 1962): 346-358.

time. From its inception, pan-Africanism has been inherently performative, and, more specifically, distinctly musical.

This chapter will provide evidence that black music not only penetrated Senghor's consciousness through its many literary evocations, but more directly as well. As I will show, Senghor was frequently invited to social gatherings at cabarets as well as to literary soirées that almost always required at least passive (listening) if not active (singing, dancing, music-making) musical involvement. This soundscape of negrophilia which surrounded Senghor and his pan-Africanist colleagues in interwar Paris played an integral role in the formation of Senghor's philosophy of negritude, a philosophy which would eventually evolve from an idea discussed at weekly salons, expounded upon in speeches, and published in pan-African journals, into the Senegalese national cultural policy that the Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres embodied. I will begin by presenting a brief history of the early pan-Africanist movement and provide examples of the literature's black musical symbolism prior to Senghor, in order to demonstrate how this flow of black musical symbolism came to inform Senghor's distinctly poetic and musical philosophy of negritude. From here, I will sift through interwar Paris' deeply layered black music scene to demonstrate how the scattered diasporic sounds of this colonial metropolis distilled into the distinctly West African musical references of Senghor's own emergent poetic and philosophical writings. Lastly, I will reveal the musical foundations that have grounded Senghor's own writings on negritude from his early conception of an intellectual philosophy during the colonial era to his rebranding of negritude into a cultural policy for the newly independent nation of Senegal in 1960.

*A Brief History of Early Pan-Africanism and its Musicality Prior to Senghor*

The notion of “pan-Africanism” emerged in tandem with the birth of the international exposition. From its beginning, the pan-Africanist movement has been inherently tied to what Guy Debord has called the “society of the spectacle.”<sup>24</sup> Ironically, the imperial spectacles of colonial and universal expositions from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century afforded the very stages from which oppositional movements could work to dismantle the empires oppressing them. According to Erlmann, the popularization of colonial and universal expositions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century marked the launch and perpetuation of this modern “society of the spectacle.” It may seem remarkable that at expositions so clearly intended to boast the racial superiority of imperial power, black people from across the diaspora began to find a platform from which to voice their common opposition to racial injustice. And yet, in a sense, it really couldn’t have been any other way. As Kaplan articulates in *Anarchy of Empire*, it is only within the bounds of power that its antithesis can be formed.<sup>25</sup> Colonial festivals were crucial to providing the setting from which an oppositional pan-Africanist movement could form. Yet beyond the fortuitous nature of these expositions as opportunities for the black diaspora to consolidate its discursive messages, these events also served as performative sites of opposition. We will see that from the very beginning the pan-Africanist movement has been inextricably linked to a culture of performance. It was within the spectacle of a world’s fair, an event intended to perform empire, that an anti-colonial pan-Africanism sounded its first protests.

---

<sup>24</sup> Guy Debord, *La société du spectacle* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1967).

<sup>25</sup> For more on opposition of empire from within, see Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. (New York: Routledge, 1995); Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 92.

As early as 1893, Chicago held a Congress on Africa at the Columbian Exposition, although it did not yet bear the name “pan-African.”<sup>26</sup> Seven years after Chicago, the Trinidadian lawyer H. Sylvester Williams premiered the first Pan-African Conference in London (1900), credited as being the first Pan-African Conference and borrowing from the tradition of earlier international expositions which had helped consolidate the movement. Williams’ participants included the African-American feminist Anna Julia Cooper, the Haitian politician Benito Sylvain, the black British composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and Henry “Box” Brown, the former slave-turned-abolitionist who became famous for mailing himself to the freedom of Philadelphia in a wooden crate. The conference embodied the expositionist spirit of progress, humanism and universalism, and activists discussed civil rights, education, entrepreneurship, political lobbying, and social activism at the forum. While the origins of pan-Africanism as a mode of thought can be attributed to Williams, however, it was W. E. B. Du Bois who gave the term its popularity and would carry the torch to convene several other pan-African congresses. In fact, Du Bois gave his famous speech addressed “To the Nations of the World” at Williams’s historic inaugural London Congress, proclaiming, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line...”. The “colour line” Du Bois spoke of (and later published in the “Forethought” to his *Souls of Black Folk* in 1903) did not simply refer to an African American framework, but also to a transnational, *pan*-African diaspora as it related to the world of white

---

<sup>26</sup> Minkah Makalani, “Pan-Africanism,” *Africana Age: African and African Diasporan Transformations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (a project of the Schomburg Mellon Humanities Summer Institute) <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-pan-africanism.html> (accessed March 15, 2014).

power brokers. Brent Hayes Edwards considers this speech the “inauguration for thinking about the significance of race in the modern world.”<sup>27</sup>

The themes of Du Bois’ speech continued to resonate long after the conference had closed its doors. Seven years later, the amateur anthropologist Sir Harry Johnston considered the primary question concerning the diaspora that remains unanswered and continues to be debated today: just how “African” are members of its diaspora, and, more importantly, what does it mean to be “African” in the first place? This questioning continued during the interwar years, when a new generation of scholars began to study African cultural retentions in the diaspora and, according to Patterson and Kelley, were at the forefront of creating a more globalized framework for African and African-American studies as disciplines.<sup>28</sup> Such scholarship grounded solidarity movements such as negritude and pan-Africanism more generally with seemingly effective

---

<sup>27</sup> Nagueyalti Warren, “Pan-African Cultural Movements, from Baraka to Karenga,” *The Journal of Negro History* 75, 1/2 Winter (1990): 16; Minkah Makalani, “Pan-Africanism”; Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 1, 321n1, 321n2.

<sup>28</sup> Tiffany Patterson and Robin Kelley, “Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World,” *African Studies Review* 43/1 (April, 2000): 15-16; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (New York: Macmillan, 1910); see Fernando Ortíz, *Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Esclavos: Estudio Sociológico y de Derecho Público* (Havana: Revista Bimestra Cubana), 1916; Ortíz, “Los cabildos afro-cubanos,” *Revista Bimestra Cubana* 16 (Jan-Feb, 1921): 5-39; Ortíz, *La antigua fiesta afrocubana del “Día del Reyes* (Havana: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Departamento de Asuntos Culturales, División de Publicaciones; Ortíz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham: Duke University Press, [1947] 1995); Ortíz, *Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana*. 5 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Música Mundana Maqueda; Fundación Fernando Ortíz, [1952-55] 1996); Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional, 1932); Nina Rodrigues, *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1935); Arthur Ramos, *As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: New World Black Cultures, 1937); Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Press, 1939); Mario de Andrade, *Antologia da poesia negra de expressão portuguesa: precedida de cultura negro-africana e assimilação* (Paris: P.J. Oswald, [1958] 1993); Edison Carneiro and Aydano do Couto Ferras, “O Congresso Afro-Brasileiro de Bahia,” in *Congresso Afro-Brasileiro (Second), O Negro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1940); Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World* (London: C. Hurst, 1972); Bastide, “Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History,” *Capital and Class* 1 (1977): 1-44; Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilisations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, “Tribal Origins of Slaves in Mexico,” *Journal of Negro History* 31 (1942): 269-352; Beltrán, *La población negra de México: estudio etnohistórico*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Corregida y aumentada México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972).

evidence of commonality and continuity among a diverse black diaspora (including Africans living in metropolises such as Paris). Retentions and connections remained the primary scholarly concern well into the 1980s, with efforts to correct such essentialist frameworks not surfacing in earnest until the 1990s with milestones such as Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* (1993) and Kobena Mercer's *Welcome to the Jungle* (1994). Nevertheless, even during the interwar period pan-Africanism was not a uniform movement fortified exclusively by notions of diasporic linkages across the Atlantic. Du Bois himself, for example, astutely made the connection between the black struggle and that of the Indians against their British colonizers. Additionally, interwar pan-African communities in the colonial metropolises did not necessarily exclude themselves from broader liberation movements which were at work at the same time all around them, particularly those of communism and socialism.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, these cross-associations often got pan-Africanists into trouble, as we shall see later in the chapter; black activists and intellectuals in Paris, regardless of how moderate, were often lumped together by the French government with more extreme communist movements and were therefore considered a threat requiring close monitoring.

Although Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* was not published in French translation until 1959, his presence and work were nevertheless widely known in Paris by the time Senghor began his studies there in the late 1920s. For Du Bois, who had helped set up the American Negro exhibit at the Paris Universal Exposition back in 1900, pan-Africanism was intended to foster "intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of African descent in order to

---

<sup>29</sup> Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," 27.

bring about the emancipation of black peoples.”<sup>30</sup> Du Bois began each chapter of *Souls of Black Folk* with a different negro spiritual. In the fourteenth chapter, “Of the Sorrow Songs,” he placed negro spirituals at the center of the slave’s world as musical voicings of their suffering. To Du Bois, the transference of these slaves’ plaintive melodies from their own time into his own directly linked a contemporary diaspora to its seemingly ageless homeland and, as such, constituted an unadulterated, authentic relic of Africa itself.<sup>31</sup> Black music could represent “Africa” in a direct and powerful voice, a theory which despite Du Bois’s conservative musical predilections, easily expanded outward from spirituals into other forms of popular black music during the interwar period which were often compositely referred to as jazz. Music appealed to many as an ideal symbol for this kind of pan-African cooperation – a seemingly universal language requiring no formal training or special facility in arcane technologies of literacy, and linked directly to the mother continent.

Paul Gilroy considers music to be an especially effective medium of intervention between the two extremes of diaspora studies: the essentialists who dismiss notions of difference or discontinuity between the diaspora and Africa as well as between diasporic communities themselves; and the “pseudo-pluralists” who overcorrect by dismissing the possibility of any viable continuity at all.<sup>32</sup> Situating the Atlantic as a site of exchange rather than a boundary

---

<sup>30</sup> Kenneth Warren, “Appeals for (Mis)recognition: Theorizing the Diaspora,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 404-405; Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*.

<sup>32</sup> Here I am referring to the term “diaspora” as a topic of academic study; elsewhere in this text I use the term as it would have been understood by people at the time (the interwar period, the 1960s). The difference is important, as the term “diaspora” was not taken up as an intervention in academic discourse until the 1950s; prior to that the word referred more literally to peoples of African descent. Particularly, when I refer to “diasporic music,” I am referring only to music from African-American, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-Latin communities and the musical influences of

between the diaspora and the continent, Gilroy provided a new framework from which to examine the relationship Africa and its diaspora which takes into account the fluidity of transnational exchange. Calling for a “primal history of modernity to be reconstructed from the slave’s point of view,” Gilroy suggests that music is one of the primary ways in which the slave’s voice could intervene: with literacy largely (and often violently prohibited), “music becomes vital at a point at which linguistic and semantic indeterminacy/polyphony arise amidst the protracted battle between masters, mistresses, and slaves.” Gilroy’s presentation of black Atlantic musical expression as a strong force behind the creation of “distinctive counterculture of modernity” explains precisely why musical references such as Du Bois’s were so effective during the colonial era.<sup>33</sup> In light of Paris’s negrophilia, it is therefore not surprising that early Parisian pan-Africanists were drawn to this notion of a shared African musical legacy even if this narrative was originally based on white conceptions of blackness. It is within this context that we must examine the fundamentally musical core of pan-Africanist discourse from its very beginnings. As Edwards, Patterson and Kelley all remind us, pan-Africanism has always been an international dialogue, with intellectuals translating important documents back and forth across the Atlantic, from French to English and vice versa.<sup>34</sup> Through this perpetual exchange, racialized notions of black music as authentically “African” strengthened and dispersed widely

---

these genres across the African continent. For a more nuanced discussion of the term, see Brent Hayes Edwards, “The Uses of Diaspora,” *Social Text* 19, No. 166 (2001): 45-73.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 36; 55; 74.

<sup>34</sup> Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 9; Patterson and Kelly, “Unfinished Migrations.”

on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the nascent pan-African movement's two central hubs, Harlem and Paris, were both becoming increasingly vibrant black music capitals.

At first glance one might assume that Harlem was the hub of black intellectual and creative expression in the 1920s, giving way to Paris as the new cultural center of pan-Africanism in the 1930s. As Brent Hayes Edwards and Melvin Dixon have both argued, however, the two cities were never isolated from each other and Harlem's New Negro movement was always international in scale. Even before World War I, as I have demonstrated with Williams and DuBois, the early pan-African movement was transatlantic in scope, but following the conflict a crucial shift emerged: for the first time, Africans began to participate in what had previously been a diasporically-centered cultural and political scene involving few who actually came from the continent. While cultural transatlantic exchange continued to fuel activity on both sides, Paris became the center for a new, continentally-focused post-war pan-Africanism which could finally include a significant African voice.<sup>36</sup>

Among the musical ideologies most prevalent in the pan-Africanist literature coming out of Harlem in the 1920s, two would most inspire Senghor: the claims of Africanity afforded to black-performed rhythm and the intangibility of black music's essence (what Senghor called its *négritude*). These conceptions of black musical value date back far earlier – indeed, as early as whites have been writing about black music. But by the 1920s, such perceptions had assumed the power and continuity of a trope, and were being effectively and efficiently co-opted by

---

<sup>35</sup> For more on the black Atlantic, see Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.

<sup>36</sup> Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 3-5; Melvin Dixon, "Rivers Remembering Their Source: Comparative Studies in Black Literary History – Langston Hughes, Jacques Roumain, and Negritude," in *Afro-American Literature: The Reconstruction of Instruction*, eds. Dexter Fisher and Stepto (New York: MLA, 1979), 25-43; and Dixon, "Toward a World Black Literature and Community," in *Chant of Saints: A Gathering of Afro-American Literature, Art, and Scholarship*, eds. Michael S. Harper and Stepto (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 175-194.

blacks who wished to celebrate and capitalize on what were perceived to be their cultural distinctions. Particularly in Paris during the peak of the negrophilia craze, blackness assumed the status of a commodity that could be traded and exchanged, and tangible, if stereotyped, markers of cultural blackness were a practical way of capitalizing on this popularity. The syncopated rhythms of jazz gave blacks and whites alike a means of connecting this new music to both the future and the past – a modern, international blackness with a core of primitive, authentic Africanity. What we might call an emerging “rhythmophilic” obsession with what was commonly perceived to be the most distinctive characteristic of jazz and other African-based musics during the interwar period proliferated in pan-Africanist literature on both sides of the Atlantic.

Music played a central role in linking the black literary worlds on both sides of the Atlantic to create a new black internationalism. In addition to Du Bois’s *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Edwards presents authors such as James Weldon Johnson (*The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, 1912) and Suzanne Lacascade (*Claire-solange, âme africaine*, 1924) and the jazz-infused oeuvre of Langston Hughes as three particularly musical voices in New Negro literature. He notes that for writers such as Lacascade or Du Bois, the reason music is such a powerful literary reference is “precisely that it cannot be translated – that it marks a certain inaccessibility, a space of expression exterior to the colonial system.” Likewise Claude McKay’s novel *Banjo* (1929), as one of the most popular novels among the Parisian pan-Africanists in the interwar period, helped to define “a black transnational community ... more than anything else by a certain relation to music.” Of Senghor’s colleague, the activist and writer Tiemoko Garan Kouyaté, Edwards writes: “[he] attempts to develop a different theoretical vocabulary for what

he calls one of the ‘mystères d’Afrique’: the effect of black music in performance.” The Antillean author René Maran, who became a close acquaintance of Senghor and whose literary soirées Senghor frequently participated in, was also particularly influential in teaching the young Senghor to embrace the term *nègre*, which at that time had a more negative connotation than the more politically correct *noir*. According to Senghor, Maran’s brilliant ability to collectively express “l’âme noire, avec le style nègre, en français” (“Negro soul, with black style, in French”) in his literary work directly inspired the negritude movement.<sup>37</sup>

Two of the most significant literary anthologies of Harlem’s New Negro movement, *The New Negro* (1925) and *Negro: An Anthology* (1934), were filled with musical texts including submissions by James Weldon Johnson, Jean Toomer, Rudolph Fisher, Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston.<sup>38</sup> Many of the texts of these anthologies were inspired by spirituals or the blues or were direct essays on the innovative subject of jazz itself. Often, musical scores even accompanied the articles.<sup>39</sup> *Negro: An Anthology*, edited by the British shipping heiress Nancy Cunard, contained several sections on music, including one entitled “Negro Stars,” which included essays and poems on jazz, black theater and film. In another section of the *Anthology*, simply entitled “Music,” the avant-garde composer George Antheil put together a series of articles covering a number of musical topics from across the Diaspora as well as the continent. Andrée Nardal, co-founder of *La revue du monde noir* (1931-32) contributed an article on the Antillean beguine (published under a pseudonym, but originally written for *La revue du monde*

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 68, 57, 190, 291, 94, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, “René Maran, précurseur de la Négritude,” in *Hommage à René Maran* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1965), 11; 13.

<sup>38</sup> Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925); Nancy Cunard, ed., *Negro: An Anthology* (London: Wishart & Co., 1934).

<sup>39</sup> Anthony Mangeon, “Miroirs des literatures nègres: d’une anthologie l’autre, revues,” *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 58.

*noir* in 1931). George Antheil, too, reinforced the myth of African rhythm in his article “The Negro on the Spiral, or a Method of Negro Music.” In his study, Antheil finds black music to be “intricate in rhythmic pattern, so delicately balanced in contra-rhythms and proportions.” Zora Neale Hurston’s article in *Negro: An Anthology* (1934), “Characteristics of Negro Expression,” falls back on similar racialized tropes of the day, as exemplified in this oft-cited excerpt on the innate rhythmic ability of blacks:

The presence of rhythm and the lack of symmetry are paradoxical. There is always rhythm, but it is the rhythm of segments. Each unit has a rhythm of its own, but when the whole is assembled it is lacking in symmetry. But easily workable to a Negro who is accustomed to the break in going from one part to another, so that he adjusts himself to the new tempo.

Hurston also wrote a section in the anthology on “Spirituals and Neo-Spirituals” which refers to the spiritual performance style as one of “harmony and disharmony, shifting keys and broken time.” Edwards summarizes, “Black internationalism, the [*Negro Anthology*] suggests, is less like a sturdy edifice or a definitive program than like the uncertain harmony of a new song.”<sup>40</sup>

The strong musical presence in the *Negro* anthology cannot be overlooked. “Over and over again,” stresses Edwards, “*Negro* attempts to find the link between politics and performance through figurations of black musical practices.”<sup>41</sup> Through music, interwar pan-African authors created a metaphorical framework for articulating a new black internationalism. As I stated at

---

<sup>40</sup> Robert Goffin, “Negro Stars,” in *Negro: An Anthology*, Nancy Cunard, ed. (London: Wishart & Co, 1934); George Antheil, “Music,” in Cunard, ed., *Negro*; Andrée Nardal, “Etude sur la beguine créole,” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 2(1931): 51-53; later published in slightly different form under the pseudonym “Madiana” for Nancy Cunard’s *Negro: An Anthology*. (Madiana, “The Biguine of the French Antilles,” in Cunard, ed., *Negro*, 401-402; George Antheil, “The Negro on the Spiral, or a Method of Negro Music,” in Cunard, ed., *Negro*, 346-7; Zora Neale Hurston, “Characteristics of Negro Expression,” in Cunard, ed., *Negro*, 41; Hurston, “Spirituals and Negro Spirituals,” in Cunard, ed., *Negro*, 360; Edwards, *The Practice of the Diaspora*, 312; 317-318.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

the beginning of the chapter, it is well known that Senghor was an avid reader who soaked up the works of as many black writers as he could; therefore none of these literary references would have escaped him. It is not a surprise, therefore, that he and other negritude writers began to adapt these already well-established black music tropes for their own purposes. In his reflections on the poetry of the *Negro: An Anthology*, Senghor was able to add a layer of memory and experience to prevailing clichés which had been absent before. Senghor reminded readers that the poets of the *Anthology* were not simply literati, but “above all, oral; they are bards.” He contributed the specificity of his own Sérère childhood to common pan-African tropes of rhythm as the ultimate symbol of Africanity. Describing of the poets of his own village of Joal, Senghor remembered: “They are tyrannically submissive to the ‘interior music,’ and above all to rhythm. ... the most naïve among them couldn’t compose except through the trance of drums, sustained, inspired, nourished by the rhythm of the drums.”<sup>42</sup> Such personalized details made common black musical references seem more powerful, more authentic, and more effective as a voice for a new generation of Africans desiring independence.

The novel *Banjo*, written in 1929 by Jamaican writer Claude McKay, also spoke deeply to Senghor. A French translation of the work was released in 1931 and drew a broad readership across the Parisian pan-African community, due in part to Senghor and his friends Damas and Césaire eagerly sharing the work with as many people as they could. In the hands of an expatriate African student, however, the character of these symbols of perceived “Africanness” took on a different flavor and a more specific purpose: to inspire Africans and invite them to join

---

<sup>42</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Postface,” *Ethiopiennes* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1956) in Daniel Delas, “Rythme, culture et poésie dans *Ethiopiennes* de L. S. Senghor,” in *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*, ed. Pierre Brunel (Paris: Planète Libre, 2007), 1192.

the pan-Africanist cause. In 1937, at the age of thirty-one, Senghor gave his first speech on the African continent at the Foyer France-Sénégal in Dakar. He had been asked by the French administration to speak about colonial education, and the budding politician chose to end his speech with a quote from *Banjo*: “Diving down to the roots of our race and building on our deep reserves is not returning to a savage state: it is culture itself.”<sup>43</sup>

Literary soirées hosted by writers such as René Maran (author of the influential book *Batouala*, 1921) and Jane and Andrée Nardal (founders of *La revue du monde noir*) in their Parisian apartments introduced Senghor and his friends to many of these authors and provided a crucial link between black musical performance and the literary musical symbolism which colored the latest pan-Africanist writings of the 1920s and ‘30s. Senghor and his expatriate student friends were regular attendees at these bilingual literary salons. Mercer Cook, who taught French at Howard University and helped promote the black Parisian cultural scene in the United States (and who would be in residence at the first FESMAN as the U.S. Ambassador to Senegal), recalled that Maran’s soirées were “a focal point for transatlantic contacts,” in which French, Antillean, African, and African-American writers gathered on Friday evenings.”<sup>44</sup> Maran introduced Senghor and his peers to the works of musically inspired Harlem Renaissance writers such as Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen. He also introduced many African-American writers to the Martinican Nardal sisters, who had founded the first bilingual pan-African journal, *La revue du monde noir* (1931-32). Maran was well known and respected in Harlem, and his work was the subject of articles by Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois, and

---

<sup>43</sup> Claude McKay, *Banjo: A Story without a Plot* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1929; 1957), 200; Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 188.

<sup>44</sup> Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism Between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 166.

Alain Locke. Between the social circles of Mercer Cook and René Maran, the future founders of negritude had the opportunity not just to read, but to socialize with many African-American writers. Senghor and his peers were therefore well-versed in the writers of the Harlem Renaissance and avidly followed the spate of literary journals coming out of Harlem at this time such as *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*. Senghor also translated many Harlem Renaissance writers into French (including Sterling Brown, Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and Richard Wright). Many African-Americans frequented Paris in the interwar period and visited nightclubs around town with their Francophone colleagues. Léon Gontran Damas, for instance, used to take Langston Hughes out to the Cabane Cubaine when he was in town. The prevalence of musical themes in the New Negro movement's literature provides an additional context from which to understand the performative nature that Senghor's philosophy of negritude would come to entail.<sup>45</sup> It is clear, then, that when Senghor moved to Paris in 1928 to begin his university studies under the sponsorship of Senegalese poet and folklorist Birago Diop, he found himself in an environment thoroughly steeped with black music: in the vibrant cabarets and cafés of Montmartre, the more intimate soirées of his fellow pan-Africanists (particularly those hosted by the Nardal sisters and the novelist René Moran), and the literary works of his colleagues. In the following section, I will take a step back to explore how Paris became such a hub of black musical culture during the interwar period and how live and recorded music, not just literary musical references alone, influenced Senghor as he was beginning to develop his negritude philosophy with other Francophone pan-Africanist students in the 1930s.

---

<sup>45</sup> For a thorough exploration of musical themes in black literature, see Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*.

*Musical Paris in between the Wars: Negrophilia Inspires Negritude*

The Interwar Parisian Soundscape

France conscripted over 620,000 soldiers from its colonies to fight for the empire during the Great War.<sup>46</sup> After the Treaty of Versailles, many *tirailleurs*, as these colonial soldiers were called, were reluctant to return to their homelands for a variety of reasons. Many found that they experienced greater political freedom within the very heart of the empire than they did in the colonies. In addition, France's colonial policy of assimilation lured the brightest of these men to stay, promising equal treatment as fully assimilated French citizens and offering prestigious opportunities of university educations and career advancement.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, working-class *tirailleurs* often chose to stay on because they found better working opportunities and conditions than at home. African-Americans stationed in France during the war found the country to be less overtly racist. After the war, the United States government offered scholarships to some African-Americans wishing to further their educations in France, and once abroad, many did not want to return home for reasons similar to those of the *tirailleurs*. Despite the debacles across the continent, France's mistreatment of its colonized peoples was either overlooked or perceived as an anomaly by these hopeful new black *émigrés*, and the myth of a racially benevolent empire was perpetuated not just by the French but by African-Americans, Antilleans, and Africans themselves.<sup>48</sup> This wasn't entirely naïve; certainly for African-Americans, especially those from the south, France and Paris in particular did in fact provide a safer haven than they would ever find at home. Africans coming from other colonies, too, and

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 254-256.

<sup>48</sup> Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 3; 6.

particularly the Belgian Congo, would have seen the French as relatively tame by comparison.<sup>49</sup> Negrophilia was coming into vogue in Paris at this time, and many émigrés were surprised to discover that their skin color sometimes was actually an asset. Following World War I, Paris therefore became a hub in which the diaspora could meet and exchange ideas with continental Africans, often for the first time. In this environment, alliances were able to form that would destabilize and ultimately bring down the colonial framework that had brought them together.

Besides bringing together the minds of a new continentally informed diaspora, the Great War also sparked a widespread negrophilia. African-American music had already been introduced to Europe even before the war, with a great deal of success. Minstrel shows had become popular in Paris by the 1880s, and the Nouveau Cirque and Folies-Bergère had introduced Parisians to the cake-walk by the 1890s. The Folies-Bergère continued to bring black entertainers to the French capital in the first decade of the new century, debuting such acts as the “Four Black Troubadours,” the “Nègres Joyeux,” the “Four Black Spades,” and the “Four Black Diamonds,” Wil Marion Cook’s all-black musical *In Dahomey* (a musical featuring Bert Williams and George Walker which made the cake-walk famous in Paris).<sup>50</sup> By the time James Reese Europe’s 369<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment’s “Hellfighters” Band toured the country at the end of World War I, therefore, France’s appetite for black entertainment was already well established. The Hellfighters furthered the popularity of jazz, particularly among the younger generations in France, and Paris became a mecca for African-American jazz musicians seeking greater

---

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the most blatantly genocidal colonial enterprise was that of the Belgian Congo. See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998) and André-Bernard Ergo, *Congo Belge: La colonie assassinée* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008).

<sup>50</sup> Iris Schmeisser, “‘Un Saxophone en Mouvement’?: Josephine Baker and the Primitivist Reception of Jazz in Paris in the 1920s,” in *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*, ed. Neil A. Wynn (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2007), 112; Blake, *Le Tumulte Noir*, 15; William Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 5.

performance opportunities than they could find at home after the war. Jazz clubs were beginning to pop up around Paris, one of the first being a place called “At Zellie’s.” Every other night the club switched between a live African-American jazz band and an Argentinean tango band. The tango craze overlapped with that of jazz and the two tended to be lumped together in parlance, journalism, and on the stage.<sup>51</sup> Both reflected the same appeal for the exotic, and tango was thus associated with blackness by proxy. In fact, Paris in the 1920s-30s could just as well be called “tangophilic” as “negrophilic.” While some bands had specialized repertoires, like the two groups which alternated at the club “At Zellie’s,” cabaret bands which could play as many of the latest popular dances as possible were in the highest demand. Because these diverse dance styles from America, the Caribbean, and Latin America were all played at the same Parisian clubs where blacks and whites freely comingled (much to the chagrin of many American tourists), cabaret culture in general tended to blur what was “exotic” and what was “black” (or vice versa). According to Richard Middleton, who compares negrophilia to other exoticist fetishes like Spain for Bizet and East / Southeast Asia for Debussy, negrophilia and exoticism more broadly were entwined in a “master-trope of difference” which linked the colonial presence found within the imperial metropole with its distant source on the other side of the black Atlantic. In this way “Low- and Black-Others interconnect and ... [lie] at the core of the self-understanding of modernity.”<sup>52</sup> Musicians such as Palmer Jones’s International Five, Louis Mitchell, Arthur Briggs, Cricket Smith, Eugene Bullard, Ada Smith (aka “Bricktop”), Florence Embry Jones, and

---

<sup>51</sup> Schmeisser, “‘Un Saxophone en Mouvement?’” 110-111; For instance, *Jazz-Tango-Dancing* magazine first appeared in Paris in 1929; see Ron Welbourn, “Jazz Magazines in the 1930s: An Overview of their Provocative Journalism,” *American Music* 5, 3 (1987): 256.

<sup>52</sup> Melvyn Stokes, “Race, Politics and Censorship: D.W. Griffith’s ‘The Birth of a Nation’ in France, 1916-1912,” *Cinema Journal* 50, 1(2010): 32-33; Richard Middleton, “Introduction: Music, modernization and popular identity,” in eds. Hugh Dauncey and Steve Cannon, *Popular Music in France from Chanson to Techno: Culture, Identity, and Society* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 5.

Wil Marion Cook's Southern Syncopated Orchestra all found welcome audiences in the Montmartre cabaret scene, not to mention stars such as Sidney Bechet and, of course, Josephine Baker.<sup>53</sup>

According to Iris Schmeisser, Paris was especially receptive to African-American jazz in the 1920s because, firstly, the country saw an increase in commercial exchange with the United States following the war (and jazz was one of its most valuable commodities) and secondly, French consumer culture had become increasingly attracted to Africana due to the empire's colonial exhibitions which showcased these new cultural commodities. "At the height of its popularity," notes Jeffrey Jackson, "jazz music could suggest an 'Africanization' of France – an ironic reversal of the colonial project simultaneously underway in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1920s and 1930s." As Melvyn Stokes and Richard Middleton have both suggested, the jazz trend could be expanded to include a wide variety of diasporic music and dance styles including the tango, and is linked to a much broader history of a fascination with the exotic.<sup>54</sup> Thus rumba and the beguine, too, could be included in this amalgamated genre called "jazz;" all were equally exotic to the French Parisians. For the Paris-centered pan-Africanist movement coming into its own during the 1920s, the vogue of African-American jazz as well as traditional African sculpture lent a much-needed legitimacy to black cultural expression. Pan-Africanist writers had long been arguing for equal recognition for black peoples, but until the 1920s, their musical inspiration had come largely in the form of spirituals and the blues, both of which were

---

<sup>53</sup> For more on American jazz musicians in Paris, see Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre*; Denis-Constant Martin and Olivier Roueff, *La France du jazz: Musique, modernité et identité dans la première moitié du XXe siècle* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2002); Ludovic Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: l'Histoire du jazz en France* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Blake, *Le tumulte noir*; Wynn, ed., *Cross the Water Blues*; and Jeffrey Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>54</sup> Schmeisser, "Un Saxophone en Mouvement?," 106, 108; Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, 73; See Stokes, "Race, Politics, and Censorship," 32-33; and Middleton, "Introduction," 5.

inextricably linked to the suffering of slaves at the hands of white oppressors. Jazz and other diasporic musics, in addition to African sculpture, offered alternative, more empowering examples of black cultural legitimacy. The reason for this, Schmeisser argues, is that in the 1920s African sculpture and African-American jazz both began to be perceived as simultaneously “primitive” and “modern.” Modern artists in Paris at the time, having been exposed to African sculpture via exhibits at the 1899 World’s Fair, found new inspiration in these geometric sculptures and art collectors soon followed their gaze. Together artists and collectors elevated the value of African art in France by considering it to be its own genuine, legitimate art form rather than merely ethnographic specimens. At the same time, it retained its intrinsic “authenticity” as an example of the “primitive” because of its seemingly unadulterated African origins.<sup>55</sup>

Jazz, too, was associated with both the “primitive” and the “modern,” traits which simultaneously worked in its favor and against it depending on whether one was an enthusiast or a detractor. To the white artistic avant-garde, the arrival of jazz in Paris was perceived within the context of their first exposure to African art. The blackness of jazz was therefore considered synonymous with Africanity, and as such “primitive.” At the same time, jazz came from the United States in the early twentieth century alongside other new diasporic dance and music styles, all of which took on the status of fashionable trends. In this way, jazz was considered very “modern.” It is the crux of this dual association of primitivity and modernity that gave jazz its inherent power as its popularity spread throughout France and the rest of Europe. For white negrophiles and black pan-Africanists alike, this paradoxical duality lent a two-pronged

---

<sup>55</sup> Schmeisser, “Un Saxophone en Mouvement?,” 106-109.

legitimacy to black cultural expression. In the case of jazz, its American origins lent associations of modernity, technological progress, mobility, and urbanity to the music that the French associated with the United States more generally. At the same time, the music's association with blackness spoke to its historical link to the African continent, and it therefore provided negrophile sophisticates with the cultural primitivism they wished to consume and pan-Africanists with a valuable symbol of African cultural legitimacy. Parisian negrophilia attracted more black jazz performers to that city than to many other colonial metropolises of the time (such as London, where white jazz musicians proliferated), and therefore the genre was considered to be something performed most authentically by African-Americans.<sup>56</sup> The dual value of jazz across the color line rested in its perception as authentically "African," which appealed to the primitivist desires of the negrophiles, and progressively "modern," which offered the proof pan-Africanists were looking for that black culture was not merely an artifact of an ancient past. As jazz became increasingly solidified as a legitimate popular cultural form for all races in Paris during the interwar period, it became an important symbol of the pan-Africanists' desires for cultural, social, economic, and political upward mobility.

#### The Musical Life of Senghor in Interwar Paris

Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire, two of the members of the key triumvirate of Negritude, met as students in Paris at L'Ecole Louis-le-Grand in the late 1920s. An educational destination for promising colonial subjects who were recruited on merit rather than race or financial status, Louis-le-Grand educated its subjects in an assimilationist manner, yet in the process also inadvertently provided students with the very tools they needed to formulate ideas

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 106; 113; I am referring specifically to the Paris jazz scene; other cities, such as London, tended to prefer white jazz musicians.

counter to the imperialist agenda.<sup>57</sup> Césaire had met fellow Antillean Léon-Gontran Damas (the third in the triumvirate) at secondary school in Martinique, and once Damas arrived in Paris Césaire quickly introduced him to Senghor. To Césaire and Damas, Senghor symbolized the continent of Africa itself; he was their very first African acquaintance. The three struck up a fast friendship and soon became the central figures of a vital congregation of university students and burgeoning pan-African literati from the French Caribbean, Madagascar, and West Africa.<sup>58</sup>

While Senghor, Césaire, and Damas were certainly privileged to have had access to their Parisian educations, however, it should not be assumed that they lived the high life by any means. All three struggled with serious financial and emotional stresses as new *émigrés*. Damas worked grueling jobs as a day laborer, a dishwasher, and a dock worker to support his studies in law, languages and ethnology at three different schools. Césaire lived in extreme poverty and ultimately suffered a nervous breakdown fueled by a combination of poor living conditions, malnourishment, and depression. Of the three, Senghor had it the easiest, but even he received only about half of a typical student's stipend. He sacrificed food in order to save enough money to attend concerts and theater events, often eating only one meal a day. And while he did not suffer a complete breakdown like Césaire's, Senghor also struggled with serious depression, ill health, and financial stress.<sup>59</sup>

Nevertheless, the vibrant black culture that surrounded these young students in Paris provided a unique environment in which blacks from both sides of the Atlantic could come

---

<sup>57</sup> For more about counteractive forces at work within empires, see Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*.

<sup>58</sup> Key figures from the French Caribbean besides Césaire and Damas include the Nardal sisters, René Moran, and Louis Achille; from Madagascar, the poet Jacques Rabemananjara; and from West Africa, François Deng, Birago Diop, Ousmane Socé Diop, and Garan Kouyaté.

<sup>59</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 154-155; for a definitive biography of Senghor, see Janet Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

together to discuss, debate, and plan for the future. Through his two new friends, Senghor was introduced to three of the Antillean literary and cultural community's key figures: the Nardal sisters and René Maran. As mentioned in the previous section, the Nardals and Maran hosted weekly salons which brought together a diverse group of French, African, Antillean, and Malagasy intellectuals (and any African-American friends who happened to be visiting) in a social, culturally vibrant setting. At these soirées, people would "recite Antillean poetry, sing American blues and spirituals, discuss African civilization, and argue about contemporary politics." The Nardals also sponsored outings to cabarets which Senghor often attended to see stars such as Josephine Baker perform. According to Damas, the Nardal sisters, along with their relatives Louis Achille and René Maran, served as bridges between Francophone and African-American intellectual and cultural communities.<sup>60</sup> The Antillean community and the Nardal sisters in particular fostered a black internationalism which was more concerned with equality for France's colonized peoples rather than an outright end to colonialism.

For Senghor and his peers, the Nardal and Maran salons served as significant incubators for their emerging Negritude philosophy, a philosophy steeped from the very beginnings in the sounds of black music. Witnessing the unifying (and profitable) power of the black music which enlivened their social outings, future leaders such as Senghor, Césaire and Damas were able to streamline their own ideas into a more coherent black cultural narrative informed not only by earlier nods to music in the pan-Africanist literature but by the actual sounds. Nightly music resonating throughout the city of Paris brought earlier musical references in the black literary canon to life. Gary Wilder, an expert on Negritude and colonial humanism during the French interwar period, insists that negritude was "never a formal organization," but rather a "cultural

---

<sup>60</sup> Vaillant, *Black, French, and African*, 89-91; 174-175.

project that emerged through intense discussions and intimate friendships among a diasporic peer group.” These vibrant discussions among this student group did not take place in a vacuum; on the contrary, they were constituted in and through the experience of listening and dancing to black music. Wilder notes, “They met in Latin Quarter ethnic restaurants, cafés, and dance halls. They listened to rumbas at the Cabane Cubaine in Montmartre, which was the geographic center of African-American cultural life in Paris.” The novelist Ousmane Socé Diop, a fellow Senegalese and another student who frequented the pan-African literary salons in Paris, used the black musical scene of his adopted city to color his work with references to what was perceived as a direct link to authentic Africanity. Wilder notes, “Like McKay, [Diop] set scenes in jazz clubs, the Bal Nègre and the Cabane Cubaine, where music and dance signify the supposedly sensual, corporeal, and transcendent character of black culture.” In Diop’s *Mirages de Paris*, ““The tom-toms remembered their ancestral cadences. They hammered the brain, chasing out all other ideas, until hypnosis set in.””<sup>61</sup>

“For Senghor,” writes Tsitsi Ella Jaji, “music was the universal language of Négritude.” Jaji considers music important enough to the story of pan-African modernism to have devoted an entire chapter of her groundbreaking book *Africa in Stereo* (2014) to “Négritude Musicology.” Jaji suggests that for Senghor, what might better be described as the “musicality” of Négritude, was inspired less by his own auditory participation in the jazz era than by the interest the literary community he belonged to paid to it. To Jaji, Senghor’s interest in jazz was more akin to that of U.S. politicians visiting auto factories in rolled up sleeves and work helmets. Regardless of one’s class, among politicians, to succeed requires that one appears of “the people.” While Jaji

---

<sup>61</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 150; 154-155; 199; Ousmane Socé Diop, *Mirage de Paris* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1937), 55-59.

raises a reasonable point, I do not think it should lead to the conclusion that musical sounds themselves did not still have an important part to play in Senghor's development of negritude. There is certainly plenty of evidence cited that Senghor went to nightclubs where jazz and other diasporic music was playing.<sup>62</sup> He may have gone to these clubs for no other reason than that this was where his friends preferred to go – particularly if, like the Nardals, they might foot the bill. Nonetheless, those experiences clearly had an effect, even if retrospectively. Private literary salons, moreover, which may have better suited Senghor's introversion had a strong musical component of their own, offering venues for listening to recorded music and occasional live performances. In a crowded city such as Paris, the sounds of black music were all around him.<sup>63</sup>

The musically informed narrative of black cultural valor that came to be called Negritude became increasingly prominent in a number of new pan-Africanist publications in France, beginning with the Nardal sisters' *La revue du monde noir* in the fall of 1931. This journal was the first to bridge the gap most directly between the Francophone and Anglophone black movements, publishing all articles in both English and French. While Senghor did not participate directly in the making of this journal, through his close friendships with Césaire, Damas, Maran, and the Nardals he grew closely connected with the literati involved on both sides of the Atlantic. After Senghor graduated from Louis-le-Grand in 1935, he published his first article, "L'humanisme et nous: René Maran," in another new French pan-African journal, *L'Étudiant Noir*. A one-issue publication encouraging cooperation among Africans and West

---

<sup>62</sup> Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 66; 68-110; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 174.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

Indians, two groups who tended to keep their distance from each other, this short-lived publication of the Martiniquean Students Association in France has been argued to mark the official debut of negritude as a literary, pan-Africanist movement.<sup>64</sup> Along with the West Indians Césaire and Damas, Senghor represented a rare and valuable African voice in this burgeoning cultural movement.

A key concept of the Francophone arm of the pan-Africanist movement, the notion of “*Négritude*,” coined by Aimé Césaire, signified a deliberate recontextualization of a formerly pejorative word (“*nègre*,” in Césaire’s native Martinique, could be translated as “nigger”) into a slogan of racial and cultural pride. Alongside Jean-Paul Sartre, who was sympathetic to the negritude cause, the triumvirate jointly conceptualized negritude into a realistic literary style that valorized African culture while condemning colonialism. Negritude portrayed blackness not as an inferiority, but as something which, in the words of Senghor, “one lays claim to with pride, one cultivates lovingly.”<sup>65</sup> Sartre’s seminal work, *Orphée noir* (“Black Orpheus”), from 1948, defended negritude as a temporary, antithetical necessity to counter white dominance, something ultimately to be transcended once a raceless (or racially indifferent) society could be achieved. Not everyone agreed with the idea of simply relegating negritude to that of social strategy, however. To the “triumvirate,” a utopian world without notions of racial differentiation was not ideal; rather, they preferred a vision of the world that would transcend racism while still remaining culturally pluralistic. As Jeanpierre writes, “they knew that for them the only way to

---

<sup>64</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “L’humanisme et nous: René Maran,” *L’Etudiant Noir* (1935), in Sarah Frioux-Salgas, “Présence Africaine: une tribune, un mouvement, un réseau,” *Gradhiva* 10 (2009), 10. Note: West Indian Parisians sometimes looked down on African immigrants as racially and culturally inferior; *Ibid.*, 67-71.

<sup>65</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., “Négritude,” *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2003): 670.

attain the universal was by affirming the particular.” The particular can never be separated from the universal it attempts to realize, however.<sup>66</sup> The construction of an “African personality” based on a sense of universal characteristics shared by all Africans and their descendants around the world was bound to be inherently unstable.

---

<sup>66</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, “Preface,” *Orphée Noir* in W. A. Jeanpierre, “Sartre’s Theory of ‘Antiracist Racism’ in his Study of Negritude,” in eds. Jules Chametzky and Sidney Kaplan, *Black and White in American Culture: An Anthology from The Massachusetts Review* (Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1969), 451-453; see Tsing, *Friction*.

### Senghor's Musical Negritude

For writers such as Senghor, the pre-existing literary repertoire of black musical symbolism and his own auditory experiences provided stepping stones from which to begin to articulate a new, increasingly African-centered pan-Africanist identity. The musical core from which Senghor began to develop his own vision of negritude in the 1930s consisted of two intersecting influences: the proliferation of musical references in pan-Africanist literature and the wave of black music performances and general negrophilia vogue taking Paris by storm at the time. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a number of famous African American bands debuted in Paris. Sam Wooding's band, which included Doc Cheatham and Honeybear Seducic, performed at the Embassy Club in 1929, and the same year Louis Armstrong's recordings first became available for sale in France. Duke Ellington and his orchestra debuted in Paris in 1933. A number of other African American jazz musicians such as Arthur Biggs, Freddie Johnson, Freddie Taylor, Bill Coleman, Benny Carter, and Sidney Bechet were also all fixtures of the Parisian jazz scene.<sup>67</sup> Senghor was also well acquainted with the Bal Nègre, a nightclub which hosted a large number of Antillean performers in addition to African-American jazz musicians, from his strong personal associations with Paris' French Caribbean community.

From 1928-1932 (the first four years of Senghor's student tenure in Paris), the Bal Nègre was one of the most popular nightclubs in the city, and drew blacks and whites in equal numbers. While numerous Parisian *boites* had all-black house bands, the clientele was more often than not primarily white negrophiles. The Bal Nègre, on the other hand, attracted large numbers of Antillais and a smaller number of Africans and African Americans. The reason for the big

---

<sup>67</sup> William H. Kenney III, "Le Hot: The Assimilation of American Jazz in France, 1917-1940," *American Studies* (Spring, 1984): 10; 12; 14; 18.

Antillean draw was that the Bal Nègre's all-black house band specialized in the biguine, a song and dance form native to Martinique and related to the quadrille. Andrée Nardal, a native Martiniquean and a central figure in the Parisian pan-African community, frequently hosted soirées and outings which Senghor attended. Nardal was particularly proud of Martinique's biguine tradition and sought out places which featured "authentic" renditions of the music by Antillean performers. The Bal de la Glacière was one such place; Nardal considered it the rare nightclub in which "blacks feel quite at home." According to Brett Berliner, the Bal Nègre and the Bal de la Glacière were places where black Caribbeans and Africans could act out a fantasy of the authentic, or, as Nardal phrased it, to "find a bit of the feel of their country."

Unfortunately, the Bal de la Glacière provided a little too much ambiance for some residents who lived in the neighborhood; it closed down after just two short months. The Bal Nègre, on the other hand, had a much longer run and was thriving during Senghor's early student years. From 1930-1932 the Bal Nègre was one of the rare places housing an All-Antillean band, Ernest Léardée's Créol's Band, which performed exclusively French Caribbean fare and especially the popular biguine. With the addition of professional Martiniquean dancer, Fernande "la Martiniquaise," and her "ballet martiniquaise," the nightclub offered a little taste of home to the Antillean community and provided a perceived source of authentic blackness, and therefore Africanity, to white negrophiles as well as blacks.<sup>68</sup>

Senghor actually conducted a considerable amount of theoretical research into the concept of rhythm in an effort to create a "black rhythmic theory" ("théorie nègre du rythme") which might help articulate his theory of negritude. Senghor's *Liberté I* (1964) reflects attitudes

---

<sup>68</sup> Brett Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 215-216; 208-209.

about pan-African culture that had been incubating for years, and rhythm is one of the symbols he relied upon most prominently to express them.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, Senghor considered rhythm to be the most “essential quality of the black poetic style” (la qualité essentielle du style poétique nègre), with melody playing a “secondary, although not insignificant” role (la mélodie y tient une place secondaire, je ne dis pas insignifiante). After all, poetry originated as an oral, rather than a written, genre and as such was usually sung. Because African poetic traditions were (and in many cases still are) orally transmitted, Senghor believed that this inherent audibility had not been lost in the works of more contemporary black authors, regardless of the extent of their personal experience, or lack thereof, with such African oral poetic forms directly. In this way Senghor followed a prevailing pan-African claim at the time (a notion which continues to proliferate today) that blackness is a “natural” phenomenon – that is, the belief that black culture is inherently connected to the body and to the emotional instincts that bodies experience and manifest. In his Postface to the poetry anthology, *Ethiopiennes* (1956), Senghor illuminated this notion of physicality quite strongly: “The very navel of the poem, rhythm, born of emotion, in its turn engenders emotion” (Nombril même du poème, le rythme, qui naît de l’émotion, engendre à son tour l’émotion). This rhythmic emotion described so eloquently by Senghor follows similar, if perhaps less poetic descriptions of the “nature” of black music given by African-American jazz musicians, descriptions readily adopted by musicians across Europe as well as by the first generation of jazz music critics. Louis Armstrong’s reply to an aficionado he likely left crestfallen, “If you have to ask what jazz is, you’ll never know,” implies a certain intangibility and intuitiveness to jazz which whites and blacks alike eagerly embraced when this composite genre became the latest fashion in France.

---

<sup>69</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Liberté I: Négritude et humanisme* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1964).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, a new art of jazz criticism began to emerge in response to the growing popularity of this new popular music. Interestingly, it was France, rather than the United States, that produced the first true jazz critics. American newspaper journalists had begun to report on the occasional noteworthy performance and to interview some of the musicians, while the music critics themselves had little interest in covering a “folk” genre and preferred to continue focusing on classical symphonic music. Throughout Europe, on the other hand, new periodicals devoted exclusively to this new American music had begun to proliferate, with the French leading the way. In 1929, two new jazz publications debuted in France: *Revue du jazz* and *Jazz-Tango-Dancing*. The latter considered jazz and tango together as they were both equally en vogue at the time as popular dance styles; Ron Welburn compares the French tango craze with similar reactions to the cakewalk in the U.S. and England. As I have already mentioned, jazz was often loosely associated with a number of other dance musics from across the Atlantic, so to find jazz and tango combined into one journal reflects musical perspectives at the time. *Revue du jazz* (1929-1931) was the first journal named after the new art form, and featured some of Hugues Panassié’s earliest writings (he was only seventeen when the magazine was first published), along with contributions by first-generation French jazz musicians such as Philippe Brun and Stephane Mougins. Only twelve years after the Victor label released the world’s first recording to be called “jazz,” (in 1917 by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band), Jean Thévenet utilized the phrase “jazz hot” for the first time as a classification in his discography of all music recordings available in France. According to the French jazz historian Olivier Roueff, Thévenet’s discography marked the first emergence of a “reappropriation of the use of ‘Afro-American pulsated rhythm,’ to the discographic listening experience, [a concept] which would

later be incorporated into the ‘musical genre’ [itself]” (“réappropriation de la prise du «rythme pulsé (afro-)américain» à partir de l’expérience d’écoute discographique, à la base de sa constitution ultérieure en «genre musical»<sup>70</sup> In 1932 the Belgian Robert Goffin published *Aux Frontières du Jazz*, one of the first texts to theorize and historicize the genre which was quickly overshadowed two years later by Hugues Panassié’s *Le Jazz Hot* (1934), considered by many scholars to be the one of the most authoritative and comprehensive works of jazz criticism of its time.<sup>71</sup> Panassié’s racialized admiration of what he saw as African American jazz musicians’ “natural” talent fell squarely in line with prevailing views shared among pan-Africanists, negrophiles, and even jazz’s detractors.

The only scholar to date to devote any serious attention to the musical nature of Senghor’s philosophy (which she calls his “negritude musicology”), Tsitsi Jaji considers early French jazz criticism and reportage to be equally important to African American literary texts in influencing Senghor’s understanding of musical blackness. Senghor read Panassié thoroughly, and refers to him directly in *Liberté I*: “Hugues Panassié,” he wrote, “has brought to light the black contributions to hot jazz, among which the fundamental characteristic emerges in interpretation.” Senghor proceeded to use Panassié’s words themselves to lend the credibility of a perceived expert to his own argument that “the determining force which defines the Negro

---

<sup>70</sup> Jean Thévenet, “Chronique du jazz,” *Variétés* 10 (February 15, 1929): 560-562, in Olivier Roueff, *Jazz, les échelles du plaisir. Intermédiaires et culture lettré en France au vingtième siècle* (Paris: Editions La Dispute, 2013); See also Chapter Three of the companion website: Olivier Roueff, “Plaisirs du jazz: L’élaboration de la catégorie ‘jazz hot’ par les classifications discographiques (1929, 1931),” (Paris: Editions La Dispute, 2013) [www.plaisirsdujazz.fr/chapitre-trois-sommaire/lelaboration-de-la-categorie-jazz-hot-par-les-classifications-discographiques/](http://www.plaisirsdujazz.fr/chapitre-trois-sommaire/lelaboration-de-la-categorie-jazz-hot-par-les-classifications-discographiques/) (accessed April 6, 2014); Welburn, “Jazz Magazines,” 256.

<sup>71</sup> Whitney Balliett, “Panassié, Delaunay et Cie,” *American Musicians II: Seventy-one Portraits in Jazz* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2005): 1; Welburn, “Jazz Magazines of the 1930s,” 257; Daniel Stein, “Negotiating Primitivist Modernisms: Louis Armstrong, Robert Goffin, and the Transatlantic Jazz Debate,” *European Journal of American Studies* 6, 2 (2011): 6n11; Robert Goffin, *Aux frontières du jazz* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1932); Hugues Panassié, *Le Jazz Hot* (Paris: Éditions Corrêa, 1934).

style is rhythm.” He continued, “The value of interpretation lies in its approach to intonation, which Panassié defines thus: ‘Not only the manner of attacking a note, but also the manner of holding and releasing it... giving it all its expressivity.’” Senghor refers here to intonation not simply as an element of pitch, but instead to the entirety of the sound itself: its tone, timbre, and particularly its articulation. He emphasized this by adding that it is “the accent which the performer imprints on each note [which] transmits his entire personality.” Senghor’s negritude celebrated this notion of a natural black “essence” and considered music itself, and not just musical language, to be one of its quintessential modes of expression. Indeed, writes Jaji, to Senghor the “reclamation of black dignity ha[d] a sonic quality.”<sup>72</sup> While Senghor’s expertise remained literary, he did not hesitate to emphasize the primacy of music in the transformation of ideas into action. “Speech takes primacy,” he wrote, “[but] it is rhythm which transforms it into a Verb. It [rhythm] is the verb of God... which created the world.”<sup>73</sup> This respect for music’s ability to *act*, rather than simply to be, is crucial to Senghor’s philosophy of negritude and articulates of the most important underlying motivations behind music’s prominence at FESMAN in 1966. Senghor readily incorporated the concept of rhythm into his own nuanced version of negritude, insisting, “the determining force which defines the Negro style is rhythm.”<sup>74</sup>

Not only did Senghor incorporate music references in his poetry, philosophical treatises, and speeches, however; music, in fact, shaped his very poetics, says Jaji. Indeed, in a lecture on

---

<sup>72</sup> Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 69, 79; Senghor, *Liberté I*, 38.

<sup>73</sup> Senghor, “Postface,” *Ethiopiennes* in Brunel, ed., *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, 1192; Senghor, *Liberté I*, in Brunel, ed., *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, 1190-91.

<sup>74</sup> Senghor, *Liberté I*, 36 in Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 78.

African American poetry he gave in 1950 and later published in *Liberté I*, Senghor presented a poem of his own which, he explained, loosely imitated the form of a 12-bar blues. Musical references fill the poetic works of Senghor, and not only phrases referring to rhythm. In “Lettres d’hivernage”, for example, he writes, “What takes me back to the plateaus of Ethiopia, where the shepherd on one foot rests under the shade of his flute” [“Que me rendra les plateaux d’Éthiopie, où le pâtre sur un pied se / Repose à l’ombre de sa flûte”]. The flute image returns in “Vacances”: “You, the faraway flute which responds in the night from the other river of the interior sea which unites opposing lands...” [“Toi la flûte lointaine qui répond dans la nuit / De l’autre rive de la Mer intérieure qui unit les terres opposées...”]. In “Chants d’ombre,” Senghor refers to specifically West African instruments: “The koras and balafon accompany me” [“Que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong”].<sup>75</sup> Senghor’s work reflects a common desire among Africa’s “prodigal sons” to return not just physically, but culturally, to their native land. In fact, the two go hand in hand, so that music was interpreted to be a part of the body itself. In “Femme noire,” he writes, “Naked woman, dark woman... mouth that makes my mouth lyrical...” [“Femme nue, femme obscure ... bouche qui fais lyrique ma bouche...”]. Indeed, he is even more direct in “Homme,” where he writes, “The black body and black soul are permeable to the apparently imperceptible rhythms, to all the solicitations of the world.” In “Le retour de l’enfant prodigue,” Senghor compares himself to a prodigal son, returning after a long absence in the West. He claims that, despite appearing to have assimilated to Western values, underneath it all

---

<sup>75</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Lettres d’hivernage” and “Vacances,” *Poèmes* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985), 246; 42-43; Michel Autrand, “La négritude et son chant selon Claudel et Senghor,” in Brunel, ed., *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, 1200, 1204; Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong,” *Chants d’ombre* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1945), 28; in Lilyan Kesteloot, *Comprendre les poèmes de L.S. Senghor* (Issy les Moulineaux: Les classiques africaines; Editions Saint-Paul, 1986), 45.

he remains faithful to his inner Africanity. According to Wilder, “This return to the biocultural is presented as an Orphic movement from rational reality to surreal musicality, from literacy to orality.” Salvation [from Western assimilation], it would seem, could only be achieved through direct engagement with an “African” musicality, however ambiguous.<sup>76</sup>

Senghor frequently compared black poets to musical bards, giving special privilege to rhythm and music as a poetic foundation. He uses the shepherd’s flute as a metaphor for the sound of Africa drawing the prodigal son home like a siren: “I am led by the golden note of the silent flute, led by the shepherd, my brother in long ago dreams” (Me conduise la note d’or de la flûte du silence, me conduise le pâtre mon frère de rêve jadis). In “Que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong,” Senghor considers music to be the medium through which a new Africa would be born: “Again I sing a noble subject; let me be accompanied by koras and balaphone! ... Let me here be the song of Africa’s future...” (De nouveau je chante un noble sujet; que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong! ... Que j’entende le chant de l’Afrique future!). In another section of the poem, Senghor once again returns to the drum as a sacred, maternal siren luring her Diaspora home: “Hear the drum that beats! / Mother who calls me. She calls me ‘toubab!’ / To kiss the most beautiful girl” (Entendez tambour qui bat! / Maman qui m’appelle. / Elle m’a dit Toubab! / D’embrasser la plus belle). Senghor is referring to a tradition of the mother singing along to accompany a boy’s selection of a potential future wife.<sup>77</sup> It is clear that Senghor was beginning to syncretize themes gleaned from a vast repertoire of African American literature and

---

<sup>76</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 209; Senghor, “Lettres d’hivernage,” in Brunel, ed., *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, 20; 245; 209.

<sup>77</sup> The word ‘toubab’ here refers to the colloquial term for white Europeans that is common throughout West Africa; Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Le retour de l’enfant prodigue”; “Que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong” in Brunel, ed., *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, 33, 36, 45, 104, 209, 211.

French jazz criticism concerning the relationship between rhythm, music, labor, the body, and Africanity.

Senghor's article, "Négritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century" (1970), written ten years into his presidency, summarized quite clearly the significance he placed on music – on harmony, on rhythm, on song – in articulating a musical philosophy of blackness that had been decades in the making. Africa's aesthetic voice "is not the simple reproduction of the cry of the Other; it is a complementarity, a song: a call...to the harmony of union that enriches by increasing Being." Contrasting untamed African expressions with that of a more mechanized Western expression obsession with the image, its imitation, and its reproduction ("art does not consist in photographing nature but in taming it ... art is not photography"), Senghor brought art back into the body and the deepest, animal nature of man. If African art had any element of reproduction, insisted Senghor, it was "like the hunter when he reproduces the call of the hunted animal." Likewise, he added, "if there are images they are rhythmical. ... For it is rhythm – the main virtue, in fact, of negritude – that gives the work of art its beauty."<sup>78</sup> One need go no further than the national anthem of Senegal, however, to see just how centrally Senghor would situate musical pan-Africanism within the consciousness and cultural policy of his new nation. For an anthem budding with the vision of a new, postcolonial Africa, Senghor himself wrote the following lyrics:

Sound all of you, your Koras  
Beat the drums  
The red Lion has roared,

---

<sup>78</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Négritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century," in *Senghor à Bruxelles: La négritude est un humanisme du XXe siècle* [Discours du Président Léopold Sédar Senghor et du Roi Baudouin les 20, 21, 22 octobre 1970] (Dakar: Grande imprimerie africaine, 1971).

The tamer of the bush with one leap has rushed forward  
 Scattering the gloom.  
 Sunshine on our terrors,  
 Sunshine on our hopes  
 Arise, brothers, Africa behold united.

I am still young at heart  
 Shoulder to shoulder  
 O people of Sénégal, more than brothers to me, arise!  
 Unite the sea and the springs,  
 Unite the steppe and the forest!  
 Hail, mother Africa  
 Hail, mother Africa!<sup>79</sup>

With culture and politics so entwined for Senghor in the struggle for articulating a new national and postcolonial identity for Senegal, the future poet-president viewed his eventual country as one which would “prid[e] itself on its role as a cultural crossroads and bridge between Africa and Europe.”<sup>80</sup> As we shall see, the First World Festival of Negro Arts would provide exactly such a crossroad, an ideal forum for the first truly *post*-colonial experiment in pan-African cultural expression. Before exploring the Festival, however, it is important to trace the evolution of Senghor’s Négritude from philosophy to cultural policy as he rose in prominence in colonial politics. Because Senghor’s political consciousness developed in tandem with his literary career, it is useful to go back to the poet-president’s early student days to witness the beginnings of Pan-Africanisms split in the Parisian community between those in support of assimilation or those pushing for all-out independence. We will follow Senghor’s eventual conversion within this debate from a staunch assimilationist to that of a (rather polite) anti-colonialist. One of the most

---

<sup>79</sup> Igor Cusak, “African National Anthems: ‘Beat the Drums, the Red Lion has Roared,’” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17/2 (December, 2005): 243.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

poignant demonstrations of this split occurred only a few years after Senghor's arrival in Paris: at the Exposition Coloniale in 1931.

### *The Politics of Negritude*

#### Exhibiting Arts and Politics at the Exposition Coloniale, 1931

While arts-centered to the core, Négritude and other strains of pan-Africanism in Paris during the interwar period never strayed far from the world of politics; indeed, politics were part and parcel of its constitution. As a movement concerned with the dignity of colonized peoples of color (specifically, in their case, those of African ancestry), negritude was itself part of a larger push among France's minority populations in the 1930s to gain more self-determination and to overcome discrimination and oppression. In this way, even though Senghor and other negritude figures were assimilationist moderates, they were still often distrusted by the French government and seen as potential communists. Most of the key figures of the Parisian pan-Africanist scene were trailed by French secret police. Class and racial differences within the pan-African community itself had begun to divide people. The Antilleans in Paris were by and large in a more favorable social position than many African *émigrés*, and the future fathers of Negritude leaned toward the assimilationist side (Senghor being the African exception to what was largely an Antillean assimilationist community), while the majority of Africans in Paris at the time were *tirailleurs* who sympathized with a more radical communist message (along with a minority of Antillean workers).<sup>81</sup> The prevailing view among this group, which consisted largely of what the Nardal sisters called the "black intelligentsia," was that racial pride and equality did not have to

---

<sup>81</sup> Pap Ndiaye, "Présence africaine avant *Présence africaine*," in *Gradhiva* 10: "*Présence africaine*: Les conditions noires: une généalogie des discours," (Paris: Musée du Quai Branly, 2009): 67.

come at the cost of the perceived benefits of being a part of the French empire. The rhetoric of this sector often lapsed into the paternalistic, falling into tropes of modernity and progress common to the imperial order. They felt that, as more modern, assimilated blacks, they had something to “offer” their brethren and that they had a duty to “help” them progress.<sup>82</sup> The majority of working-class Africans, on the other hand, aligned much more closely with the growing communist movement and linked racial injustice with a more general class oppression around the world which called for global revolution.

The difference in the two pan-African factions outlined above can be seen in the publications of both sides during and immediately following the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931. For Senghor, the Colonial Exhibition was a positive, inspiring experience. Noticing how much the public enjoyed the numerous visual and musical displays, Senghor saw the exhibition as a force for good, valorizing and legitimizing black arts for French and colonials alike. Looking back, he remembered the marvel he felt at discovering the “vital force of negro Africans.” Referencing Du Bois, Senghor continued, “armed with the miraculous insight of double consciousness, [we] perceiv[ed] the marvels of the kingdom of childhood. We were reborn in Negritude. Africa sings, paints, sculpts around these newborns.” In large part, it would seem that Senghor and the rest of the assimilationist pan-Africanists were not in disagreement with exposition’s claim that “the heroic period of colonization had ended and that French colonists were now able to interact with affluent, free, and happy natives of the occupied territories.” Marcel Ollivier, the chief designer of the exhibition, explained that he did not simply wish to “artificially reconstitut[e] an exotic ambiance.” Rather, Ollivier was motivated

---

<sup>82</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 171, 168.

by a larger impulse to “plac[e] before the eyes of the exposition’s visitors an impressive summary of the results of colonization, its present realities, and its future.”<sup>83</sup>

Senghor’s assimilationist views were echoed in many works of the Parisian “black intelligentsia” at this time. In the first issue of *La Revue du Monde Noir*, the co-editing Nardal sisters featured several articles reflecting an appreciation of the Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes. The author and director of the Comité Central d’Études reported on the participation of colonial students in the Central Education Committee’s congress, which was held during the Exhibition. He noted, “M. B. Ig. Pinto, in his Dahomean costume, expounded the conditions of cooperation between the two races in Africa, rightly arguing in favour of an actual synthesis between the different races. ... It is needless to say that we were satisfied to remark the role played by the black element during the convention....”<sup>84</sup>

A fellow Antillean and distant relative of the Nardals, Louis Achille published an essay on “The Negroes and Art” in the same issue. Achille reiterated the standard racialized rhetoric regarding African rhythm and physicality. Using dance to explain the racial links that reinforce the bonds of the Diaspora to the continent, he gave as examples “the particular importance attached to rhythm, the frequent use of intricate syncopation, and the very faces of the dancers themselves which express by turns pure joy, deep concern, and always an evident sincerity....”<sup>85</sup>

Andrée Nardal wrote a feature on the increasing popularity of the Antillean beguine, a pre-existing fad which she saw increasing in popularity due to the dance’s presence at the Colonial

---

<sup>83</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “De la liberté de l’âme ou élobe du métissage,” in Senghor, *Liberté I* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil: 1964), 99; in Elizabeth Harney, *In Senghor’s Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960-1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 38; 256n103; Andrew Dudley and Steven Ungar, *Popular Front Paris and the Poetics of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 301-302.

<sup>84</sup> E. Sicard, “A Meeting at the colonial Exhibition,” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 1 (1931): 61-2.

<sup>85</sup> Louis Achille, “The Negroes and Art,” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 1(1931): 28-31.

Exhibition. “Launched in Paris by the Negro dance halls,” she wrote, “its vogue was assured by Joséphine Baker who outlined the steps in ‘Paris qui remue’ at the Casino de Paris, so that now Negro cabarets are springing up like mushrooms at Montparnasse.” She did not share Achille’s view of the pan-African universality of various dances, however, insisting in the authenticity of West Indian performers. “It is to be deplored that the beguine should be presented to Parisians only under an obscene interpretation when it can express both a languorous grace and an extreme liveliness according to the changes in its tempo,” she complained. Nardal clarified for her readers the difference between the Antillean beguine and African American dance-music forms (as they were attributed to be by Parisians at the time), such as the blues or the Charleston: “The beguine differs from the ‘blues’ characterized by a swaying of the whole body and from the ‘Charleston’ which is nothing more than a rhythmic exercise,” she explained. In an authentic beguine, on the other hand (“as it is danced by the Creoles themselves,” Nardal clarified), “the performers do not embrace ... Instinctively, the Antillean musicians harmonize the melody so that there is no need of the score.”<sup>86</sup> Nardal at once extolled the authenticity and uniqueness of the beguine, while at the same time scorning both Parisian ineptitude and the lack of sophistication in other “African” forms of dance such as the blues and the Charleston (both seen as “African” during the interwar negrophilia years). These articles reflect a view shared among the assimilationist pan-Africanists, including Senghor, which valorized a distinctly hierarchical “Africanness” through a racialized, colonialist lens. For them, the exposition did not present any

---

<sup>86</sup> Andrée Nardal, “Notes on the Biguine créole (Folk dance),” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 2 (1931): 51-52.

moral conflict, because it represented a celebration of Africanity (among other colonial cultures) while at the same time confirming their position as elites.<sup>87</sup>

Not everyone felt as comfortable with the representation of colonial peoples at the exhibition, however. The more communist and revolutionarily minded pan-Africanists were repulsed by what they viewed as a racist, exploitive spectacle. Timothy Mitchell has written on the significance of space and layout in colonial expositions, noting that they didn't just "mimic the real world outside, but... superimpose[d] a framework of meaning over its innumerable races, territories, and commodities." At the Exposition Coloniale, "it was not always easy in Paris to tell where the exhibition ended and the world itself began."<sup>88</sup> No wonder, then, that critics did not see it as a coincidence that the colonial 'villages' were placed right next to the zoo.<sup>89</sup> "Twentieth century visitors to the colonial exhibitions could witness in the *cités indigènes* a microcosm of the new immigrant ghettos developing in France," writes Elizabeth Ezra.<sup>90</sup> The strong emotions of these critics spewed forth in the first edition of *Le Cri des Nègres*, a communist pan-African journal launched by Garan Kouyaté. The articles reveal a much more cynical and outraged perspective, one which implicated not only the French but those of their own race who were equally implicit in the racket. The author Saumane spared no words, calling the event a place "where the odious never ceases to compete with the grotesque." Saumane expressed his disgust at the hypocrisy of an event which "offers the most outward spectacle of

---

<sup>87</sup> Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 147.

<sup>88</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), xiv; 9.

<sup>89</sup> Hermann Lebovics, "Les zoos de l'exposition coloniale internationale de Paris en 1931," in N. Bancel, P. Blanchard, G. Boetsch, E. Deroo, and S. Lemaire (eds.), *Zoos humains: de la vénus hottentote aux reality shows* (Paris: Le Découverte), 367-373.

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Ezra, *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 24.

repugnant mercantilism,” while at the same time “millions and millions of men suffer in imperialist penal servitude.” The same author also drew attention to the unfair treatment of those being exhibited in the human zoos, euphemistically referred to as the “Jardin d’Acclimatation.” She exposed the blatant falsity of the entire enterprise, noting that the people on display felt “justly vexed at their [sic] role imposed on them and indignant at the shameful ways they are being exploited.” Moreover, the people in question did not simply passively accept the role assigned to them, but actively protested the impresario’s ill treatment of them and his many broken promises. Unfortunately, the protests only succeeded in bringing them further suffering, as the impresario responded by treating his prisoners even worse than he had before. “*Le cri des nègres* energetically protests against these vexations inflicted on our comrades,” she wrote. Saumane interviewed two West Africans who were living in the Exposition’s “Native Village” displays for the article, and one told her, “This isn’t what we were promised. We are anxious to return to our country.” One member of a Malagasy protested to Saumane, “We could never adapt to bourgeois life here with all its lies, illusions and hypocrisy. ... We have been duped.” An Antillean artisan mocked, “They should have called it the Exposition at Merchant and Orgy Park.”<sup>91</sup> In fact, it was no small feat that reporters from *Le Cri des Nègres* were able to infiltrate the fair and interview the so-called “exhibits” at all. The Service de Contrôle et Assistance en France des Indigènes des Colonies (CAI) was an office strictly devoted to “native surveillance and assistance” in collaboration with both French and colonial authorities. As I have mentioned earlier, spies had been trailing members of the pan-African community for some time,

---

<sup>91</sup> Saumane (Narcisse Danaé), “L’exposition coloniale internationale,” *Le Cri des Nègres* 1 (August, 1931): 1 and “La vérité sur les colonies,” (October, 1931.): 1.

particularly on those espousing increasingly anticolonialist and communist ideas.<sup>92</sup> This was not something the Francophone communists were unaware of, and undoubtedly they took whatever measures they could to protect themselves and be discreet.

Opponents of Paris's Exhibition Coloniale Internationale in Vincennes did not just voice their outrage in written form, but actually staged their own counter-exhibition as well. "The Truth About the Colonies" intentionally overlapped with the Colonial Exhibition. Unfortunately, "The Truth About the Colonies" has not received a significant amount of scholarly attention.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps due to the counter-exhibit's relatively meager size, budget, and number of visitors, not to mention the dearth of its archival legacy compared with that of the Colonial Exhibition, it has been largely forgotten or perhaps dismissed as peripheral to the overarching imperial project of colonial France. After all, colonial metropolises hosted many more world fairs and colonial exhibitions in the subsequent decades prior to independence without prompting any other counter-exhibitions. On the surface, these observations are logical. However, one could alternatively argue that the singularity of this event points to something uniquely powerful in the environment of early 1930s Paris that could trigger such a strong reaction. In light of the fact that this same unique environment ultimately gave birth to the first dreams of hosting a World Festival of Negro Arts in a future independent African nation, however, I believe "The Truth About the Colonies" deserves closer scrutiny.

---

<sup>92</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 156; Ndiaye, "Présence africaine avant *Présence africaine*," 74.

<sup>93</sup> A few notable exceptions: David Timothy Horn, *Telling the Truth About the Colonies: The Anti-Imperialist Exposition, Paris, 1931* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Ezra, *Colonial Unconscious*; Jody Blake, "The Truth About the Colonies, 1931: Art Indigène in Service of the Revolution," *Oxford Art Journal* 25/1 (2002): 37-58.

This counter-exhibit unveils the tensions within the pan-Africanist community during the interwar period and in fact foreshadows the counter-festival Algiers would host three years after FESMAN (the First Panafrican Cultural Festival, Algiers, 1969). It also situates Senghor's cultural and political philosophies within the context of the pan-African movement's disputing factions and reveals that from the beginning, FESMAN was never as "Panafrican" as it espoused. It was just as much a preemptively nationalist venture promoted by a faction of Senegalese under the guise of a pan-African one. One could even argue, in fact, that the same motivations lie behind President Wade's edition of FESMAN III in 2010. Senghor's politics clearly did not fit with those of the Anti-Imperialist League which officially sponsored the counter-exposition. Senghor was an assimilationist who argued for reform within the colonies during the interwar period, rather than their abolition; it was only after the Second World War that the anti-imperialist movement gained significant traction among moderates like Senghor.. Considering his political stance, one would assume that "The Truth About the Colonies" exhibit held little significance for Senghor. And indeed, I have found no reference to this counter-exhibit in his writings. However, it is difficult to overlook the fact that in many respects FESMAN's own motivations were not so far removed from those of the counter-exhibition. In both cases, a colonial-style event was subverted for anti-colonial / post-colonial purposes. In other words, "The Truth About the Colonies" and the first FESMAN both performed their own self-exhibitions, rather than simply being passively exhibited by their oppressors as evidence of imperial progress and racial superiority. In fact, "The Truth About the Colonies" could arguably be called the first pan-African cultural exhibition. While there had been plenty of pan-African Congresses by this time, never before had people staged such a directly confrontational counter-

representation of black culture vis-à-vis a colonial power. FESMAN was the first pan-African cultural exhibition hosted by an independent African country, and it certainly attracted more global attention than the counter-exhibition of 1931. Nevertheless, “The Truth About the Colonies” (like the Colonial Exhibition it was protesting) was FESMAN’s predecessor, whether directly or obliquely.

#### Senghor the Politician: A New Negritude for the Coming Postcolony

Senghor’s *Négritude*, unlike other more nativist-leaning postcolonial philosophies, did not have any qualms about accepting the legacies of the colonial. Senghor had already begun to establish his position vis-à-vis colonialism during his student days. After graduating and moving to Tours to teach French and classics to public school children, he continued to refine his philosophical and poetic writing. He emphasized reform from within the French system rather than direct confrontation with it.<sup>94</sup> Rather than attempting to disassociate from Europe entirely, as some wished to do, Senghor’s philosophy encouraged Africans “to assimilate European techniques while creating an iconography... drawn from pan-African visual traditions.”<sup>95</sup> Even though Senghor was initially reluctant to adopt a completely anti-colonial stance, however, his writings echoed a transition among his peers to a more continent-centered muse.

Throughout his residency in France, Senghor had been keeping in regular contact with the colonial administrators in Dakar, serving as a voice for the West African community in Paris particularly on educational matters. The colonial administration, for its part, appreciated the fact that Senghor’s popularity among his countrymen had not pushed to take too extreme a stance against the French state. In 1937, a pivotal year for Senghor, the French administration invited

---

<sup>94</sup> Vaillant, *Black, French, and African*, 108-116.

<sup>95</sup> Elizabeth Harney, “Les Chers Enfants’ Sans Papa,” *Oxford Art Journal* 19, 1 (1996): 42.

him to speak about colonial education at two important events which together helped launch his political career. First he was sent to Dakar to conduct research for a lecture he had been asked to give at the International Congress on the Cultural Evolution of Colonial Peoples, which would take place in Paris later that fall. While in Dakar, he was given the podium to speak at a Franco-Senegalese Friendship Society meeting in front of hundreds of the most important administrators, businessmen and politicians in French West Africa. The title of his talk was “The Problem of Culture in French West Africa.” In this speech, Senghor defined culture as “a racial reaction of man to his environment that tends toward an intellectual and moral equilibrium between man and his surroundings.” He then explained the importance of education as the means by which a child learns his culture. After a relatively benign introduction, Senghor caused a stir by suggesting that secondary education in Senegal followed a curriculum too similar to that of France, despite completely different cultures, histories, and environments. He argued instead for a bi-cultural curriculum that gave equal credence to both African and European modes of thought. Even more to the point, he stated, “the intellectuals have a mission to restore black values in their truth and excellence.” Interestingly, in this speech Senghor referred to jazz as an ideal stepping stone from which people could move from complete assimilation to a “biculturality” which embraced black “values” without denying the inescapable influence of over three hundred years of colonization. Jazz, argued Senghor, could express blackness in a way that words never could. “There is a certain flavour, a certain odor, a certain accent, a certain black timbre that cannot be expressed on European instruments. The inventors of hot jazz understood this...” This speech proved to be Senghor’s political debut; before returning to Paris, Senghor was named Inspector General of Education in West Africa, despite

having generated a considerable amount of controversy among the French and West African elites who favored total assimilation in education.<sup>96</sup>

Three weeks later, Senghor gave a version of the same speech at the International Congress on the Cultural Evolution of Colonial Peoples in Paris. A gifted politician, Senghor knew how to tailor his argument for a European audience. While still arguing for the benefits of bi-cultural education, he toned down the rhetoric and conceded certain advantages in the French system of education. Rather than stressing differences of opinion between Africans and French (although many Senegalese elite at this time agreed with France's total assimilation policy), Senghor emphasized that they were all in agreement in wanting West Africans to take a greater role in their own administration (if for different reasons). This second speech marked his Parisian political debut, and introduced the colonies and the metropole to his key positions on cultural and educational issues.<sup>97</sup>

Senghor was forced to take a brief hiatus from politics when he was conscripted to fight for France in 1939. In April of 1940 he was taken prisoner by the Germans, along with the rest of his all-black unit, shortly after they had all barely escaped being executed by firing squad. It was only a desperate intercession on their behalf by a brave Frenchman that saved them from slaughter.<sup>98</sup> He spent eighteen months in various prison camps in Vichy France and was released in 1942. For the remainder of the war, Senghor joined the efforts of the French resistance. Following the armistice, he quickly returned to politics, being elected alongside his mentor

---

<sup>96</sup> Vaillant, *Black, French, and African*, 152-154; Léopold Sédar Senghor, "The Problem of Culture in French West Africa," *Paris-Dakar* (September 7, 8, 10, and 11, 1937): 12-18; Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 73.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*: 160; 163.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*: 166-7.

Lamine Guèye as Deputy of the National Assembly (representing of Senegalese and Mauritanian subjects) in France.

At the end of World War II, Senghor's prominence as a moderate pan-Africanist in the face of more militant communists put him in a favorable position with the French colonial authorities, and he was soon elected as Deputy of Senegal.<sup>99</sup> According to Papa Samba Diop, Senghor's rise as a politician after 1945 marked the beginning of a transformation in his philosophy of negritude into something approaching a future cultural policy for an independent Senegal.<sup>100</sup> Senghor was aware that his intellectual philosophy of negritude was written by and for Francophone elites. The more involved in politics he became, the more Senghor understood the importance of translating his lofty sentiments into a new, more populist format. As independence became increasingly likely in the 1950s, Senghor focused more and more on incorporating a musical theory into his philosophy of negritude. By the time Senghor was elected Senegal's first president in 1960, music (or musical references) had become central to making negritude resonate with common citizens. Situating music and rhythm within the realm of the worker, he wrote, "...the Nègre, feeling himself in unison with the universe, works to the rhythm of songs and tom-toms. Black work, black rhythm, black joy is liberated by work and from work."<sup>101</sup> Here, Senghor connected rhythm to the physicality of labor and music more generally to the everyday life of a laborer. Rhythm, something he had been studying seriously

---

<sup>99</sup> Deputy of Senegal was an appointment akin to that of a Senegalese ambassador to France.

<sup>100</sup> Papa Samba Diop, "La négritude senghorienne. Une rétrospective historique," 2007; Originally published in *Léopold Sédar Senghor, Africainité-universalité*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2002, reprinted in *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*, Pierre Brunel, editor. Paris: Planète Libre: 1082.

<sup>101</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte," in Cardinal Verdier, *L'Homme de couleur* (Paris: Plon, 1939), 304; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 247.

for years, symbolized for Senghor something primal that transcended the intellect and spoke instead to both a physical and spiritual body, a pulse beating in time with the heart and soul of the continent itself no matter how separated one may be from it. “Rhythm,” wrote Senghor, “acts on what is least intellectual in us, despotically, to make us penetrate the spirituality of the object....”<sup>102</sup> This theme has been central to black cultural identity since the beginnings of pan-Africanism and continues to resonate strongly today.

Despite his political duties, Senghor maintained an active presence in the Francophone literary community and in 1948 helped Alioune Diop (whom he had first met during the war) seek funding for the new journal and publishing house *Présence Africaine*. Alioune Diop was still in Senegal in the 1930s while Senghor was pursuing his studies in Paris. Senegal in the 1930s was a relatively stable political environment with considerably more freedom than many other colonies of the time. Nevertheless, the 1930s marked a decade of struggle for cultural legitimacy in Senegal that would match their relative political autonomy.<sup>103</sup> Many Senegalese active in this struggle in Dakar would come to collaborate with Diop later for *Présence Africaine*. Lamine Senghor, another Senegalese who lived in Paris, founded *La voix des nègres* in Paris in 1926, as the official publication of the Committee for the Defense of the Black Race (Comité de défense de la race nègre). Lamine Senghor, along with Tiemoko Garan Kouyaté (both of whom would be executed by the Nazis in 1942), helped to distribute their journal *La race nègre* as well as *Le cri des nègres* not only throughout Paris but into Africa via maritime routes. This was by no means a benign undertaking: the two activists were being trailed by the

---

<sup>102</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 248.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 213; Frioux-Salgas, “*Présence Africaine*,” 7.

French secret police the whole time. Alioune Diop and another Senegalese writer, Birago Diop, were both suspected of being subscribers to *Le cri des nègres* and of being involved in its diffusion in Dakar. They, too, were under the watchful eye of the French authorities.<sup>104</sup>

By the 1940s, Alioune Diop had many friends in Parisian *Négritude* circles, both black and white. Having been involved in the anticolonial struggle for years at this point, Diop proposed the creation of two journals, *Découvertes* and *Présence Africaine*, in 1946. *Présence Africaine* was to be the Paris-based, francophone African base, and *Découvertes* its Senegalese counterpart in Dakar. In a letter soliciting the French surrealist writer and ethnographer Michel Leiris for support, he wrote that the journals would not “just [be] another political journal, but a cultural plan of action.”<sup>105</sup> Like Senghor, Diop knew that times were changing and that the more independence became a real possibility, the more words would need to be put into practice rather than remaining in the comforts of literary passivity. Understanding that support from among sympathetic French cultural elites would be crucial to the success of the publication, however, Diop also solicited and obtained support of key literary figures including Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Richard Wright, Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Damas, René Maran, Michel Leiris, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, among others.

As he emphasized in his letter to Leiris, Diop hoped *Présence Africaine* would be more than just a publication, but an association of Francophone Africans and other supporters who would provide structural support in helping to encourage African youth to take pride in their culture. To further this goal, Diop formed Les Amis de Présence Africaine (Friends of Présence

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid: 10-11. (from Archives Michel Leiris, Laboratoire d’anthropologie sociale, fr/cdf/las/FML-E 01-01-143; in Frioux-Salgas, “*Présence Africaine*,” 10).

Africaine) in 1947, to be based in Dakar. Its mission was to actively encourage cultural and social projects among African youth, namely:

- 1) From the cultural point of view, through the creation of: a) literary sections (libraries, study circles, conferences), b) musical sections (classical music listening groups, the creation of orchestras...), theatrical sections.
- 2) From the social point of view, through the development of: a) youth movements (scouting, tourism), b) sports (tennis, ping-pong, athleticism...)

[1] au point de vue culturel par la création: a) de sections littéraires (bibliothèques, cercle d'étude, conférences), b) de sections musicales (auditions de morceaux classiques, constitution d'orchestres...), c) de sections théâtrales. 2) au point de vue social par le développement: a) des mouvements de jeunesse (scoutisme, tourisme...), b) des sports (tennis, ping-pong, athlétisme...)...]<sup>106</sup>

Despite their political differences, Diop's proposal closely foreshadows Senghor's cultural policy for the nation of Senegal following its independence in 1960.

Throughout the 1950s, Senghor's political career continued to blossom. Politically, by 1948 he had parted ways with Guèye as well as Alioune Diop, continuing to develop a political voice more independent of metropolitan interests. He continued to develop as a writer, as well, publishing key literary works including *Ethiopiennes* (1956). Meanwhile, *Présence Africaine* (both the journal and the association) took off quickly, soon becoming the heart and soul of Paris's pan-African movement. Among the association's many activities, *Présence Africaine* held regular salons featuring guest speakers on various subjects, including ethnography, economics, sociology, and literature. One of its most significant feats was the creation of the First Black Artists and Writer's Congress, held in Paris in 1956. This conference brought together an incredibly diverse group of black intellectuals from all over the world. It was a symbolic moment, both politically and culturally, in the Francophone pan-Africanist

---

<sup>106</sup> (Archives Michel Leiris, Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, fr/cdf/las/FML-E 01-01-113, in Frioux-Salgas, "Présence Africaine," 12).

movement. At the congress, Diop formed the Société Africaine de Culture (SAC) in order to immediately put into place an association whose primary task would be the organization of the Second Black Artists and Writer's Congress, to be held in Rome in 1959. Its executive and advisory board included the best black talent of its day: Josephine Baker, Louis Armstrong, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Catherine Dunham, Habib Benglia (actor), Alexandre Biyidi, Amos Tutuolo, Hampâthé Bâ (writers), Cheikh Anta Diop (scientist), Frantz Fanon, Édouard Glissant (poet), Aimé Césaire, René Maran, George Padmore (communist activist), Jacques Rabemananjara (poet), and Jean Price-Mars (ethnographer).<sup>107</sup>

Despite his political differences with Diop, Senghor enthusiastically participated in Diop's first pan-African cultural conference, the First Congress of Black Writers and Artists, held in Paris in 1956. At this Congress, the subject of negritude was a topic of avid debate, with prominent figures such as Richard Wright, Aimé Césaire, Senghor, and Franz Fanon all addressing its advantages and disadvantages, its nuances and larger significance. One of the largest points of contention lay between unity and diversity; participants debated whether or not it was more important to emphasize the shared cultural legacy among blacks as a common force against white racism or to celebrate the unique diversity among black cultures around the world.<sup>108</sup>

In 1958, the year of DeGaulle's historic referendum in which all of the West African colonies were given the option of remaining a part of the French Union or declaring independence, only Guinea chose complete separation. Just a year later, however, when Rome

---

<sup>107</sup> Frioux-Salgas, "Présence Africaine," 15.

<sup>108</sup> Vaillant, *Black, Frech and African*, 286-289.

hosted the SAC's Second Black Writers and Artists Congress, independence was clearly on the horizon for the rest of the French colonies, too.<sup>109</sup> At the Congress, the SAC officially called for an international black arts festival of unprecedented proportions to be held, for the first time, in an independent state on the continent itself. Senghor had by this time become a probable candidate for the future Senegalese presidency. He volunteered [find source] that Dakar, which would become the capital of the independent nation of Senegal, would host, and Diop, as Secretary-General of the SAC, seemed like a logical choice to head the festival's organization. Following the break-up of the short-lived Mali Federation (a political alliance between Mali and Senegal), Senegal became an independent country in April of 1960, along with (-teen) other former French colonies / mostly Francophone nations / African nations. Senghor was elected its first president, and planning for FESMAN was already well underway.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid: 296-297.

<sup>110</sup> Mineke Schipper-de leeuw, *Le blanc vu d'Afrique: le blanc et l'occident au miroir du roman négro africain de langue française, des origines au Festival de Dakar, 1920-1966* (Yaoundé: Éditions CLE, 1973), 3; Davidson Nicol, "Alioune Diop and the African Renaissance," *African Affairs* 78, 310 (Jan, 1979): 3-8; Vaillant, *Black, French and African*, 298-9.

CHAPTER TWO  
FROM PAN-AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY TO NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY:  
SENGHOR, NEGRITUDE, AND THE FIRST WORLD FESTIVAL  
OF NEGRO ARTS, DAKAR, 1966

In Chapter One, I argued that the polyphonic soundscape of negrophiliac Paris, where music from African America, the Caribbean, and South America were in constant conversation, contributed significantly to the articulation of Senghor's idealized notion of cultural blackness. Edwards' theory of diasporic *décalage* provided a lens through which to read Senghor's musical negritude, a sound-infused imaginary universal that unified an inherently diverse black diaspora. In this chapter I will expand my use of *décalage* as a musical concept in order to trace how, following independence, negritude transformed into an increasingly performative cultural policy. Once Senghor's philosophy became institutionalized in 1960, its foundational context shifted drastically. One of the primary dreams behind pan-African philosophies such as negritude was to gain African autonomy and cultural legitimacy, if not complete independence from colonization. In order for negritude to remain viable in a postcolonial era, then, it would need to adapt to the very different and pressing needs of new nationhood. As such, negritude as a word on a page became superseded by negritude as an active force for national unification. FESMAN marked the political and cultural debut performance of this postcolonial reconfiguration of negritude. Just as, in Paris, black music provided the muse for Senghor's writings and served to unify, via an imagined universal, the dis-articulations of conflicting black worlds, so now black

music as it was performed at FESMAN simultaneously reinforced and contested the inherent disunion of black identity.

Before turning to the FESMAN's first actual musical performances and their influence on cultural policy, which will be the subject of Chapter Three, I will devote this chapter to an analysis of the significance of this inaugural event on a broader geopolitical scale. By way of introduction, I will briefly trace the path of the festival from its conception at the Rome Black Artists and Writers Conference of 1959 (where we left off in the last chapter) to its launch in 1966. I will then move on to consider the event's implications from three crucial perspectives: national politics, scholarly discourse, and the postcolonial reimagination of the past.

*On the Road to FESMAN: 1959-1966*

Alioune Diop's two pet projects, the newly inaugurated press house, *Présidence Africaine* (1948), and the accompanying social and cultural network known as the Société Africaine de Culture, or SAC (1957), galvanized to create the first World Festival of Negro Arts as soon as possible upon the independence of the Francophone West African countries. By the time Rome hosted the second Black Artists and Writers Congress in 1959, the question of independence was no longer one of "if" but "when" and "how." Therefore, the Rome Congress took on more of a strategic role than the previous conferences in Paris (1956) and Bandung (1955). The seed that Diop had planted at the Paris Congress had ripened enough by 1959 to be considered a definitive plan. To make it official, Diop published the Rome Congress's formal resolution in *Présence Africaine* shortly thereafter:

It is incumbent upon the Congress to institute, as an essential part of its activities, a celebratory festival [to take place] during the

[next] Congress. This festival should be supported by the diverse African governments represented at the Congress. The festival should consist of song, drums and dance, and perhaps also dramatic readings of plays and poems. These activities should take place over the course of the Congress session. The festival should be accompanied by an excellent art exhibition organized by Africans and people of African descent. The diverse governments should be contacted by the Congress so that they can lend their support to this festival and exhibition. ... It should culminate as a fine art and performance event of the utmost importance during the Congress to demonstrate the vitality and excellence of African culture.

[Il incombe au congrès d'instituer, comme une partie essentielle de ses activités, un festival à célébrer pendant la réunion du congrès. Ce festival doit être soutenu par les divers gouvernements africains qui sont représentés par le congrès. Le festival doit comporter du chant, de la batterie et de la danse, et peut-être aussi des lectures de pièces dramatiques et de poésie. Ces activités devront se dérouler au cours de la session du congrès. Le festival doit être étayé d'une excellente exposition d'art organisée par des Africains et des peuples d'ascendance africaine. Les divers gouvernements doivent être contactés par le congrès pour qu'ils donnent leur appui à ce festival et à cette exhibition. ... Il faut se rendre nettement compte qu'une manifestation des arts plastiques et d'action au cours du congrès est de la plus haute importance pour démontrer la vitalité et l'excellence de la culture africaine.]<sup>111</sup>

By 1959, Léopold Sédar Senghor had emerged as a political force to be reckoned with and was the leading contender for the Presidency of new Senegalese nation. Diop had been closely connected to Senghor, Césaire and Damas for many years and while Senghor never did publish any of his writings with *Présence Africaine*, he and Diop were clearly on the same page concerning the importance of proving Africa's cultural worth on the world stage. Senghor astutely used the Rome Congress floor to preach his philosophy of a *civilisation de l'universel* that could only be fully realized with the saving grace of African culture. He argued for the need of a functional, engaged art culture, that is to say, art made "by all and for all." Outlining what

---

<sup>111</sup> Alioune Diop, "Deuxième Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs: Rome, 26 mars-1er avril 1959.", t. 1: "L'unité des cultures négro-africaines," *Présence Africaine* 24-25 (1959): 417; in Éloi Ficquet and Lorraine Gallimardet, "'On ne peut nier longtemps l'art nègre': Enjeux du colloque et de l'exposition du Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres de Dakar en 1966," *Gradhiva* 10 (2009), 136-7.

he considered to be the fundamental characteristics of such an ideal black-inspired civilization, Senghor emphasized rhythm and the “image-symbol” to be two of its most definitive elements. Diop, for his part, served as a kind of pragmatic “middle-man” between the lofty poeticism of Senghor’s vision of *négritude*’s global contribution to that of a *civilisation de l’universel* and the Marxist idealism of Césaire.<sup>112</sup>

Given that the two most ardent promoters of the FESMAN cause (Senghor and Diop) were both Senegalese, their future nation’s capital of Dakar seemed an obvious choice as the site to premiere the first FESMAN. Needless to say, however, the choice of Dakar had just as much to do with the strong political influence of the Francophone African community at the pan-African Congresses, which Diop and his Société Africain de Culture (SAC) had organized. Nevertheless, Dakar did also have certain strategic advantages which later editions of the festival or its counterparts (Algiers, Lagos) did not: first, given its maritime locale and relatively north-western position, it was and had been a flourishing international port for centuries; second, as the westernmost point on the African continent, Dakar could literally claim to be the closest geographically to the diaspora; and third, the city had a comparatively modern transportation system which would facilitate a large number of visitors. In the Festival program, the city is touted as the ideal location for such a pan-African gathering, being “at the crossroads of Europe, the Americas, and Africa.”<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Éléments constructifs d’une civilisation d’inspiration négro-africaine,” *Présence Africaine* 24-25 (1959): 249-279; in Éloi Ficquet et Lorraine Gallimardet, “On ne peut nier longtemps l’art nègre’: Enjeux du colloque et de l’exposition du Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres de Dakar en 1966,” *Gradhiva* 10 (2009), 137-8; Marc-Vincent Howlett and Romuald Fonkoua, “La maison *Présence Africaine*,” *Gradhiva*, 112.

<sup>113</sup> FESMAN [Livre d’or], “Objectives,” *Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres* (Dakar, Senegal: Premier Festival des arts nègres, and Paris: Secrétariat d’État aux Affaires étrangères chargé de la Coopération, 1966), 35.

Dakar had been chosen as the festival's host city even before Senghor presidency had been inaugurated, but for his first two years in office he needed to focus primarily on consolidating his power. It had become clear early on that Senghor and his Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia, had conflicting political agendas. In addition to his duties as Prime Minister, Dia was also the country's Minister of Defence, and in this role he had begun to assert his own political will independent of Senghor. By 1962 these tensions came to a head and Senghor, in a move far more Machiavellian than he is often remembered for, had Dia arrested, tried, and imprisoned for attempting an alleged coup d'état.<sup>114</sup> Once Senghor had consolidated his power, or at least taken care of the most obvious immediate threat to it, he broadcast his plans for FESMAN in an official public address on Senegalese National Radio. As a part of a culturally-centered political agenda, Senghor announced on February 4<sup>th</sup> that the festival would be held in two years' time in the spring of 1964. Having witnessed the unifying and lucrative power of black music in 1930s Paris, Senghor believed strongly that where culture led, money would follow. The President hoped to rally the Senegalese public behind his *cause-célèbre* and convince them that despite its enormous cost, such an endeavor was in the best interests of the nation. "Our grand design," Senghor explained, "... [is] to realize at the same time both economic and cultural development, the production of goods and of men." To leave no room for doubt in his address, Senghor clarified the nature of his pan-African-infused national cultural policy once again: "The festival will be an illustration of negritude," he spoke, offering "a positive contribution to the edification of Universal Civilization. In sum, we will never cease to

---

<sup>114</sup> Dia was sentenced to life in prison, but was ultimately released after twelve years. See Peter Baxter, "Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Life of a French African," *Peter Baxter Africa* (blog), 2012, <http://peterbaxterafrica.com/index.php/2012/11/19/leopold-sedar-senghor-the-life-of-a-french-african/> (accessed 15 March 2014).

be the consumators, to be, finally!, we, too, the producers of civilization.”<sup>115</sup> It soon became apparent, however, that this date was far too optimistic given the logistical complexities of hosting such a large-scale international festival and the somewhat limited resources of a still nascent government. The organization proceeded in fits and starts, with festival commissioners dropping like flies along the way. Being responsible for a festival of such magnitude was a burden for even the most ambitious of men; for the faint of heart, it was simply too much of a political liability. Ultimately Soulayeman Sidibe took the helm, finally succeeding in bringing the festival to fruition in 1966 after a two-year delay.<sup>116</sup>

Out of necessity as well as a desire to present Senegal to the world in as modern and sophisticated a light as possible, Senghor invested a stunning percentage of the nation’s total budget on cultural development. Twenty-five to thirty percent of the entire national budget was reserved for the Ministry of Culture. As for the production of the Festival itself, the final pricetag would exceed the projected budget by 200,710,000 CFA (over three million in today’s U.S. dollars).<sup>117</sup> This amount does not even take into account the extensive investment in new infrastructure that was required to accommodate and impress the large numbers of tourists the

---

<sup>115</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Message du président Senghor au peuple sénégalais,” (speech, Radio National Sénégalais, Dakar, February 4, 1963), National Archives of Senegal, FESMAN dossier; Ficquet and Gallimardet, “On ne peut nier longtemps l’art nègre,” 138.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid: 139 and Senegalese National Archives, FESMAN collection. Please see appendices for more details about the festival’s planning and organization.

<sup>117</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, “Introduction,” *Anthology of Contemporary Fine Arts in Senegal*, eds. Friedrich Axt and El Hadji Moussa Babacar Sy (Frankfurt/Main: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1989), 20; in Elizabeth Harney, *In Senghor’s Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960-1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 49; FESMAN, “Final Financial Report,” (1966), Senegalese National Archives, FESMAN Collection, Folder 031. For the currency conversion, I consulted [http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof\\_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966](http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966) (accessed April 19, 2014) and <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=422%2C458&year1=1966&year2=2014> (accessed April 19, 2014). Note: CFA is the currency of most former French colonies in West Africa (CFA stands for *colonies françaises d’afrique*); it is the standard West African Franc and referred to in day-to-day-parlance simply as a “franc.” Note also that this is a sum of gross expenses only and does not take the Festival’s financial profits into account (see appendices for more details).

festival organizers hoped to draw. Some of the most expensive and noteworthy among these projects were the new 1200-seat Daniel Sorano National Theatre; the Musée Dynamique, an air-conditioned facility devoted to showcasing the Exhibition of Traditional African Art (or the ‘classical arts of Africa’); a new terminal at the Yoff Airport, the artisanal village of Soumbédioune, and a group of 100 bungalows at N’Gor. In addition, the port was renovated to accommodate docking cruise liners, shantytowns were demolished and reborn as new avenues, and parking lots were constructed.<sup>118</sup> Senegal was not left to shoulder these financial burdens alone, however. As invested in Senegal’s success as Senghor, France had clear motivations of its own for supporting the President’s endeavor and FESMAN’s production would ultimately never have been possible without significant financial and technological contributions from its former colonizer. In addition, the United States took a keen political interest in Senegalese affairs, well aware that the country had socialist leanings and that the USSR was also lending its support. In the end, the U.S. contributed more financially than even France.<sup>119</sup>

President Senghor and the Senegalese FESMAN Committee considered the United States’ participation in the Festival crucial to the event’s success and maintained close contact with the U.S. Committee throughout the planning stages. While the distinctive appeal of African-American arts, and especially music, certainly contributed to the perceived significance

---

<sup>118</sup> FESMAN [Livre d’or]. 1966. “Objectives.” *Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres*. Dakar, Senegal: Premier Festival des arts nègres, and Paris: Secrétariat d’État aux Affaires étrangères chargé de la Coopération: 35; and Ficquet, Éloi and Lorraine Gallimardet. “On ne peut nier longtemps l’art nègre’: En jeux du colloque et de l’exposition du Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres de Dakar en 1966”. 2009. *Gradhiva* 10: 139.

<sup>119</sup> The USSR offered logistical support in the form of several cruise liners docked at Dakar’s port, which served as additional hotel logings for foreign guests. In addition, the USSR sent two of its most famous poets, Yvgeny Yevtushenko and Evgeni Dolmatovsky to represent its cultural assets, much in the same way that the US sent its jazz musicians all over the world to propagandize US political interests during the Cold War. (See Penny von Eschen. 2006. *Satchmo Blows up the World!: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.); FESMAN [Livre d’or]. 1966. “Organization.” *Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres*. Dakar, Senegal: Premier Festival des arts nègres, and Paris: Secrétariat d’État aux Affaires étrangères chargé de la Coopération: 16.

of an American festival presence, economic and political motivations were never far from the surface. In fact, I would argue that the latter two were deeply intertwined and inextricably linked with the former. At the fourth meeting of the U.S. Committee, the Senegalese Ambassador to the United States, Ousmane Soce Diop, made a special appearance. He expressed his country's gratitude to the Chairman of the U.S. Committee, Mrs. Virginia Inness-Brown, for her tireless work in organizing America's participation at the Festival. He then addressed the U.S. Committee, calling America's participation "the hope of the Festival."<sup>120</sup> Senegal's investment in an American Festival presence had already been clearly emphasized prior to Ambassador Diop's presence at the January 21 meeting. Through President Senghor's placement of Charles Delgado, the Deputy Chief of the Senegalese Mission to the United Nations, as the official Senegalese liaison to the U.S. Committee, the President ensured the direct communication of his wishes and priorities. Delgado helped the Committee to work in tandem with Senghor's framework and aided in the resolution of information gaps or differences of opinion between the two countries.

President Senghor took no chances, however, and often communicated directly with Mrs. Virginia Innes-Brown through both written correspondence and teletype transactions. Through such interactions, America's program was closely monitored by the Senegalese president from the very beginning of the U.S. Committee's formation. Senghor pushed for the Theatre Committee to program Langston Hughes' "Black Nativity," a "gospel song play" in the authors'

---

<sup>120</sup> FESMAN United States Committee Minutes, January 21, 1965: 1, Press Agent's Files: 1965-1966, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library ("U.S. Committee minutes" hereafter cited as USCM; "Press Agent's Files: 1965-66" hereafter cited as Press Agent MSS).

own words, at an estimated budget of \$20,000.<sup>121</sup> He specifically requested that the dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham, whom he had already designated as an official Cultural Advisor to Senegal for 1965-66, is the Chairman of the Dance Committee, a position she could not accept due to prior commitments. In addition, he clarified to Mrs. Inness-Brown that he wanted an American jazz group, an African-American chorus, and a singer of spirituals to perform. Senghor's artistic requests to Mrs. Inness-Brown reflected a growing embrace of African-American music, particularly since the beginning of African decolonization, as Africa's own lost music. African-American culture, and especially its music (because it was the most widely and readily available African-American art on the continent at the time), proved to newly emergent African nations that "negritude" was indeed possible in a postcolonial world; in fact, that negritude's moment had finally arrived.

Following independence, music provided a populist mouthpiece for what had formerly been a primarily literary medium, albeit one full of musical references. For a largely illiterate general populace, literary negritude would no longer suffice to unite a nation. Music, easily disseminated across vast differences and readily consumed across linguistic and ethnic boundaries, provided an ideal medium to translate Senghor's elite philosophy into something applicable on the ground. Because African-American music, especially jazz, symbolized to many the fusion of diverse influences (European, Caribbean, African) into a distinct cultural phenomenon that neither denied its colonial past nor was passively servile to it, it offered proof and inspiration to Senghor and other likeminded politicians that a uniquely postcolonial Negritude was possible. U.S. Committee member Frederick O'Neal expressed a common

---

<sup>121</sup> USCM, November 6, 1964: 8, Frederick O'Neal Papers, 1914-2001. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library (hereafter cited as O'Neal MSS); USCM, January 21, 1965: 9, Press Agent MSS.

sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic when he said that “it is very important to place an appropriate emphasis on jazz as one of the few unique contributions the United States has made to world culture.”<sup>122</sup> In this way, Senghor’s dream of providing a performative venue for Negritude via the First World Festival of Negro Arts remained a constant presence throughout the U.S. Committee’s organization process and directly influenced American programming. President Senghor had made it clear to Mrs. Inness-Brown from the beginning that African-American jazz would be crucial to the U.S. program. As explained above, it was claimed by many Africans as their own “lost” art, while simultaneously representing a postcolonial hybrid music that could be perceived as a national music and claimed as a distinctly “black” cultural phenomenon. It therefore represented to Senghor an ideal cultural model to inspire his own citizens.

While Senghor the poet could certainly appreciate the literary merit of *Black Nativity*, a play written by one of the most celebrated writers of the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes, it is no coincidence that the President chose this musically oriented piece over the author’s many other theatre works. *Black Nativity*, described by Hughes as a “gospel song play,” was an ideal choice for Senghor for several reasons.<sup>123</sup> First, it was initially requested when the Festival was still scheduled for December 17, 1965-January 6, 1966. Senghor was hoping to have the dePaur gospel chorus, under the direction of Leonard dePaur, perform on Christmas Eve at the National Cathedral. *Black Nativity* would have fit in perfectly with the Christmas theme. The President appreciated the opportunity the initial dates provided to celebrate the Christian holiday in a

---

<sup>122</sup> USCM, January 21, 1965: 5, Press Agent MSS.

<sup>123</sup> Sharyn Skeeter, “Black Nativity by Langston Hughes: A Musical African-American Holiday Tradition,” *Suite 101* (blog), February 1, 2007, [http://african-american-playwrights.suite101.com/article.cfm/black\\_nativity\\_by\\_langston\\_hughes](http://african-american-playwrights.suite101.com/article.cfm/black_nativity_by_langston_hughes) (accessed 15 March 2014).

distinctly “black” fashion through the performance of African-American gospels and spirituals and with *Black Nativity*.

Senegal was 90% Muslim, however, and part of the reason the Festival was ultimately postponed until April was that Senghor belatedly realized that Ramadan would be falling a week before Christmas in 1965. The Islamic holiday would have severely curtailed the local presence at the Festival. Senghor, a Catholic whose father was a priest, was clearly in the minority and had overlooked this enormous detail. The fact that *Black Nativity* remained on the docket after the Festival’s dates had been changed to coincide with Easter rather than Christmas, however, shows that the play’s appeal for Senghor was more than just its timeliness. For Senghor, it reflected the way Negritude could be expressed in a populist fashion. Langston Hughes had himself compared the concept of “Negritude” to the African-American concept of “soul.”<sup>124</sup> While in practice much differentiates gospel and soul musical genres, to Senghor “soul” was a useful signifier for African American musical Negritude.

To contextualize the United States’ involvement in the Dakar festival as well as the wide acclaim its African-American artists received abroad, we should consider the following: Kennedy had been assassinated in 1963, to be replaced by President Johnson, who by 1966 still lacked the widespread appeal of his predecessor; despite the passing of civil rights and voting acts of 1964, racial tensions continued, as reflected in Malcolm X’s assassination in 1965; the international community increasingly disapproved of US actions in Vietnam, in addition to a growing discontent at home through anti-war protests; international critique of American “coziness” with apartheid-era South Africa; suspicion (correct, it turns out) that the US had been

---

<sup>124</sup> *West Africa* (April 30, 1966): 482.

involved in supplying arms to Portugal to maintain colonial control in Angola; and finally, the suspicions (also correct) that the US had been involved in two very recent coups in the Congo (November 1965, when Mobutu became president) and in Ghana (with the ousting of Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966, a mere two months before the Dakar festival). To President Johnson, the Dakar festival offered the US a chance to “showcase ‘nonmilitary programs’ essential for ‘developing attitudes favorable to the West.’” Cold War politics was naturally embroiled in this agenda. The result was a “cultural blitz” of African-American talent to improve the US image problem in Africa. Some criticized this use of African-American artists as “Cold War weapons” to publicize America’s level of democracy, freedom, and progress civil rights.<sup>125</sup> Of course, the state department had not counted on its sponsored artists having separate agendas of their own. Counter to the state department’s official narrative, writes Von Eschen, black artists exercised their own agency in “interact[ing] with African audiences in ways that challenged the organizing principles of the performing-arts tours.”<sup>126</sup>

Having long recognized the viability of American (and particularly African—American) jazz as a cultural ‘weapon’ of the Cold War, the U.S. State Department was committed to sending a large group to the Festival. Faced with their own budgetary limitations, however, it was initially suggested to the U.S. Committee that a student jazz group be selected through national competition to perform at FESMAN. Even within the State Department, however, this suggestion was never wholeheartedly embraced as it directly conflicted with the government’s mission of advertising the appeal of ‘Freedom’ (i.e., capitalism, rather than communism) through

---

<sup>125</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 148-151; 160.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*, 160.

professional performances by the country's top artists. When proposed to the Committee it was almost immediately rejected; all were aware of jazz's unique role at the Festival and the emphasis placed upon the genre by Senghor. A student group simply would not suffice to convey the appropriate national message. It was rather quickly moved, therefore, to reject the State Department's initial offer and to request that they fund a more professional ensemble. Given the Department's initial reluctance, they soon consented to the Committee's motion.<sup>127</sup>

With the professional level of the jazz group or groups no longer in question, Music Committee members began to offer their suggestions for possible ensembles. Jazz pianist Randy Weston was introduced as a new member of the U.S. Committee at the December 11, 1964 meeting, the same day in which his quintet was proposed as a possible performer.<sup>128</sup> Dr. Marshall W. Stearns, author of the famous textbook, *The Story of Jazz* (1956) and Executive Director of the newly established Institute of Jazz Studies at Hunter College in New York City, was given the assignment of compiling the Music Committee's suggestions into a single jazz program to propose to the rest of the U.S. Committee. Stearns worked the State Department to hire Quincy Jones, whom he considered "the ideal man" to form a big band, in part because Stearns felt that Jones' position as vice-president of Mercury Records would allow him to "get any jazz musician that he wants."<sup>129</sup>

U.S. Committee Co-Chairman Dr. John Davis, of the American Society of African Culture, expressed concern at sending a massive big band (such as Duke Ellington's, an obvious

---

<sup>127</sup> USCM, December 11, 1964: 4, O'Neal MSS.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>129</sup> Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); USCM, January 21, 1965: 5, Press Agent MSS.

contender and a Music Committee member). He worried that such a group would come across as too formal for African audiences, and that individual performers would provide a less off-putting and more personal experience for the listeners. Realizing that omitting a big band was never an option (the State Department signed on to send one from the beginning, and Senghor had already made his expectations clear), Dr. Davis suggested the inclusion of both a large ensemble and a few individual performers. As examples of solo jazz artists, Davis mentioned Oscar Peterson, Lena Horne, Stan Getz, Miles Davis, Louis Armstrong, and Dizzy Gillespie.<sup>130</sup>

The ambiguity of how broadly or narrowly to interpret the concept of “Negro Arts” led to numerous debates about American programming. One point of contention centered on whether or not it was acceptable to include non-black artists. While the U.S. Committee minutes do not reveal an explicit conversation about race with regard to Stan Getz, it did come up at the same meeting concerning the inclusion of an Afro-Cuban ensemble. Dr. Stearns thought that he thought drumming was “always successful” and would go over well with an African audience. He suspected that sending an Afro-Cuban group to Dakar would be a tremendous success. Dick Campbell, the Committee’s administrative assistant and Director of Operation Crossroads Africa, relayed his experiences of touring an Afro-Cuban ensemble, which included Herbie Mann, Doc Cheatham and Cozie Cole, throughout Africa to much acclaim. Cozie Cole, he noted, was a particular sensation. Dr. Stearns countered that this was a “hybrid group.” Alvin Ailey pointed out that there was a brilliant Asian-American dancer in his troupe; it was concluded that as long as the majority were black, and those that weren’t were in the service of an African American artistic vision, then it would be acceptable.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> USCM, November 6, 1964: 5, O’Neal MSS.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 5-6.

The vagaries of what exactly constituted “Negro Art” continued into the next meeting a month later, when the Greek classic play “Medea” was proposed by the Theatre Committee. It was debated whether it was more desirable to prove the equal talents of black actors by casting them in traditional white roles, or to showcase the unique artistic contributions that reflected contemporary African-American life. Mr. Delgado, the Senegalese representative at the Committee meetings, explained that while it was true that across Africa there was a significant interest and respect for the Greek classics, they were outside of the scope of FESMAN. In this case, the goal was to “enlarge [black peoples’] philosophy of world culture.” To emphasize his point, Delgado argued that “in the case of an individual artist, such as a singer, it is relatively immaterial whether the music sung is essentially Negro; however, when the production is the chief center of attention it should express in itself Negro thought and intelligence.”<sup>132</sup>

Not everyone at the meeting agreed with Mr. Delgado’s statement about music. Mr. Larney Goodkind, representative at committee meetings for the renowned operatic baritone William Warfield, asked early on if (Western / European) classical music would be a part of the American program. Dr. Davis said that the State Department was interested in sending a soloist who would already be performing in Europe around the time of the Festival, and that this performer would likely be a classical artist. Mr. Hill suggested that if that were the case, African-American composers’ works should be included in the classical program, and choir director Leonard dePaur suggested that William Warfield would be an ideal interpreter of these songs.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, December 11, 1964: 7.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, November 6, 1964: 7.

At the following meeting in December, it was proposed that in addition to incorporating the pre-existing works of African-American classical composers into the program, it would be ideal to commission a new work for the occasion of the Festival which could be performed by the dance company. William Grant Still was mentioned as a possible candidate on the grounds that “his work generally derives from a racial basis and would be in context with the Festival.” Still was an ideal candidate for his many “firsts” as an African-American in what remains a largely white classical music world: he was the first African-American in the United States to have a symphonic work performed by one of the country’s major orchestras, the first to conduct a major orchestra himself (the Los Angeles Philharmonic, in 1936), and to do so in the segregated South (New Orleans Philharmonic in 1955). He was also the first to have an opera produced by a major American company, and the first African-American to conduct an all-white radio orchestra in New York City. Unfortunately, Dance Chairman and choreographer Arthur Mitchell’s warning that such a commission would end up being quite expensive (four weeks to choreograph the work, six weeks to rehearse it, not to mention the composer’s and musicians’ fees) was indeed the case, and the project was ultimately rejected due to lack of funds.<sup>134</sup>

Leonard dePaur, leader of the renowned dePaur choir and Music Committee member, reminded his colleagues not to forget that Africa had a number of promising young composers, and that to date they had no opportunities to hear their works performed in their own countries. DePaur hoped to raise private funds (outside of the U.S. Committee budget, which was also largely supported by private funds) to send a sixty-piece African-American orchestra to Dakar

---

<sup>134</sup> “William Grant Still (1895-1978): Biographical Notes,” William Grant Still Music and the Master-Player Library, [www.williamgrantstill.com/wgsbiography](http://www.williamgrantstill.com/wgsbiography) (accessed 15 March 2014); USCM, December 11, 1964: 10-11, O’Neal MSS.

for the purpose of premiering the works of African composers. He acknowledged that the project would be logistically challenging and a massive financial undertaking, estimating that it would cost between \$60,000 and \$75,000 (the equivalent of \$400,000 to \$500,000 in today's currency).<sup>135</sup> With the U.S. Committee struggling to convince corporate sponsors to contribute to their own budget, it comes as no surprise that dePaur was unable to raise the necessary funds for his orchestra project.

In reality, the festival exposed the contradiction between the United States' show of support for African-Americans abroad and the unabated level of discrimination African-Americans still faced at home. Additionally, the agendas of the State Department were often at odds with those of the artists themselves, including conflicting stances on Cold War politics. Ongoing debates and contentions about negritude, both among Africans and African-Americans, also further divided artists and delegates.<sup>136</sup> Esteemed dancer and choreographer Alvin Ailey offered his own contrary opinion about the state of civil rights in America live on the National Radio of Senegal during the festival: "In the US we have a little problem, as you know. They think we're not first-class citizens... They don't recognize [our music and dance] for what it is." While the State Department saw the festival a "triumph of American culture" and a show of American "color-blind universalism," Duke Ellington interpreted the festival as an "affirmation of African diasporic ties" and Alvin Ailey felt it was "first and foremost a global platform for demonstrating the beauty and dignity of African-American culture." Additionally, musical genres themselves often projected contrary messages to what the state department intended. The

---

<sup>135</sup> "The Inflation Calculator," Westegg, [www.westegg.com/inflation/](http://www.westegg.com/inflation/) [accessed 15 March 2014].

<sup>136</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 153-160.

highly successful gospel performances “tended to convey an oppositional rather than a racially integrated image of American culture,” von Eschen writes.<sup>137</sup>

*FESMAN and the Pan-African Nation: Senghor’s Cultural Policy of Negritude*

In Paris, Senghor and other expatriate elites of the negritude movement had essentially been preaching to the choir. Voicing their hopes for a post-colonial future of black cultural equality, these literary activists wrote almost exclusively in French for an educated audience of like-minded readers.<sup>138</sup> While negritude was not uniformly embraced within the black Parisian community, it nevertheless couldn’t be entirely discounted until an attempt could be made to put its universalist ideals into practice, and this could only happen after independence.<sup>139</sup> In other words, until independence the message of colonial negritude was still unrealized, a dream stuck in the holding pattern of literary incubation. While it is true, as I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, that this linguistic imaginary was thoroughly infused and indeed fueled by the diasporic sounds of Parisian cabaret culture, it was not until Senegal gained its independence that sounds of blackness could be put to practical use in the service of a new cultural policy for a postcolonial pan-African nation. Senghor’s desire for a pan-African brand of nationalism was logical but of course inherently unstable. Colonial-era negritude was conceived and articulated by authors of diverse national origin from both sides of the Atlantic and therefore intrinsically pan-African. To transform such a polyglot ideal into a schema for nationhood may seem

---

<sup>137</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 153-154; 160-161.

<sup>138</sup> A notable exception was the only bilingual edition of this era, the short-lived *Revue du monde noir*, edited by the Nardal sisters. (See Chapter One)

<sup>139</sup> Indeed, Senghor was a rare African in the midst of a primarily diasporic group, whereas the majority of Africans in France at the time were much more radical than Senghor. (See Chapter One)

contradictory, but underneath the paradox it reveals Senghor's astute understanding of the African postcolonial condition. Faced with a nation of somewhat arbitrary ethnic, linguistic, religious make-up, a cultural policy based on the notion of diverse peoples supporting a common cause carries obvious advantage. Curbing ethnic in-fighting would be one of the primary challenges facing new African nations, and Senghor rightly foresaw the risk of Balkanization that haphazard borders could engender.

Behind the show of pluralistic universalism, however, the political realities of Senghor's early tenure made for a rocky national foundation at best. As previously mentioned, just two years after his election Senghor had ousted and imprisoned his second-in-command, Mamadou Dia, who had become his chief rival.<sup>140</sup> He had also had his former ally, Cheikh Anta Diop, jailed for similar reasons, and to curb opposition Senghor soon turned Senegal into a state of single-party rule. These inner political tensions were mirrored by a general discontent among Senegalese students and intellectuals who did not wholeheartedly embrace Senghor's message of negritude as a practical strategy for national governance, and who likewise resented the lack of opportunity to form oppositional political parties.<sup>141</sup> It is important to remember, however, that these political counter-narratives, forced underground, were still primarily the counter-narratives of an educated elite. With French the official language of Senegal, any and all political discourse was limited to those with fluency in the language, which meant that the majority of the state had no meaningful platform from which to voice their needs and concerns. It is precisely because of this linguistic class barrier that the arts themselves became a means by which the masses could express discontent with the French-biased political system, even as Senghor used the same arts to

---

<sup>140</sup> Baxter, "Léopold Sédar Senghor."

<sup>141</sup> Harney, *In Senghor's Shadow*, 51.

further his own political agenda. The lavish expenses devoted to FESMAN were seen by many as entirely reckless, and the massive technical and financial support of the French and American governments merely served to confirm what many saw as only thinly veiled neocolonialism.<sup>142</sup> At the same time, however, the FESMAN stages (just like Paris's 1931 exhibition and counter-exhibition) provided a unique opportunity for people to express these very critiques.

The President's showy display of political, economic, and cultural might on the world stage clearly served to camouflage his new country's inner disturbances for the sake of attracting international interest both financially and politically. These politico-cultural tensions surfaced in both national and international debates over the festival's significance, protests over the efficacy of negritude, and sensitivities to issues of foreign policy. Nkrumah had been overthrown just two months prior to the Festival, and in the wake of this recent upheaval two camps had emerged: the first represented a pro-European / American bloc, the second a more militant pan-Africanist faction (led by Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah himself). Indeed, for some the festival became nothing more than a 'forum for black diasporic and African critics of US foreign policy in Africa.'<sup>143</sup> Ironically, it is FESMAN's counter-festival, the First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers (see Chapter Four) that is most often considered in this way, but a close investigation reveals that FESMAN was just as much of a forum for debate – more so, in fact – as Algiers seemed to have a more like-minded collection of participants than FESMAN. In fact, Harry

---

<sup>142</sup> Francesca Castaldi, *Choreographies of African Identities: Negritude, Dance, and the National Ballet of Senegal* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 199.

<sup>143</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 156-157.

Belafonte, as cultural advisor to President Sekou Toure of Guinea, criticized Senegal's foreign policy for being too lenient with Britain regarding recent tensions in Rhodesia.<sup>144</sup>

With the Festival dates officially scheduled (after a four month postponement) for April 1-24, 1966, a new conflict arose almost immediately. President Senghor soon learned that Guinea was to be hosting a music festival of its own at the same time. Needless to say, this was a problem. Not only was it a logistical inconvenience which, if left unresolved, could severely hinder FESMAN's chance of success, it could be read as a subtle political challenge for postcolonial visibility in the international arena. Guinea had gained independence from France two years ahead of Senegal; when DeGaulle gave the French colonies an ultimatum in 1958 of either sticking with France or cutting off all ties completely, Guinea alone had proudly stood firm and insisted on Independence (which they gained October 2, 1958). Of France's colonies, only Tunisia preceded Guinea to independence, and Tunisia was not a part of the AOF (*Afrique Occidentale Française*, French West Africa). Guinea could therefore claim a certain amount of clout within the French West African community as a trailblazer for independence. Given this status, whether real or imagined, President Touré's bold decision to host an international pan-African music festival of its own directly challenged Senghor's own goal of making Senegal a leader among African nations and a prominent contender for international investment and aid.

Despite his reputation as a genteel poet-president, Senghor never lacked for political shrewdness. He swiftly applied pressure on Guinea's President Touré and succeeded in postponing the Guinean music festival for two years. For the United States Committee this came as good news, because they had been hoping to have Harry Belafonte and Sydney Poitier perform, but had been informed that neither was available due to conflicts with the Guinean

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

festival. Neither artist made it to FESMAN, however; both ultimately protested involvement with the festival due to the Senghor's appeasing relationship with the apartheid regimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe. In the case of the Guinean festival conflict, Senghor's actions only inadvertently altered the U.S. Committee's program; he did not have Touré cancel the competing festival specifically to allow Belafonte and Poitier to be available for FESMAN, and as we know they ultimately did not perform anyway. However, in other instances Senghor more directly affected the African-American musical program for FESMAN.

Senghor was very aware of the political tensions between the two superpowers at this time, of course, and knew that both the US and Russia had their eyes on the African continent as fertile recruiting ground for their respective political ideologies. Taking advantage of this external rivalry, Senghor positioned the two countries against each other to vie for financial, logistical, and cultural influence at the Festival. For his part, Senghor wished to position Senegal as the pre-eminent postcolonial African nation, ripe for foreign investment and a model of modernity for other African countries to follow. Hosting FESMAN constituted the ultimate performance of this desire. One could argue the extent to which Senghor's political motivations behind hosting FESMAN were either Machiavelian or altruistic; in a way, the Festival afforded the first opportunity to test his idealism against the Machiavelian nature of postcolonial politics. Senghor was painfully aware of the tenuousness of his power, and the festival provided the ultimate opportunity to distract outside attention away from this inner turmoil and perhaps, Senghor hoped, even to ameliorate it.

The tension inherent to the confrontation of universals with the particulars of their application, in this case between negritude as universal ideal and negritude as cultural policy,

however, meant that the festival was both a state performance, a “coming out party,” for a new postcolonial negritude of practice rather than pontification and a stage for contesting it. Just as Senghor had wished, negritude became more widely applicable as it gained new artistic mediums of expression. Through the particularities of performances on the ground at FESMAN, however, negritude also began to acquire an agency of its own and in so doing, ceased to be negritude at all, but rather multiple acts of, for lack of a better word, “negrituding.” This tension between universals and particulars performed artistically at FESMAN represented in miniature the broader climate of early postcolonial Africa as a whole – an unprecedented sense of optimism, hope, and empowerment laden with a certain amount of political angst that could only be born out of independence.

The 1960s gave rise to a heightened black consciousness on both sides of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The Civil Rights movement, in particular, inspired a new generation of Africans, African-Americans, and Afro-Caribbeans to embrace and take ownership of their own power as black individuals. At the same time that African-Americans began to look to Africa for cultural primacy, Africans found inspiration to embrace their heritage in part from their brethren across the Atlantic. Rather than emulate the culture of the colonizer, with skin-lightening creams and European couture, a new generation of Africans (both independent and still struggling to become so) followed the African-American’s example to create new notions of “Africanness.” That the colonial presence dated back so long meant a certain amount of poetic license was unavoidable; thus “Africanness” itself became an act of creative interpretation and performance, with music at the helm. The festival, then, represented a transformation of the sphere of conversation – from the colonial metropole to the independent nation; from intellectual

discussions to public performances. The festival ended up being at the same time a state performance of cultural policy and a grounds for contesting that policy. Senghor's desire for negritude and the nation were paradoxically complimentary and at odds. Negritude fractured, as it were, in the act of performing it into existence. In so doing, it ceased to be negritude, really, and became negritudes. The festival represented in miniature the broader climate of early postcolonial Africa as a whole – an unprecedented sense of optimism, hope, and empowerment, while at the same time laden with a certain amount of political angst and tension that could only be born with independence. The means by which I intend to explore the complex, interwoven relationship between different layers of musical blackness as they cross paths, intersect, and entangle each other in layers of national and pan-African meaning in the 1960s is through a closer examination of some of the most ubiquitous samplings of black music present at the inaugural FESMAN. FESMAN, a microcosm for the larger transformation of the black world into a new, postcolonial era, drew upon idealized and conflicting notions of cultural blackness to showcase Senegal in particular, and the African continent more broadly, as the new focal point for a modern, globally significant black cultural world. With such an extensive three-week program, I cannot expect to cover the entirety of the festival program here. There were, however, certain musical presences at FESMAN which serve as ideal models for how particular kinds of black music, and their Senghorian counterpart in musical negritude, complicated the inherently conflicting dreams of postcolonial African nationalisms and pan-Africanisms in the 1960s. These will be examined in more detail in the following chapter, but before turning to these performances I will introduce the conversations surrounding negritude at the Festival and more broadly in the early years of independence.



*Négritude, Music, and the Academy: Discourse at the FESMAN Colloquium and Beyond*

In her study of the role of the Senegalese National Ballet in the construction of both Africanist and Senegalese identities, Francesca Castaldi uses Mudimbe's theories about epistemological orders of "Africanness" (from *The Invention of Africa*, 1988 and *The Idea of Africa*, 1994) as a starting point for classifying stages of discourse on Africa into three, rather than Mudimbe's two, separate phases.<sup>145</sup> Mudimbe recognized two distinct phases of Africanist discourse: Eurocentric and ethnocentric. Castaldi labels the former, which compares a singular "Africa" negatively against a Eurocentric ideal, the Order of the Same. Ethnocentrism, or the Order of the Other, is a reaction against Eurocentrism and as such still reduces the continent to an essentialism that pits itself against an equally essentialist Europe or West. By favoring the perceived qualities of "Africanness" to that of a more callous, mechanized, and uninspired West, however, ethnocentrism could be seen as a second phase, a corrective step toward a more balanced interpretation. Into this narrative, Castaldi intervenes with the suggestion of a third phase in the discourse, that of Dis/Order. This stage, the most recent, "defies the homogenizing tendency of the previous two paradigms by recognizing the heterogeneities of the African world and accounting for the historical specificities of diversified societies." In calling it a "Dis/Order," Castaldi explains that she is referring to "the pluralities of perspective that it represents and the realities of crisis that it theorizes."<sup>146</sup> By Castaldi's estimation, "Senghor's Négritude ideology was one of the most powerful discourses of the Order of the Other." While I agree that Senghor's writings clearly represent the essentializing themes of an Afrocentrist Order

---

<sup>145</sup> Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988); Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994).

<sup>146</sup> Castaldi, *Choreographies of African Identities*, 34-35.

of the Other, I argue that once *négritude* expanded beyond the realm of the literary and into a practiced cultural policy which was epitomized at FESMAN, the musical performances themselves served as a counternarrative of “Dis/Order” that performed diverse interpretations of ethnicity, nationality, and “Africanness” in a more nuanced fashion that academics would only come to embrace decades later.

Before delving into this musically performative “Dis/Order,” which I will discuss in Chapter Three, it would be useful to introduce the discourses concerning *négritude* and music as they were expressed at FESMAN’s Colloquium and in other formal and informal conversations. By and large, these intellectual presentations collectively speak to the prevailing “Order of the Other” that Castaldi attributes to the entire Senghor presidency. Given that the entire Festival and, by proxy, its Colloquium, was conceived to celebrate an essentializing philosophy, it is no surprise that the liberal academic circles participating in the Festival’s conference presented papers reflecting this “Order of the Other.” A simple scan of the titles of papers about music presented at the FESMAN conference reveals a uniform effort to present black music in a unifying manner; all refer to “Africa” and “black” rather than to specific cultures within the continent, and all either celebrate traditionality as an antidote to colonially-imposed musical influences, or seek to demonstrate the direct linkages between Africa and its diaspora.<sup>147</sup> Under the circumstances, particularly so soon after independence, this stance is not exactly a surprising one, and I would argue that for the authors involved, particularly those from within Africa, the

---

<sup>147</sup> J.H. Kwabena Nketia, “Music in African Culture”; Jean-Baptiste Obama, “Traditional African Music”; J.B. Obama, “La musique africaine traditionnelles: ses fonctions sociales et sa signification philosophique” [“Traditional African Music: Its Social Functions and Philosophical Meaning”]; Louis T. Achille, “Negro Spirituals”; Sim Copans, “The African Heritage in the Music of the American Negro”; Eno Belinga, “La Musique Traditionnelle d’Afrique Noire” [“The Traditional Music of Black Africa”]; Georges Lapassade, “A Marginal Art: A Sociological Study of the Influence of Black Musical Art in the Maghreb.”

exercise of academically celebrating black culture, albeit within the confines of pre-existing European tropes, nevertheless felt liberating compared to the alternative old-school Eurocentrism. I therefore do not consider these presentations as mere puppetry of European discourse, because that oversimplifies the context in which they were presented and denies agency to the authors. In many ways this was as far as the academy was equipped to go at this point in time, and it would take different, more performative medium to truly generate the new perspectives necessary on what postcolonial black culture might signify. Likewise, FESMAN performances and their reception were also not completely immune from the pre-existing “Order of the Other,” but the very nature of their musical medium enabled counternarratives of “Dis/Order” to manifest more easily than they could in any linguistic setting.

While FESMAN marked a distinctly postcolonial turn toward more performative interpretations of negritude, intellectual discourse on the subject did not simply stop as soon as constitutions were signed. The festival Colloquium marked a continuation of previous conversations about the future of black culture that date back to the earliest pan-African congresses and, since the late 1950s (in Bandung, Paris, and Rome), concerns over transitioning into a postcolonial world. Sponsored by Alioune Diop’s Société Africain de Culture and by UNESCO, the Colloquium lasted for the first week of the three-week festival. Sixty academics presented from across the African continent, the Diaspora, Europe, and the United States on the theme of “The Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People”.<sup>148</sup> The conference consisted of discussions panels on the following topics:

---

<sup>148</sup> More precisely, the following countries were represented (the number in parenthesis indicates the number of presenters from that country; hyphenated countries indicate expatriates in their host country first, followed by their country of origin): USA (10), France (9), Britain (4), Cameroon (4), Nigeria (4), Ivory Coast (3), Belgium (2), Benin (2), Germany (2), Poland (2), Burundi (1), Czechoslovakia (1), Ethiopia (1), Ghana (1), Kenya (1), Liberia (1),

“African Tradition”, “The Meeting of Negro Art with the West”, “The Current Situation / The Problems of Modern African Art”, “Generalities on Art and its Function”, “Ancient Art in Africa”, “Aesthetic and Technique in Negro Art”, “Sociology of Negro Art”, “Music”, “Cinema”, and “Negro Art and Its Influence on/in the Modern World”. The majority of the papers presented covered aspects of the visual arts or addressed more general issues of aesthetics and the arts as they pertained to specific African cultures. Six papers covered musicological themes, and I will return to these after first elaborating a bit more on the general state of negritude discourse in the early days of African independence and leading up to the Festival. The Festival Colloquium provided an opportunity for intellectuals to discuss the continued pertinence (or lack thereof) of negritude as a unifying source of pan-African inspiration. That there was a colloquium at all is perhaps already indicative of Senghor’s reluctance to leave the past behind, despite his many gestures at modern development. As a relic of earlier congresses, the colloquium seemed to trip over its own expectations of continuing a dialogue that was perhaps already anachronistic.

Returning to the musicological presentations at FESMAN’s Colloquium, the discipline held its own at the conference, presenting a healthy ten percent of the papers. Of the six musicological papers, only two were presented by white Westerners, while four were presented by Africans or Afro-Caribbeans. This may seem a marginal majority, but after only six years of independence, it is nevertheless significant that the majority of scholars at the conference were black Africans presenting their own research about the music of their continent, rather than the standard model of colonial scholars dictating continental research. The Colloquium featured the

---

Madagascar (1), Mali (1), Martinique (1), Russia (1), Senegal (1), France-Mali (1), Benin-Senegal (1), US-Liberia (1), South Africa-Kenya (1). See appendices for more details.

following presentations: “Music in African Culture,” by the esteemed Ghanaian musicologist J.H. Kwabena Nketia; “Traditional African Music,” by the Cameroonian philosopher Jean-Baptiste Obama; “Negro Spirituals,” by Louis Achille, a Martinican scholar and cousin of the Nardal sisters, who had first introduced him to these spirituals when he was a young student in Paris (1926-1932); “The African Heritage in the Music of the American Negro,” by the American Sim Copans; “The Traditional Music of Black Africa,” by the Cameroonian musicologist Samuel-Martin Eno Belinga, and “A Marginal Art (A Sociological Study of the Influence of Black Musical Art in the Maghreb)” by Georges Lapassade.<sup>149</sup>

The first two musical papers were presented as part of a panel entitled “African Tradition.” Both scholars, Nketia and Obama, referred to “Africa” in the singular, echoing Castaldi’s interpretation of the Order of the Other as a narrative that is no less essentializing than those of the Order of the Same, just from an ethnocentric rather than a Eurocentric point of view. Nketia had received his Bachelor’s degree in music from Trinity College, London, and pursued further musicological study in the United States at Columbia, Juilliard, and Northwestern. Aspiring to study the music of his own culture and that of his continent, in order to retell the story of African music from an African’s point of view, Nketia had only European and American academic theoretical models of musical scholarship to draw from. To his credit, Nketia was one of the first African musicology professors to teach his subject in his home country, at the University of Ghana in Accra. Nketia’s scholarship has been an important corrective against those who considered African music as less worthy of study than its Western counterparts. In celebrating the differences between “African” music and the “West,” however, Nketia often

---

<sup>149</sup> Sim Copans was an American radio host who had become famous across France for his popular jazz radio broadcasts for Voice of America since the end of World War II; Georges Lapassade was a French philosopher and sociologist.

perpetuated the essentialization of “Africa” as a monolithic entity and was unable to critically distance himself from the Western trope of African music as a purely functional phenomenon.

Unsurprisingly, the Cameroonians Jean-Baptiste Obama, trained as an historian and theologian but ultimately a sort of culturalist jack-of-all-trades, and M.S. Eno Belinga, a musicologist, likewise relied on Western models to argue for an Afrocentric musicology. Whether coming from a position of white racial superiority or a reaction against it, Western musicological scholarship on Africa and the pan-African literary canon were both replete with the same black essentialisms. Like Nketia, Obama and Belinga therefore had a limited arsenal from which to reinterpret African music from a continental point of view. All three scholars (Nketia, Obama, and Belinga) emphasized the “traditional” nature of African music in order to juxtapose it in a favorable light against a more artificial, modernized European norm. In a sense, they used the same juxtapositions as the Eurocentrists, just for the opposite goal. In many respects this follows the same logic of Kaplan’s “anarchy of empire” in a more general way – often it is the tools of a dominant group that are most effective in subverting that dominance. This first generation of African musicologists considered popular music an unworthy topic of study because it represented, in their eyes, the very corrupting influence of Western cultural imperialism they were seeking to undermine. As a result, unfortunately, they inevitably limited the nature of their own discourse, boxing “African music” into the same traditionalist framework as their Western predecessors with its ahistorical and timeless depictions of a music immune to/innocent of (or endangered by) modernity. In the new postcolonial context of independent states, a new distinction/trend began to emerge in the work of these scholars – the conflation of nationalism and pan-Africanism. For example, Obama liked to consider the multiple

Cameroonian musics as “the sounding board of all the African peoples.”<sup>150</sup> I will address this postcolonial phenomenon of pan-African nationalism more thoroughly as it manifested musically in Senegal in the following chapter.

Louis Achille continued the conversation that had been going on in pan-African circles since DuBois, investigating the significance of Negro Spirituals as the sounding-board par excellence of black culture. In much the same way as people had been using jazz (in all its loosely defined forms), particularly in negrophiliac Paris, as an ideal symbol of black modernity since the 1920s and 30s (and indeed were still doing in the 1960s, as we shall see in the next chapter), Achille argued that spirituals, too, “brought dispersed people together via collective aesthetic creation; created something *new*, a new form of art; brought to a new form of art their African gift of music.” He called for an “artistic education springing from African ways” in order to facilitate a more interactive artistic community, one in which people are “co-producers of the work of art, individual work bec[ame] public property.” He wished to find a way to reconcile the individual and the communal aspects of the musical experience, and in this he considered Africa worthy to lead the way. There was a need to balance newness and tradition, the ‘eternal youthfulness’ of the ‘very oldest spirituals,’ diversity within unity and individuality within the collective. This, Achille argued, was the true model for human liberty.<sup>151</sup> On this point, Achille’s speech echoed Senghor’s own calls for bicultural education going back to his breakthrough speech in Dakar in 1937.

---

<sup>150</sup> Jean-Baptiste Obama, “Traditional African Music.” *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*. Société africaine de culture, ed. (Paris: Présence africaine, 1968), 188.

<sup>151</sup> Louis Achille, “Negro Spirituals.” *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*. Société africaine de culture, ed. (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968), 354-355; 357.

Achille's arguments fell squarely in line with Senghor's overarching philosophy of negritude and the role of black culture in completing the circle of the *civilisation de l'universel*. A Catholic priest, Achille ecumenically considered the Christian spirit of Negro spirituals not to be a distinct identity, but rather an 'Africanization or an Americanization of a universal religion.'<sup>152</sup> As Senghor often argued, Achille felt that black culture (or negritude) had something vital to offer to global civilization, a sort of saving grace needed to rescue the soul of the modern Western world: "the psychological and spiritual significance" of Negro spirituals, he insisted, is exactly what "black Americans and their spirituals have to offer to American civilization and to world culture, and what they can today bring back to Africa." Negro spirituals could serve as inspiration for more literal forms of active resistance as well, Achille suggested, referring to the recent developments in the Civil Rights movement in the United States. Spirituals, Achille continued, have once more become "an adequate arm, an arm of peace and liberation – not just for black Americans, but all Americans.... [Today] songs may have regressed in terms of spiritual value, but have a new lease on life as form of resistance." In an explicit argument for music's centrality to negritude that could not have squared more closely with Senghor's own, Achille summarized, "the spiritual is, together with jazz music, the broadcaster of Negritude which has the most rapid force of expansion...." Achille also acknowledged something the US State Department had been capitalizing on throughout the Cold War, including at FESMAN: "Jazz music and the Negro Spirituals are, for the moment, the most effective 'public relations' agents of the black race."<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 358.

<sup>153</sup> Achille, "Negro Spirituals," 358-359; 362. For more about jazz's role in American Cold War politics, see Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*. I will also return to this topic in the following chapter.

Unlike many others considering the subject at this time, Achille did not embrace spirituals completely uncritically; he questioned to what extent the music could ever be truly appreciated in Africa as anything but “a foreign sacred music”. After all, he reminded his listeners, Africans did not experience slavery the way that the African-Americans had (obviously here he is overgeneralizing, since it is well known that the Arabs kept sub-Saharan African slaves for centuries). Therefore, Achille reasoned, the underlying suffering inherent in the Negro spiritual is not necessarily something an African could easily relate to.<sup>154</sup> Without having undergone the horrors of slavery firsthand, he wondered to what extent the spirituals’ messages could resonate. Another impediment to a more enthusiastic reception of Negro spirituals among Africans, he proposed, was that in places where Catholicism was the prevailing religion inherited with colonization, spirituals had less of an association with accustomed religious rituals and were instead considered more applicable to African Protestants. Africans of other religions, too – Muslims, animists – had similarly little in common with the spiritual’s message or practice. Nevertheless, Achille considered these drawbacks a potential advantage in the future. If Africans could find a way to embrace the message of spirituals despite not sharing the African-Americans’ experience of history, and particularly if the spirituals could be incorporated somehow into Catholic ritual, suggested Achille, then perhaps someday spirituals could serve as an ecumenical social and religious unifier. Achille also argued that because plastic arts and literature are not particularly communal art forms, and formal musical and theatrical performances tend to separate the audience from the performers, spirituals had the advantage of being a far more collective practice. As such, Achille reasoned (drawing from the prevailing view of first-generation African musicologists and their Western colleagues), they had a much

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 364.

greater potential to be embraced by Africans, who were more accustomed to arts of a more communal nature. Achille the scholar-priest envisioned a future in which spirituals would be embraced throughout the African continent and, through their infusion into the mix of Africa's current "cultural renaissance," give rise to a new kind of sacred music that could serve as a force for good in the world.<sup>155</sup>

At the FESMAN conference, Sim Copans had catalogued the state of research on "American Negro" music in his paper on "The African Heritage in the Music of the American Negro." His paper offered a corrective to the uniform scholarly narrative of African retentions in jazz, insisting that the works of scholars perpetuating this view, such as the French ethnomusicologist Herbert Pepper, needed to be "seriously qualified." Jazz, Copins reasoned, was only indirectly related to African music because it was informed by African-American folk music, which was itself already a hybrid style before it infused into the nascent jazz cocktail. Negro spirituals, on the contrary, could be considered to have a more direct connection to African music, Copins argued. The extent of Africanisms in Negro spirituals and other "folk music" of African-Americans could not hope to be accurately ascertained, however, until more scholars had a solid understanding of African music. To this end, Copins advocated for collaborative studies which would include African ethnomusicologists, and incorporate the expertise of other diaspora music scholars as well. "The study of the survival of Africanisms in the US cannot be completely separated from that of the survival of Africanisms in the other regions of the Americans," he stated. Beyond these astute recommendations, Copans' presentation was primarily a state-of-research report on the scholarship on African-American musics. He catalogued the most important studies or collections of Negro spirituals from just

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 364-365.

after the Civil War to the present day. Radio broadcasts were also helping to spread appreciation for Negro spirituals among the French public. Sim Copins was acknowledged as playing a significant role in this regard; the FESMAN conference presenter had been director of the Voice of America broadcasts in Paris during the war and after, until 1953.<sup>156</sup> According to Copins, his broadcasts of choirs such as those of Hall Johnson, de Paul, and Howard Universities, and other groups and artists such as the Golden Gate Quartet and Kenneth Spencer were among the most popular segments of his shows.<sup>157</sup>

The intellectual conversations surrounding negritude continued (at least in certain circles) until well after the festival (Senghor hosted a negritude conference in 1971). Michel Lonoh, Mercer Cook, and Marguerite Yourcinard, and Klaus Wachsmann contributed the most directly to this rather scholarly level of debate (Yourcinard, however, reached a wider public with her articles in *Dakar-Matin*, which was based on an excerpt from a larger book). These scholars took a significant departure from earlier pan-Africanist musings about the musical ‘character’ of negritude and focused much more particularly on music performance and its meaning – that is to say, the sounds themselves were no longer just a muse, but a topic worthy of intellectual discussion in their own right. Philosophers of negritude as a musical concept inevitably came back to jazz as the great unifier, the great expression of blackness.

---

<sup>156</sup> Sim Copans, “The African Heritage in the Music of the American Negro.” *World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*. Société africaine de culture, ed. (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968), 369; 371; 374-387. Collections of spirituals catalogued by Copans include: William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison, *Slave Songs of the US* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1867); Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1914); Howard Odum and Guy Johnson, *The Negro and his Songs* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1925) and *Negro Workaday Songs* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926); James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (New York: Viking Press, 1925); Newman White, *American Negro Folk-Songs* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1928); Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, USA* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

<sup>157</sup> Mercer Cook, “The Negro Spiritual Goes to France,” *Music Educators Journal* 40, 5 (1954): 42-48.

Mercer Cook, the American Ambassador to Senegal at the time of the Festival, had already noted the extent to which African-American spirituals were infiltrating French culture in an article published more than ten years earlier. Cook considered it an interesting phenomenon that the spiritual was being popularized in France by two rather dissimilar groups, the religious on the one hand, and jazz fanatics on the other. Representing the former, Cook mentioned the work of Louis Achille, who, he noted, had made the first two recordings of spirituals to be released in France and called the spiritual “the Negro’s musical prayer.”<sup>158</sup> Achille, Cook lauded, avidly introduced all in his path to these powerful hymns – students, pilgrims, workers, and of course the youth in his choirs at the Lycée in Lyon. Achille had also published French translations of several spirituals in the journal *Esprit*. Although in 1966 Achille still considered the integration of Negro spirituals into African Catholic practice to be a hope for the future, Cook’s observations imply that in France, at least, this had already been happening for decades. Cook suggested that, ironically, this inherently religious music had become so popular in France as to be incorporated into many French Catholic services precisely because of its avid consumption by the French hipsters of their day, the negrophiliac jazz fanatics.<sup>159</sup>

While the difference between spirituals and jazz in the French imagination was blurry at best, there were a few critics who were making an appropriate distinction between the two. In particular, Cook referred André Hodeir, author of *Introduction à la musique du jazz* (1948), who had written: “It is proper to distinguish between jazz, a secular genre, principally instrumental, and the Negro spiritual, a religious hymn.” Cook reasoned that it was not only inaccuracy on the part of scholars and critics, however. Given that performers of spirituals and of jazz often

---

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 42-44.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 44.

blurred the stylistic genres themselves, it was only inevitable that people would confuse the two. Cook offered correctives to other French publications of or about negro spirituals, namely Salabert's *Les plus célèbres Negro Spirituals* (1945) and H.J. Duteil's *La Grande Parade Américaine* (1949).<sup>160</sup>

Cook was as well aware as the U.S. State Department that the Negro spiritual served as a powerful American symbol abroad. Cook recalled an experience in which Negro spirituals were performed at the Casino in Paris despite reservations on the part of American foreign service personnel due to recent Communist demonstrations across the country.<sup>161</sup> The foreign service officers were concerned that any public display of American culture might trigger more riots, but in fact the choir ended up receiving a standing ovation. “The spiritual had proved more potent than propaganda,” he mused. Cook concluded his essay regarding Negro spirituals in France with an observation which strongly mirrored President Senghor's own sentiments about the universal civilizing role of African (and, by proxy to many, African-American) music and culture: “Authentic Negro folk music possesses a universality and a spiritual quality unequaled by any other form of American art.” He also made an effort to correct the United States' somewhat sullied reputation in Europe as the years following the war went by, noting, “[Negro folk music] is a living reminder that the ‘Great God Dollar’ is not the only shrine at which we Americans worship, and that our civilization is not merely materialistic.” Not only did the spiritual disprove the shallowness of his country, however; beyond this, Cook took “comfort in

---

<sup>160</sup> André Hodeir, *Introduction à la musique du jazz*. (Paris: Larousse, 1948); Francis Salabert, ed., *Les plus célèbres negro spirituals*, (Paris: Salabert, 1945); Henri-Jean Duteil, *La grande parade américaine: scènes et faites du Nouveau Monde* (Paris: Éditions André Bonne, 1949).

<sup>161</sup> The demonstrations were against alleged bacterial warfare by Americans in Korea (Ibid).

the knowledge that the spiritual is over there working for world harmony,” once again reinforcing Senghor’s view that black culture bore a messianic purpose.<sup>162</sup>

Three collections of spirituals had already been published in France in the decade since the end of the war, and some of the more popular ones had been edited and published as individual songs. Cook mentioned examples of French travel records describing negro spirituals from as far back as 1857. He also tipped his hat to the touring performers that had helped popularize the genre in France since World War I: Roland Hayes, followed by Marian Anderson, the Utica Singers, the Hampton Choir, and Dorothy Maynor.<sup>163</sup> As Copins’ catalogue above suggested, however, the majority of scholarship available was in English. Brief nods had been given, for example, in the Nardal sisters’ short-lived bilingual pan-Africanist journal, *La revue du monde noir*, but by and large the French were left to appreciate Negro spirituals from across a linguistic divide. Jean-Paul Sartre, for his part, had published twenty-three pages’ worth of translations from James Weldon Johnson’s *Book of Negro Spirituals* in his monthly journal, *Les temps modernes*.<sup>164</sup> For the lay person, however, information in French was harder to come by.

The Congolese philosopher Michel Lonoh aptly articulated the spirit of pan-African idealism present in the 1960s, when it became an increasingly present theme not just in the literary world, but in the musical one. Lonoh characterized the era of decolonization of the 1960s as a distinctive moment in the evolution of negritude as a political, philosophical, and

---

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 42; Oscar Comettant, *Trois ans aux Etats-Unis: Étude des mœurs et coutumes américaines* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1857).

<sup>164</sup> Paulette Nardal actually composed her own negro spirituals. See *Presse et mémoire: France des étrangers, France des libertés* (Paris: Mémoire Génériques Éditions; Éditions Ouvrières), 130; Boris Vian and Norman Cowin, “Les negro spirituals,” [French translations of James Weldon Johnson’s *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925)]. *Les temps modernes* 11-12 (August-September ), Jean-Paul Sartre, ed. (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1946).

artistic concept.<sup>165</sup> In this new postcolonial phase of negritude, philosophies were put into action via the implementation of newly instituted cultural policies and the push to construct a new, postcolonial idea of ‘africanness’ took on new fervor. A desire to return to the ‘source,’ to reconnect with a precolonial past (which sometimes lapsed into romantic tribalism) was at the same time linked to themes of development and modernization that would mark the new era of African independence.

At FESMAN, the concept of Negritude was given new life as a live-performance genre: music, so integral to the cultural production of arts festivals, became the new, more populist voice through which the philosophy could be effectively implemented as national policy. For Lonoh, there was no musical genre better suited to this new, active form of Negritude than jazz. He wrote, “There can be no doubt that jazz, one of the branches of black-African music, is the singlemost important musical expression of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Que le jazz, l’une des branches de la musique négro-africaine, soit le fait musical le plus important de la première moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, voilà que ne saurait guère être mis en doute!). But Lonoh’s conception of jazz transcended more conventional notions of the term. Taking the link between African and diasporan music for a given, a view previously validated by scholars at the FESMAN Colloquium, Lonoh argued that not only was jazz African, but that “Ghanaian, Congolese, or Malian music is jazz, too” (la musique ghanéene, congolaise ou malienne, c’est du jazz aussi). He continued somewhat defensively, “One sometimes loses the perspective that jazz was born on African soil and as such Africa has every right to claim it as a part of the artistic heritage that she has offered to the world” (on perd parfois de vue que le jazz est bien né sur la terre africaine et

---

<sup>165</sup> Michel Lonoh (aka Malangi Bokelenge). *Negritude, Africainite et Musique Africaine* (Kinshasa: Recherches Pédagogiques, 1990), 11-12.

que l’Afrique a tous les droits de le revendiquer comme faisant partie du patrimoine artistique qu’elle a offert au monde). Lonoh believed, as Senghor did, that “jazz is the music of Negritude as much as is the music of Senegal or the Congo” (le jazz est la musique de la négritude, autant que la musique sénégalaise ou congolaise). Emphasizing the social significance of this broadly defined genre whose influence, he argued, no art form in the last forty years has completely escaped, he added, “In the land of its birth or in America, African or African American jazz is first and foremost a racial, cultural, and religious encounter between black and white civilizations, but also...between diverse black civilizations.” In sum, he concluded, “It is the music of negritude” (Sur sa terre natale ou en Amérique, le jazz africain ou afro-américain est donc d’abord une rencontre de races, de cultures et de religions, rencontre entre civilisations noires et blanches, mais aussi rencontre de diverse civilisations noires entre elles. Elle est la musique de la négritude).<sup>166</sup>

French novelist Marguerite Yourcenar strove to alleviate this relative dearth of French material with the publication of her book, *Deep River, Dark Stream* (1964), after one of the spirituals she translated for her collection and a possible allusion to the famous poem by Langston Hughes.<sup>167</sup> Fascinated with African-American culture and in particular its music, Yourcenar was uniquely qualified to take on the difficult task of translating spirituals: she was fluent in English, was a long-time professor at Sarah Lawrence College and had been an American resident in Maine for decades. In the preface to *Deep River*, Yourcenar explained, “If

---

<sup>166</sup> Michel Lonoh (aka Malangi Bokelenge), *Négritude et musique: regards sur les origines et l’évolution de la musique negro-africaine de la conception congolaise* (Kinshasa: République démocratique du Congo, 1971), 15-16.

<sup>167</sup> Marguerite Yourcenar, *Fleuve profond, sombre rivière: Les negro spirituals* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966); References to this classic spiritual include Langston Hughes’s poem “Deep River, the musical “Deep River,” by Lawrence Stalling and “Deep River, Dark Stream,” a poem by South-African poet Eugène Marais.

concerts and films have familiarized the public to the music of Negro Spirituals, their lyrics most often remain unknown and inaccessible to the French-language listener.” The dialect of African Americans, which she felt transformed “these anglo-saxon words...as if they were melted by the hot voice of men of color,” was simply too disorienting for most French listeners to comprehend. The book consists of over a hundred Negro spiritual lyrics translated into French. These spirituals, Yourcenar wrote, “bear witness/contribute to the common heritage of humanity.” In her preface Yourcenar challenged the common approach to Negro spirituals among scholars of the day: the search for Africanisms. Critics opposed to the concept of black artistic agency considered spirituals to be blacks’ approximations of white Protestant hymns, with any perceived “Africanisms” discounted as mere “distortions” by slaves unable to accurately mimic the art of European song. Yourcenar, on the other hand, challenged that “it is exactly this “distortion” of a foreign music and poetry by black mouths that creates the unique art, Afro-American rather than African, of the Negro Spiritual.” In an effort to defend the legitimacy of the Negro spiritual as an art form, Yourcenar mentioned Roland Hayes, a prominent black musicologist and well-known singer of spirituals. To Yourcenar, Hayes “revealed in his poems not only the presence of an inimitable black rhythm, but the similarity of this or that melody to one of Niger or Gambia.” Celebrating the perceived Africanisms in the Negro spiritual in much the same way that Senghor had done. “One could almost say that the beauty of the spiritual is proportional to its *négritude*,” she wrote. “For those who have had a chance to listen to black hymns at their source, sung by the faithful in a church for people of color, or in a rural district of the American South, or, as a second-best, on the field recordings made by musicologists, the Africanisms burst forth.”<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> Yourcenar, *Fleuve profond*; “African Voices of Yesterday and Today: The contribution of the Negro Spiritual to the Poetic Heritage of Humanity,” *Dakar-Matin* (January 18, 1966): 4.

Regardless of whether negritude, and particularly its relationship to music, was perceived to be relevant or not, a benefit or an anachronism, these scholars made it clear that even in a postcolonial world, the concept continued to resonate across the continent and the diaspora.

In more nuanced debates, academics were also questioning whether or not negritude had any relevance in a postcolonial world. The discourse about *négritude*'s postcolonial viability had been ongoing throughout the transition of African nations from colonies to independent political entities, and would continue (at least in certain circles), for years after the close of the festival as well. In his own contribution to the conversation, the ethnomusicologist Klaus Wachsmann wrote in *Composer* magazine, "the [*negritude*] movement could be said to be somewhat out of date. In my opinion, it is possible to think of 1956 as the year of its climax." Here Wachsmann was referring the occasion of the Congress of African Writers which was held in Paris of that year. "Although the proceedings live on in...publications, the forces that propelled Negritude during the 1956 Congress at first sight seem to have weakened since then." Wachsmann qualified this, however, noting that many East African students had recently begun to take an interest in learning French specifically to study the prominent Francophone works of *négritude*. He added, "...apparently [*negritude*] has acquired a mystique of its own in Africa. And in this sense Negritude can hardly be said to be out-of-date." Wachsmann argued that the difference lay in the timing. In 1956, much of the continent had yet to achieve independence, and *négritude* both reflected and helped advance this push toward national sovereignties. Naturally, once independence had been gained, the driving force behind the movement was no longer necessary.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> Klaus P. Wachsmann, "Negritude in Music," *Composer* 19 (Spring, 1966): 12-13.

Despite Senghor's efforts to bring together Anglophone and Francophone interests at the conference, the two seldom merged; rather, Francophones tended to attend Francophone meetings, and Anglophones tended to attend Anglophone meetings. This was due in part to the lack of foresight on the part of organizers to provide simultaneous translation earphones for an adequate number of attendees. However, Klaus Wachsmann's discussion of musical *négritude* from an Anglophone perspective hints that beyond the issue of any language barrier, the Anglophone world simply didn't share the historical legacy of French pan-Africanism. "Negritude has nothing to do with the Commonwealth," he said simply. Consequently, Anglophones felt outnumbered and underappreciated, noting the predominance of French speakers at the event's opening session: President Senghor, Alioune Diop (President of the Colloquium and of the host institution, Société Africaine de Culture), and André Malraux (French Minister of Culture). This critique, which was also broadly applied to the festival as a whole, deeply saddened Senghor, who insisted that he had made a concerted effort to avoid this very problem.<sup>170</sup> He noted as evidence that he had chosen an Anglophone country (Nigeria) as the country of honor, that he made a point to attend notable Anglophone performances, and that Emperor Selassie of Ethiopia (Anglophone) made a state visit during the festival.<sup>171</sup>

Language barriers were not the only problem at the Colloquium. Anne-Marie Foltz, a journalist for *West Africa* magazine, noted an additional divide, this one ideological, between the Africans present and their Western colleagues. Most of the Africans at the meetings stressed the need to continue the conversation about *négritude* and the arts, particularly those of the past, and

---

<sup>170</sup> Anne-Marie Foltz, "More About a Word," *West Africa* (May 7, 1966): 517; Wachsmann, "Negritude," 12; *West Africa* (April 16, 1966): 423.

<sup>171</sup> *West Africa* (April 16, 1966): 423.

the importance of passing resolutions to direct future avenues of scholarship. The drafting of these resolutions ended up taking a hefty percentage of Colloquium time, and to the frustration of the authors much of their work was abandoned or diluted into vague platitudes in the final report. The Europeans and Americans, for their part, tended to approach the Colloquium in the customary tradition of academic conferences: as a staging ground for the presentation of their own research on Africa, particularly of a more modern vein than that favored by the Africans. In sum, Franz concluded, “négritude had a rough time in commission.” By the time the Colloquium’s final session convened, many had stopped coming in favor of attending other, more entertaining events on offer at the Festival. It became readily apparent to Foltz that the administration was well aware of a growing discontent with the whole concept of negritude: in fact, the word was avoided entirely at the final colloquium. Instead, reference were casually made to “Negro art” or “African art,” while the tensions of the sessions’ debates about negritude were reduced to vague calls for the establishment of new infrastructures for research (schools, archives, museums, etc.) “couched in general terms no one could possibly quarrel with.”<sup>172</sup>

The negritude conversation had been ongoing since independence and overflowed well beyond the gates of the Colloquium’s ivory tower. One journalist voiced the concerns of many, writing, “one of the criticisms of the festival has been that negritude as a movement is twenty years out of date, and that the festival has tended to be too backward-looking.” Many African-Americans participated in the ongoing, sometimes rancorous negritude debate that would carry over to both the Algiers and Lagos festivals. Dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham, who had been personally enlisted by Senghor to help organize the festival for an entire year as a cultural advisor, confessed that she found negritude to be a ‘meaningless’ term. Langston

---

<sup>172</sup> Foltz, “More About a Word”; *West Africa* (May 7, 1966): 517.

Hughes, on the other hand, leading the Festival's panel for literary prizes, defended negritude as simply another form of 'Soul,' which he saw as "Harlem's negritude."<sup>173</sup> Alvin Ailey felt somewhat conflicted on the subject: he critiqued negritude's restricted notion of 'blackness,' which perpetuated assumptions such as only blacks being able to play the blues; but he agreed with trying to propound an alternative universalist modernity to that of the dominant, white / Western model. Generally speaking, the postcolonial negritude debate could be divided into those validating the concept as a "future-oriented and modern African alternative to Western modernity" and those criticizing it as "echoing Western ethnocentric beliefs about the essential nature of Africans and for celebrating a precolonial past." Many saw Senghor's negritude as hypocritical because, despite his lofty rhetoric, the economy of Senegal had too conspicuous a tie to the financing of Europeans, something which reeked of the neo-colonial.<sup>174</sup>

*FESMAN'S Spectacle Féérique Son et Lumière: A Nightly Musical Reimagining of the Past*

The *Spectacle féérique* marked a seminal turning point in the transition of Senghor's negritude from an elite, intellectual, literary philosophy to the operatic mouthpiece of a new nation's cultural policy. This populist "folk opera" translated negritude, through the art of live performance, into an easily digested progress narrative designed for mass consumption. The libretto read as a veritable manifesto of negritude, but above all else it was the music which breathed life into this philosophy, in the process transforming it into a uniquely postcolonial, performative reimagining of the past: "Using the superposition of many melodic lines, the

---

<sup>173</sup> *West Africa* (April 30, 1966): 482.

<sup>174</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 157-159.

technique of counterpoint, sound furnished the historic fresco with African music, the music of eighteenth-century France, and negro spirituals. The spectator has the impression of living the history, as if in a magic/al fourth dimension.”<sup>175</sup> It is a strong testament to the musical drive behind Senghor’s formulation of Négritude that the most literal translation of the poet-president’s philosophical *raison d’être* was performed operatically. The only show to be performed every night of the festival (for twenty-one consecutive days), the *Spectacle* was strategically positioned to present a revised postcolonial vision of the country’s past, as well as its future, to the world at large. Embracing the old and the new, the African and the Occidental, the folk opera voiced the inherent contradictions of Négritude musically as much as theatrically.

Lasting fifty minutes, the opera employed 230 actors and extras and was considered to be the first of its kind performed in Africa and one of the most technically advanced outdoor spectacles of its day. It utilized 180 soldiers from the National Army of Senegal, and an additional thirty-one soldiers from the French Army along with a small group of professional artists living in Dakar, a group from Gorée, and a smattering of Dakarois extras. The opera consisted of eight scenes, all personally approved by President Senghor, which “shows the spectator a series of living images retracing the history of Gorée and Senegal in the context of the evolution of the West, and within the framework more generally of the championing of negritude and respect for the human individual” (apport au spectateur d’une série d’images animées retraçant l’histoire de Gorée et du Sénégal, dans le contexte de l’évolution de l’Occident, dans le cadre plus général d’une apologie de la nègritude et du respect de la personne humaine). The show delineated a clear progress narrative of Africa’s history through the lens of

---

<sup>175</sup> “Festival mondial des arts nègres: dossier de presse,” *World Festival of Black Arts* (Dakar: Government of the Republic of Senegal, 2010), [http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier\\_presse\\_FR.pdf](http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier_presse_FR.pdf) (accessed 31 March 2014), 3.

Senegal, and more specifically the Ile de Gorée, which staged the opera and whose looming slave holding quarters (visible from all corners of the island and towering over the its only port) marked a perpetually poignant and vivid pan-African symbol of the diaspora's connection to the Motherland.<sup>176</sup> This balancing act between the regional, the national, the pan-African, and the ever elusive “civilisation de l'universel” mirrored the inherent tension within the Festival as a whole and within Senghor's cultural administration more globally.

When it came time to choose a librettist for the *Spectacle son et lumière*, Senghor chose one of his closest friends and fellow compatriot of negritude from their earliest days in Paris, Aimé Césaire. To his dismay, however, Senghor learned that as of July 26, 1965, Césaire had “defected” for unspecified reasons, leaving the festival organizers somewhat in the lurch. With only eight months remaining, French ambassador to Senegal and resident “expert advisor” on the organizing committee, Jean Mazel, feared that this latest hurdle would force yet another embarrassing festival postponement with “extremely grave consequences” unless a quick solution could be found. Originally promising both Senghor and Alioune Diop that he would turn in a draft no later than July 19 in order to facilitate adequate time for rehearsals, text translations, and recording in a pre-reserved OCORA studio, Césaire had been called back to his home in the Antilles for unspecified reasons and was therefore unable to continue working on the libretto. At an urgent meeting between President Senghor, Jean Mazel, Alioune Diop, R.P. Mvent and Salif Diop held at Senghor's Paris apartment, it was determined that while they would make one last attempt to pressure Césaire into following through on his promise, a replacement would be

---

<sup>176</sup> Note: The Gorée spectacle was personally approved by President Senghor on September 27, 1965. Jean Mazel, “Compte rendu d'ensemble de Jean Mazel, conseiller-expert du festival sur la creation, le fonctionnement et les perspectives d'avenir du spectacle feerique de Goree (May 9, 1966),” FESMAN Collection, Folder 29, Senegalese National Archives (hereafter SNA); The Gorée spectacle was personally approved by President Senghor on September 27, 1965.

recruited just in case. Either way, a final draft edited by Diop and Mazel must be completed by August 15, Senghor insisted.<sup>177</sup>

Jean-Fernand Brierre, a Haitian poet, playwright and activist who studied law in Paris in the 1930s but, unlike Senghor, never settled there, would become the President's personal pick for Césaire's replacement. Briere lived and worked in Haiti until forced into exile during the dictatorship of Duvalier. Senghor had invited Brierre, a longtime friend, to live in Senegal in 1962, and Brierre would call his host-country home for over two decades. Brierre became well-known for his anti-American stance regarding the American occupation of Haiti (1915-34), and for his celebration of the heroes of Haitian independence. While in Dakar, Brierre published frequently in journals such as *Ethiopiennes* and *Le Soleil*, emphasizing themes of pan-Africanism and exile. Like Senghor, Brierre gave music strong symbolic weight as a key signifier of blackness: "For Brierre, the ... search for transcendence took the form of ... the panegyric of black American jazz musicians like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, whom Senghor also admired."<sup>178</sup>

Jean Mazel's typically grandiloquent description of the upcoming Gorée spectacle reveals the level of significance the upper echelons of Senegal's cultural bureaucracy were placing on the event. Considering the event to be of literally messianic proportions, Mazel boasted to the Dakar daily newspaper, *Dakar-Matin*, that the Spectacle de Gorée would dwarf even France's most extravagant Passion plays: "The true mystery of the Passion which is given

---

<sup>177</sup> Jean Mazel, "Mission été 1965: Note d'information no. 1," FESMAN Collection, Folder 29, SNA.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.; Max Dorsinville, "Les écrivains haïtiens à Dakar," *Études littéraires* 13, 2 (1980): 349; 351-352; n13.

every 4 years on the parvis of Notre Dame has 120 actors and extras, that of the Chateau de Ludde 100, whereas that of Gorée will have 230 actors and extras for 8 scenes for a total duration of 50 minutes” (Le vrai mystère de la Passion qui est donné tous les 4 ans sur le parvis de Notre Dame a 120 acteurs et figurants celui du Chateau de Ludde 100, alors que celui de Gorée aura 230 acteurs et figurants pour 8 tableaux d’une durée totale de 50 minutes). Beyond its spiritual stature, Mazel added, the technical elements of the show would be “at the forefront of open-air shows” (à l’avant-garde des spectacles de plein air), utilizing only state-of-the-art equipment. Perhaps most importantly, however, Mazel emphasized that the event was “a sort of large-scene, popular opera where the human element plays a capital role” (une sorte d’opéra populaire à grande mise en scène où l’élément humain joue un rôle capital). The addition of the word “popular” (populaire) as a descriptive reveals hopes for a diverse audience draw that would appeal not only to elites, but to the masses as well. For the inhabitants of Gorée this was certainly not a problem, since they need not worry about paying for transport to get to the island; for average Senegalese citizens, however, the cost of ferry transport hampered the free tickets for locals. Lastly, Mazel spoke of the show’s “living” (vivant) quality despite the fact that its actors would be miming to pre-recorded verbal delivery. He assured an authentic performance, saying, “This is a ‘living sound and light show’ because it is animated by actors and extras that should, with mime, coordinate their verbal delivery with the rhythms of the drums” ([c’est un] ‘Son et Lumière vivant’ parce que animé par les acteurs et figurants qui doivent par la mime, coller aux rythmes des tams-tams, du débit verbal de la bande magnétique). The setting and the music would bring the opera to life, Mazel concluded: “As for the site of Gorée, I have put everything into it, and all of the evolution of Goréan drama connects with the triple counterpoint of African

music, eighteenth-century French music, and Afro-American spirituals for a delightful delivery” (Quant au site de Gorée il et de tous ceux dont j’ai eu à m’occuper le plus émouvant, et toute l’évolution du drame goréen rattache un triple contre-point, musique africaine, française du XVIIIème siècle, et négro-spirituals est rendu avec bonheur).<sup>179</sup> The optimistic aspirations attached to the *Spectacle féérique* fit squarely in line with President Senghor’s desires for a postcolonial cultural policy of *négritude* fit for his own masses as well as for mass consumption on a more global scale. With tens of thousands of foreign visitors attending the show, Senghor knew very well that more than any other event at the Festival, the *Spectacle féérique* afforded a unique opportunity to perform his philosophy into a new, “living” form of existence, something never possible before independence. As discussed in Chapter One, the poet-president had already long foreshadowed this desire to retell Africa’s future through a musical interpretation of its past in his poem “Que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong” (Let me be accompanied by koras and balafon): “Again I sing a noble subject / Let me be accompanied by koras and balaphone! ... Let me here be the song of Africa’s future...” (De nouveau je chante un noble sujet / que m’accompagnent kôras et balafong! ... Que j’entende le chant de l’Afrique future!). The *Spectacle féérique* does exactly that: it sings of a “noble subject” (the retelling of the history of a somewhat composite Gorée-Senegal-Africa from an African point of view) which must be accompanied by “African” music (in the poem, the koras and balaphone refer to the traditional “classical” music of Manding royalty; in the *spectacle*, 18<sup>th</sup> century French classical musical music and Afro-American spirituals along with generic “African” drumming) in order to

---

<sup>179</sup> “Une première mondiale sans précédent: le spectacle féérique de Gorée,” *Dakar Matin* (March 14, 1965), 3.

successfully sing “Africa’s future.”<sup>180</sup> The Spectacle féérique operatically performed a new historical narrative of cultural blackness from a distinctly postcolonial African perspective and, in so doing, sang the very “song of Africa’s future.”

The opera begins “[i]n the days of the quiet fishermen: the first inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century” (au temps des pêcheurs: les premiers occupants au fin de la seizième siècle).<sup>181</sup> Librettist Jean Brierre music consultant and “expert”-at-large Jean Mizel uses music both to play into and with the Western vision of pre-colonized Africa as a kind of ahistorical Eden. The scene begins in “absolute darkness” (le noir absolu), an unsubtle metaphor. Into this darkness, the drums begin, penetrating further into the past than even light can reach. Men and women work along the beach, accompanying themselves contentedly with song. As the narrator begins, the music stops. Prior to colonization, the recorded voice sings as actors mime along, “the massive and expansive African continent seems to be living outside the world and time ...” (le continent africain ‘massif et tabulaire’ semble vivre hors du monde et du temps...) while “a solitary tam-tam is beating in the night...” (un tam-tam solitaire bat pendant la nuit) (provided by the Traditional Instrumental Ensemble of Senegal) and “[a] gentle song can be heard” (un chanson doux est entendu). At the same time, however, while the continent may be presented as “outside of the world” (hors du monde) it is anything but ahistorical, as indicated by the general catalog of Senegalese history which follows the earlier, idyllic introduction. At a time when most foreigners, not to mention Senegalese, in the audience had relatively little education in the history of West Africa, Brierre makes sure to emphasize that the region had once been on the

---

<sup>180</sup> Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 211; Senghor, *Poésie complète*, 36. [See Chapter 1]; See Eric Charry, *Mande Music: Traditional and Modern Music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

<sup>181</sup> The title of Scene 1.

opposite side of the imperial coin. By cataloguing the illustrious past of the region's own empires (the "Malinke migration from Soundiata; / Penetration of Islam; / Heroic Serer migration to Sine Saloum; / Height of Mali power; The Djolof Empire attaining unity of language..."), Brierre emphasizes the newfound potscolonial agency of Africans to reclaim their history. Interestingly, Brierre then abandons this defense of African history and returns to an entirely Occidental dream of a bucolic, pre-historic Eden, complete with Biblical references: "Within its frontiers of foam, the island of Ber / lives in an idyllic peace ... until it resembles a scene from / the Bible in the days of Jesus (à l'intérieur de ses frontières d'écume, l'île de Ber vit une paix édenique à laquelle ... donnent le relief d'un site biblique au temps de Jésus). In this tranquil timelessness, "Ber falls asleep in the evening and seems to continue a dream from before the Deluge" Ber s'endort chaque soir est semble continuer un rêve d'avant le déluge). It is not until the first fishermen of the morning notice a Dutch gallion on the horizon that the island becomes "a part of History." Brierre does not write this without irony, however: "The island / has become part of History, property / of the white world, taken in by dupes" (l'île est entrée dans l'Histoire, acquise au monde blanc, prise dans le circuit des dupes). The islanders are seduced by the shiny sparkle of iron bars that the Dutchman offers them in exchange for ownership of the island. The symbolism is obvious, and in the background, forlornly, the voice of the Conscience and the Ancestors (sung by Cherif Fall) laments this tragic mistake.<sup>182</sup>

In the following scene, "War in lace cuffs (17th century)" (le guerre en dentelles), the idyllic drumming of an imagined pre-colonial African paradise is replaced by the sounds of the foreign military dominance of four successive regimes: the Dutch, the English, the Dutch again,

---

<sup>182</sup> Note: "Ber" was the precolonial name for the Ile de Gorée. Jean Brierre, "Spectacle féérique de Gorée" (libretto), 1-3. Senegalese National Archives FESMAN Collection, Folder 29. 1965.

and the French. To the sound of trumpets, the Dutch purchases the island of Ber from Biram, the king of Cape Verde, for the profit of the Dutch West India Company. It is at this time that the island of Ber becomes Goede Reed, later Gorée. Tension between encroaching exploitation and relative stability for the time being are reflected in the “continuation of the tam-tam” (permanance du tam-tam) as “order reigns for a time” (un ordre provisoir s’instaure). Meanwhile, battle for maritime supremacy among the colonial powers continues to the accompaniment of cannon fire and military drumming until the French eventually take over as the primary profiteers of Senegal’s raw materials. Inland, “the island’s ivory and wax are / bartered for iron... / Always iron...” (l’ivoire et la cire du pays s’échangent / contre le fer... / toujours le fer...).<sup>183</sup> With the *Spectacle*’s backdrop the island’s former slave holding pen, the symbolism could not have been not lost on anyone.

With the colonial presence thus established, Brierre then brings us face to face with the shameful history of the island and through it, the larger tragedy of the continent’s losses as a whole. In the third scene, “Slavery, (eighteenth century)” (l’esclavage), the drums again symbolize pan-Africanity, but in this case they no longer represent the tranquil peace of pre-colonization, but the rhythm of slaves on the way to their ships. “The same obsessive rhythm of the tam-tam and bells accompanies the mournful progress of the slave-gangs in chains on the point of being shipped to the Americas...” One could interpret the “same obsessive rhythm of the tam-tam” as an effort to symbolize the resilience of African culture in spite of such strong countering forces. As the slave ship leaves port and sets off on its hellish trans-Atlantic journey, however, the tam-tam is left behind (on the Motherland) and is replaced by Lully’s “March of

---

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

the Turkish galley-slaves,” as “the tambourines and oboes seem to disappear into the ocean night.”<sup>184</sup>

Interestingly, in the celebratory “fête galante” hosted by the Governor in the fourth scene, “With the Governor de Boufflers (end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century)” (Avec le gouverneur du Boufflers) the ball is not set to the classical French music one might expect but instead to the koras and balafons of the Senegalese Traditional Instrumental Ensemble. Meanwhile, for the islanders, life goes on with an increasing gap between the rich and the poor. The scene highlights the hypocrisy of the *signares*, half-caste women who held considerable amorous and political sway in the country at the time. It is perhaps in this spirit of biraciality and biculturalism (something embraced by Senghor literally - he had a French wife - as well as figuratively) that Senghor chose what he considered Africa’s equivalent of classical music, the koras and balafons of royal Manding court music, to accompany the scene of upper-class sophistication. One of the *signares* commented enviously to her Marquis, “Our African kings never drink that kind of wine” (Nos rois d’Afrique ne boivent pas de ce vin là). The royal Mandinke music could in this context be considered a counter to this assumption of Africa’s lack of sophistication. Meanwhile, unbeknownst to the elite in Gorée, “the philosophers of light are working in the background” (les philosophes des lumières travaillent dans l’ombre). The librettist refers to the French enlightenment, “a turning-point in the course of history” (c’est un tournant dans le cours de l’histoire). This, he argues, is “the *real* France... *humanist* France” (la vraie France ...la France humaniste) [italics mine]. He distinguishes this noble France from that of slave-era France, implying that once slavery was abolished the country had somehow ceased to be an occupier or a

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid: 8 and *Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres* (LP, liner notes, in English), Philips 77.486. LP, 1966.

colonizer, instead being a liberator, fighting “for freedom and the dignity of man” (pour la liberté et la dignité de l’homme). The scene nods to signs of progress and impending liberation through the storming of the Bastille, the American Revolution, and finally, in 1804, Haitian independence, when, accompanied by “voodoo music” (la musique vaudou) of increasing intensity, “a cry of freedom rings out in the world” (un cri de liberté retentit dans le monde).<sup>185</sup>

Scene Five depicts the decline of Gorée as other towns become more commercially important after the end of the slave trade. Saint Louis had become the new administrative capital for the colony while Dakar was just starting to grow into the modern city it would soon become. Despite Gorée’s somber economy at this time, the scene is nevertheless a jovial one, because more important than commerce is the abolition of slavery, celebrated by the island’s inhabitants with “Grand folklore, acrobats, and child musicians” (Le grand folklore, bateleurs-acrobates, enfants musiciens). “The Yellow Fever (1878)” (La fièvre jaune) touches all inhabitants in Scene Six, “without prejudice, without distinction of race or colour...” (sans préjugés, sans distinction de race et de couleur). Echoing the suffering of the dying inhabitants, “amid the sounds of the tocsin [sic] and the moaning of the dying a very sorrowful ‘gospel song’ is heard, one of the oldest spirituals in the repertoire of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, a chorale established in 1875.” The inhabitants long to replace this mournful lament with a return of tranquility, of “pastoral quiet, only faintly disturbed by the tam-tam” (paix pastorale à peine ponctuée de tam-tam).<sup>186</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 10-12; *Premier Festival* (LP liner notes, English).

Scene Seven briskly covers the two World Wars, as the island of Gorée has meanwhile “completely returned to obscurity.” Dakar has begun to rise, however, and this rise seems to foreshadow the independence to come: “Already she [Dakar] realises the meaning of her bid for rights in the world” (Dakar mesure déjà les termes de sa déclaration des droits au monde).<sup>187</sup> Sounds of air-raid sirens and the screaming of dive-bombs depict the severe reality of the war, while the libretto emphasizes the nobility of the Africans’ participation in the Second World War as an opportunity to once again rise up against slavery, this time of a different type. Here Senghor’s “civilisation de l’universel” courageously begins to emerge, a redemption made possible only due to the sacrifices of its African citizens: “The African, of no particular colour now in his uniform, joins in the war for world freedom. Facing the oncoming tanks,... the white man and the coloured man, former master and former slave, make a pact in respect of human dignity and the right of the people to make their own decisions” (l’Africain, aujourd’hui sans couleur dans son uniforme, participe à la guerre de libération du monde. C’est face aux tanks,... que l’homme blanc et l’homme noir, l’ancien maître et l’ancien esclave, conviennent du pacte de respect de la dignité humaine et du droit des peuples à disposer d’eux-mêmes). Negro spirituals then bring the scene to a close. Clearly, this is a rose-lensed view of the war, one that would seem more credible coming from Senghor than from Brierre, who had moved from Haiti to Dakar, rather than the French metropole. As a piece of propaganda, it is brilliant; in so far as a representation of history, clearly it is slanted, ignoring the extreme disparities in payment and treatment of troops during the war, not to mention the 1944 Thiaroye massacre in which French West African soldiers who had fought for France in World War II were mowed to the ground

---

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

when they demanded that the French government pay them their overdue wages.<sup>188</sup> Having occurred only twenty-two earlier, this would seem to be a glaring omission in a folk opera wishing to retell history from an African perspective.

Finally, in Scene Eight, “Independence” (l’Indépendance) the libretto echoes Senghor’s dream of a universal civilization in which Africa is not only redeemed, but is the redeemer of the Western world: “Outrages, denials of justice, trading, / nothing has vanquished the Negro, / Who was perhaps the first / To see the sun rise over the jungle...” (Aucune outrage, aucune déni, aucune traite, n’ont dompté l’homme noir qui a peut-être été le premier homme a voir se lever le soleil sur la jungle). The hymn continues, “In the atomic age, side by side with other / Men who are his brothers, and fervent towards God, / He is bent on respecting universal man / And the God of all people” (A l’heure de l’atome, demeuré fraternellement près de l’homme et fervent près de Dieu, il entend respecter l’homme universel et le Dieu de tous). The hymn finally comes to a close with glorious praise for a redemptive African culture: “Hail blood of Africa! / You have been an inspiration to art and world thought” (Salut, sang d’Afrique, / tu as irrigué l’Art et la Pensée du monde). At the same time, this message of universality must be balanced with a nod to Panafricanism as well as to the host country itself, Senegal. Brierre does this through the theme of common sacrifice, leading to the eventual resolution of the Africa-as-Messiah motif (see above). He first calls upon a series of Senegalese and West African historical figures: “Let the Last Post ring out in honour of Lat Dior, / Cheikhou Omar, El Foutiou, Soundiata, Samory / and all the unknown heroes of our centuries-old struggle” (Que la sonnerie aux morts honoré Lat Dior, Cheikhou Omar, El Foutiou, Sundiata, Samory et tous les héros

---

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 13; Nicolas Haque, “A Little-Known Massacre in Senegal,” *Al Jazeera* (blog) November 12, 2013, <http://blogs.aljazeera.com/blog/africa/little-known-massacre-senegal> (accessed 16 March 2014).

anonymes de nos luttes millénaires). Brierre then expands outward to include the rest of the African continent: “Those who perished at Gorée during the gory rebellions; Those who fell on the earth sown with African corpses” (ce qui sont mort à Gorée au cours de rébellions sanglantes, ce qui sont tombés sur la terre ensemencée de cadavres africains), before extending outward to the diaspora: “Those whom the slave-trade murdered, / the fugitives of Haiti, of Jamaica, of Guadalupe, / of Martinique, of Cuba and of Guiana” (ce que la traite négrière a assassinées, les marons d’Haïti, de la Jamaïque, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique, de Cuba, de la Guyanne).<sup>189</sup> After this catalogue of the common suffering of black men, Brierre then expands his homage to those of any race who struggled against a colonial oppressor: “Those who died in Colombia, / in Brazil, in Uruguay and in the Argentine / for the emancipation of Latin America; / Those of the American War of Independence / For whose sons John Brown and Lincoln were sacrificed” (Ce qui sont morts dans la grande Colombie, au Brésil, en Uruguay, et en Argentine pour l’émancipation de l’Amérique espagnole; ce de la guerre de l’indépendance des Etats-Unis d’Amérique pour les fils de qui, John Brown et Lincoln ont été crucifiés). Thus uniting the oppressed peoples of the world in a common struggle, Brierre returns the focus to Senegal: “We of this generation open our arms / To our brother-country Senegal, / Now one of the fellowship of free nations” (Nous, de cette génération, ouvrons au monde des bras fraternels: l’entrée du Sénégal dans le concert des nations libres). A carefully crafted musical accompaniment brings the scene to life. In the libretto, it specifies only “gospel song,” to accompany “In the age of atoms dwelling fraternally close to man and fervently close to God, he waits for the respect for universal man and the God of all. / Greetings, blood of Africa / you have

---

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

circulated the Art and Thought of the World” (A l’heure de l’atome, demeuré fraternellement près de l’homme et fervent près de Dieu, il entend respecter l’homme universel et le Dieu de tous. / Salut, sang d’Afrique, / Tu as irrigué l’Art et la Pensée du monde). The operetta ends with these closing lines: “Senegal has declared Peace / Fire the canons” (le Sénégal a décrété la Paix / Tonnent les canons) followed by the singing of the Senegalese national anthem (written by President Senghor himself).<sup>190</sup> Due to logistics, the officially released Philips LP, which was recorded prior to FESMAN in order to have it on hand for sale at the Festival, varies slightly from the live performance. While absent from the recording, cannons were indeed fired nightly on Gorée island to dramatic effect. Here is a description of the finale from the album’s English program notes: “After the ‘Last Post’ comes the panegyric of the heroes of Negritude whose sacrifice has not been in vain. This is given in the form of an immense hymn of thanksgiving diffused by stereophonic sound: ‘God is marvellous....’” The music comes directly from Harlem: “The recording itself is marvellous also, a live recording made by the Back Home Choir in the Baptist Church of New York, a moving illustration, if ever there were one, of the contribution of Negritude to universal civilization.”<sup>191</sup>

Mazel’s final report regarding on the *Spectacle féérique* (a post-festival assessment from May 9, 1966) concluded the show to be a resounding success. Due to demand, organizers decided to extend the number of performances, many nights doubling up shows, for a total of thirty-eight runs over the course of the three-week festival. While the budget allotted for the *spectacle* ran high (the fourth most expensive project, following those of the Stade, the Theatre

---

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> *Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres* (LP, liner notes).

Sorano and the Theatre Brottier), its profits far exceed expectations, earning 6,500,000 CFA more than any other event (which translates into \$97,109 US dollars in 2013). In addition, the folk opera made the festival an additional 5,000,000 CFA (\$74,698 in today's US dollars) outside of the 23,000-plus ticket sales specifically, namely in the order of souvenirs, food, beverages, and lodging, for a total festival profit of 11,500,500 CFA from the *Spectacle son et lumière* (\$171,807.68 today).<sup>192</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup> Jean Mazel, "Compte rendu d'ensemble de Jean Mazel, conseiller-expert du festival sur la creation, le fonctionnement et les perspectives d'avenir du spectacle feerique de Goree (May 9, 1966)," FESMAN Collection, Folder 29, SNA. (This figure was calculated first by finding the 1966 currency conversion into US dollars from the following website: [http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof\\_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966](http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966) and then taking that amount and adjusting for inflation via <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/> [both accessed 29 november 2013]).

## CHAPTER THREE

## SOUNDING BLACKNESS: MUSICAL DIALOGUES AT FESMAN 1966

Dakar's primary newspaper, *Dakar Matin*, dedicated daily pages to coverage of FESMAN, and between promotional features and critical reviews printed there and in other national and international media, a vivid picture emerges. Observers and journalists alike repeatedly described the Festival as a kind of internal dialogue or self-reflection—Africa looking at itself. Along these lines, Esther Dagan categorized the Festival into three types of dialogue: 1) “a musical dialogue of Blacks rediscovering the African roots of their music,” for which she gives Duke Ellington as an example; 2) “a musical and dancing dialogue of Africa with its diaspora,” as represented by the national ensemble of Trinidad and Tobago; and 3) “the supreme, rhythmical dialogue of Africa with itself,” in which she describes the impromptu collaborative performances between visiting artists and the Senegalese dancers and musicians who were installed throughout the city in a series of “off” performances.”<sup>193</sup> The Tanzanian artist Elimo Njau, who came to the Festival independently due to his country's lack of official participation, echoed this theme of self-reflection: “...it is Africa looking at herself. It is a dialogue within Africa, and to me it's a great sign of maturity.”<sup>194</sup> Njau considered this self-examination to be a crucial step in Africa's development of a modern, postcolonial identity:

...this is not just a false appraisal of Africa – it is a critical look at Africa by contemporary Africans who are in fact the sort of people

---

<sup>193</sup> Note: “Off” refers to concerts that were either not officially connected to the FESMAN program or second-tier performances that were presented across the city under the rubric of “l'Animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival.” Esther Dagan, ed., *The Spirit's Dance in Africa: Evolution, Transformation and Continuity in Sub-Sahara* (Westmount, QC, Canada: Galerie Amrad African Arts Publications, 1997), 155.

<sup>194</sup> Elimo Njau, “John Nagenda from Uganda Talks to Ibrahim Salahi from Sudan and Elimo Njau from Tanzania at the Dakar Festival,” by John Nagenda (radio broadcast transcript), *Cultural Events in Africa* 17 (1966): 1-3.

whom one may call... prophets of today. This is on the contemporary level and to me it signifies great possibilities for the future because its only when the artist can be self-critical that you feel he can produce something worth considering. ... If you talk of your African personality, you can't expect an outside person to define it for you ... You must define and rebuild your own house for yourself....<sup>195</sup>

Through its panoply of overlapping performances, FESMAN demonstrated just how blurry the boundaries between the regional, the national, and the pan-African, between “traditional” and “popular,” and between hope and nostalgia, had become in the years following independence.

In the spirit of Dagan’s comparison of FESMAN’s performances to types of dialogues, I will present the musical component of the Festival in a similar, but slightly altered fashion. Like Dagan, I consider the overlapping sonic dimensions of the festival as a kind of collective conversation, but I find it more useful to consider the United States’ diaspora within the larger context of the entire diaspora. Any kind of categorical division used to present the performative dimension of the festival is fraught with contradictions. These contradictions, however, only serve to reinforce the spirit and energy these festivals emitted over the course of its three-week run. It is therefore necessary to create temporary categorical divisions in order to explore the diverse ways that pan-African imaginaries manifested at FESMAN, but by the end of the chapter they will find their way back together again. In this chapter I will consider three different musical dialogues from the Festival: first, what Dagan described as the dialogue of “Africa with itself”; second, the immense and complex role of the diaspora at FESMAN; and third, the festival’s popular music as an increasingly powerful and influential pan-African voice in global cultural dialogues.

---

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

FESMAN was a showcase for newly emergent African national ensembles which hoped to create new, composite sounds from the diversity of their populations; in fact, the majority of musical acts at the festival were those of national troupes. The presence of so many national acts shows the extent to which Senghor and others hoped to illustrate the compatibility of negritude and nationhood at FESMAN. National ensembles offered people the opportunity to see themselves from different points of view; audiences identified with the pan-Africanity of the Festival's participants, and they were just as fascinated with the exoticism of foreign performances as any European or American would be. The notion of unity through diversity appealed to many and, for Senghor, fit very well with his dream of a *civilisation de l'universel*. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to thoroughly address the phenomenon of African national musical ensembles in the early years of independence, I will explore the ubiquitous presence of these groups at the festival, the audience and journalistic responses to them, and the postcolonial complexities they embodied in the chapter's first section.

From here I will consider the significant resonance of diasporic music in newly emerging postcolonial African identities from three crucial perspectives: the ubiquitous presence of the moniker "Jazz" at the Festival as a catchall term with the symbolic power to blur musical and national boundaries in the name of a composite, "authentic" black modernity; the vast presence of Cuban music at FESMAN, despite the country's lack of official participation; and lastly, the special attention that African-American musicians received at the festival. For musicians across the African continent, "jazz" was a term which had become interchangeable with any number of popular dance musics but most frequently with rumba, which had already become a truly trans-continental musical phenomenon decades before the Festival. Rumba, too, had come to represent

a music distinct from the style Cubans would associate with the same term; together, “jazz” and “rumba” blurred the boundaries between nations, ethnicities, races, and musical styles. Such conflations reveal a strong desire on the part of Africans to reclaim ownership of a black cultural heritage that had, for too long, been centered across the water with the diaspora. This preliminary examination of the complex and often contradictory ideas associated with the term “jazz,” particularly as it manifested in Cuban and African-American music provides the context for the following section’s more in depth study of these two diasporic musics and their interwoven relationship with African music. Cuban music had been an established pan-African cultural phenomenon for decades, and following independence on the continent it was able to bridge the gap between national and pan-African agendas. African American music seemed to hold great power in the imaginations of African audiences, despite the fact that the average Senegalese was far less familiar with jazz or negro spirituals than he or she was with rumba.<sup>196</sup> While Cuban music bridged a gap between national and pan-African imaginations, African-American music seemed instead to link the diaspora and the continent. For Africans, taking ownership of African-American musics was a way of redirecting the diaspora back to the continent in much the same way that the pan-African movement did more generally in the postcolonial era.

Lastly, I will discuss the significance of the involvement of several notable pan-African stars with FESMAN: Miriam Makeba, I.K. Dairo, O.K. Jazz and les Bantous de la Capitale, the Gay Desperadoes and Mighty Terror, Josephine Baker and Moune de Rivel. While Makeba ultimately cancelled shortly before the festival launched, the extensive hype promoting Makeba’s

---

<sup>196</sup> Soul and R&B music, on the other hand, something the Senegalese *were* well acquainted with, was not represented at the Festival at all.

participation to be one of the Festival's biggest draws is indicative of her centrality to the African imagination in the 1960s. Her absence was as notable as her presence would have been, and I therefore still consider Makeba to be important to FESMAN's story. Those who did perform present a cross-section of pan-African popular culture in the 1960s and help tell the story of how a younger generation of independent Africans were composing a new black experience for themselves.

*National Ensembles: "Africa's Dialogue with Itself"*

The overwhelming majority of festival performances were presented by the newly formed national ensembles of participating countries. The following countries either exclusively or primarily represented themselves through their respective national troupes (be it ballet, instrumental music, dance, or, more commonly, some sort of combination): Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Congo-Léopoldville (today the Democratic Republic of the Congo; Léopoldville is now Kinshasa), Dahomey (present-day Benin), Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, the R.A.U. (Royaume Arabe Unie – United Arab Kingdom; present-day Egypt), Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Zambia. Among these, several were asked to add extra performances due to high demand, including Brazil, Congo-Léo, Haiti, Ivory Coast, and Trinidad-Tobago. The musical delegations which performed at FESMAN approached the representation of their nationalized brand of pan-Africanism from a variety of angles. Some countries preferred to emphasize the nation from a collective yet anonymous point of view in which a composite sort of national meta-ethnicity reconstructed regional traditional practices within a modern postcolonial framework. Others,

such as the United States, utilized the international fame of star solo performers or popular groups to advertise a national agenda on the world stage.<sup>197</sup> Still others strove for a combined approach, either offering two different musical acts, one “traditional,” and one popular, as in the case of Congo-Brazzaville, or by incorporating a variety of genres, from folkloric to pop, into one large program, like the shows presented by Brazil, France, and the Antilles.

For many countries, newly formed national ensembles served as a performative platform from which to showcase the country’s various ethnicities working together in harmony, something leaders hoped might inspire, or at least symbolize, similar cohesion among their diverse populations. Those nations that took a pan-ethnic “traditional” approach (including Cameroon, Mali, Congo-Léopoldville, Morocco, the United Arab Republic [present-day Egypt], Ghana, and Senegal) -- seemed to have two goals in common: 1) to represent all of the country’s ethnic groups (or at least as many as possible) and 2) to come across as “authentic.”<sup>198</sup> Needless to say, authenticity can only be judged subjectively, and of course presenting a collective performance of multiple ethnicities on the same stage at such a pan-African arts festival was a distinctly modern phenomenon. Therefore, perhaps a more accurate description of these performances would be “authentically modern,” in that they represented the current postcolonial environment. No matter how many nations strove to recreate the precolonial past, modern geopolitical circumstances were responsible for the ensembles’ very existences.

Those ensembles that came across as most “authentic” received the highest critical praise. Cameroon’s national ensemble, 85 members strong, performed a three hour show that critic

---

<sup>197</sup> See Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World* for more on America’s musical involvement in Cold War politics.

<sup>198</sup> Congo-Brazzaville and Senegal did not represent their countries exclusively through traditional ensembles, but included other acts – popular, classical – as well.

George Larché considered to be “the best folklore show of the festival” (le meilleur spectacle folklorique du Festival). He elaborated, “the essential merit of this evening [wa]s above all else its *authenticity* – [we were] not in Sorano [Theatre] anymore but in North Cameroon in Bamiléké country, or Bassa country in the west” (Le mérite essentiel de cette soirée, c’est avant tout son AUTHENTICITÉ. Nous ne sommes pas au Théâtre Daniel Sorano, mais au Nord du Cameroun, en pays Bamiléké ou Bassa, dans la Ouest).<sup>199</sup> Larché marveled at the way in which the audience felt pulled into the performance: “We participate[d] in the rites, the songs and dances; we perceive[d] the reality of *négritude* under the Ngaoundéré sky or in the phantasmes of their forest” (Nous participons aux rites, aux chants et aux danses, nous percevons la réalité de la *négritude* sous le ciel de Ngaoundéré ou dans les phantasmes de la forêt). Indeed, to Larché the ensemble delivered exactly what the spectators were looking for: “We [got] what we want[ed]: the African soul in its raw form... [They] gave us what we ask[ed] for above all else at the Premier Festival: *black art in its primitive truth*” (Nous avons ce que nous souhaitons: l’âme africaine à l’état brut. ... il nous donne ce que nous demandions avant tout au Premier Festival: L’ART NEGRE DANS SA VÉRITÉ PRIMITIVE). Larché idealized an imagined, bucolic precolonial Eden, “before the airplane epoch” (avant l’époque de l’avion). To him, the extent to which the Cameroonian performers could cause people to forget who, what and where they were for just a moment mattered most. To travel back in time to an “earlier age of this Africa that we love and which revives the memories of our own ancient time in the bush—*this* is what audiences were ‘ask[ing] for’”) (aux premiers âges de cette Afrique que nous aimons et qui faisait revivre les souvenirs de nos anciennes tournées en brousse—il donne ce que nous demandions). Modern technique, to Larché, was something valuable only in its ability to more convincingly

---

<sup>199</sup> George Larché, “La participation du Cameroun: triomphe!” *Dakar-Matin* April 25, 1966, 6.

portray the premodern: it “didn’t intervene beyond better valorizing this soul, to better introduce us to the secret world of the village” (n’intervient que pour mieux mettre en valeur cette âme, pour mieux nous introduire dans le monde secret du village).<sup>200</sup> Mali, on the other hand, took a completely different approach by deliberately juxtaposing the “traditional” and the “modern.” The troupe performed a series of ritual dances against a “starkly contrasting avant-garde geometric stage setting” (‘Gomba,’ a circumcision initiation dance, ‘Sandia,’ a Griot dance, and ‘Les possédées du Démon,’ a sacred exorcism dance, in addition to masked dances by the Dogon of Bandiagara). Practically all of FESMAN’s performers were scheduled at multiple venues in order to ensure that people would not miss a show that overlapped with another on their list, however, and Mali gave other performances, particularly at the open-air stadium (Stade de l’Amitié) with a more deliberately “authentic” set including a “full-scale village.” The Sudanese artist Ibrahim Salahi, who came to Dakar without the support of a government delegation considered the Malian National Ensemble to be one of his favorite Festival performances, along with Congo-Léopoldville’s folkloric troupe. In an interview he compared the two folklore shows, which occurred on consecutive evenings: Speaking first of Congo-Léopoldville, he marveled, “To me the kind of contrast between those two evenings put side by side from two different parts of the continent...was terrific, something really fantastic to see.” He portrayed the juxtaposition of “primitive” and “sophisticat[ed]” as an artistic success: “Something which is supposed to be (that term I cannot agree with) primitive, the uncivilised, the savage; the costumes, the quality of the dance, the music, the beauty that came from the whole thing. And

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

then to contrast that with the next evening of Mali where the sophistication, the delicacy of the whole thing, is something superb.<sup>201</sup>

North Africa was by no means unrepresented at the festival; Morocco, Egypt (then known as the United Arab Republic), and Libya all sent official delegations, and Algeria had an unofficial representative in the Berber chanteuse Marguerite Taos Armouche, who performed on the hodge-podge “Chants et danses d’Afrique et des Antilles” hosted by Josephine Baker. Lebanon even participated from the sidelines; with a large Lebanese minority community in Dakar, the country assembled its own official festival committee and contributed financially and logistically to the Festival. Additionally, the popular Lebanese singer, Sabbah, gave several pre-festival concerts which helped promote the event, donating all proceeds to the festival coffers. Morocco and Egypt both stole the spotlight from Libya, which, while present, was relatively passed over by the press. Morocco in particular dazzled audiences with its over-the-top outdoor spectacle complete with racing horsemen. The Moroccan national troupe’s “fantasia” performance, consisting of 130 performers, singers, acrobats, musicians and dancers, captivated spectators with its stylized exoticism. The show, entitled “Izlane,” was directed by folklore specialist Myriam Ahardane, lasted two hours and included an fully reconstructed Moroccan village on set. Traditional Maghrebian equestrian shows, popularly known as “fantasias,” had been a fixture in the European orientalist imagination ever since Eugène Delacroix exhibited a series of works devoted to the subject in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Patricia Geesey, a fantasia from the Maghreb is a “festive display of horsemanship and shooting

---

<sup>201</sup> “Festival des Arts Nègres: Nombreux ensembles folkloriques à la première soirée de gala,” *El Moujahid* (Algiers), April 3-4, 1966, 8; Barry Farrell, “First World Festival of Black Man’s Art,” *Life* (April 22, 1966): 86; “The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, Senegal,” *Cultural Events in Africa* 17 (1966): 2; Njau, “John Nagenda from Uganda,” 1-3 (English original).

traditionally performed to celebrate victories or holidays by the tribes of the Atlas and Kabyle mountains.” Within the recent context of Senegal and much of Africa’s transition to independence, the fantasia would also have a certain anticolonial bent; to some, it could serve as a reminder of the indigenous Algerian cavalry who fought against the French in the nineteenth-century.<sup>202</sup> As unusual a site for the average Senegalese as for any European or American, Morocco’s captivating display of charging horsemen brandishing and shooting elaborately ornamented rifles to the accompaniment of ululating women was just what Esther Dagan was referring to when she described the Festival as “Africa looking at itself.” Sub-Saharans could appreciate the exoticism of the spectacle and marvel at the show from the distance of a foreigner, while at the same time vicariously experiencing the cultural display as at least distantly connected, given the shared continent and geographic proximity.

The Egyptian folkloric performance served a similar function, albeit to a lesser extent than the dramatic open-air stadium show of Morocco’s “Fantasia.” The United Arab Republic, as it was then known, brought a considerably smaller delegation to the festival than Morocco; its troupe consisted of fifty artists to Morocco’s 130. While the Moroccan fantasia may have triggered more gut-level excitement from the audience through its cinematic choreography, the Egyptians captivated the imaginations of their audiences primarily through the masterful artistry of the troupe’s national orchestra, a fifteen-member ensemble directed by Aly Zarrag.

According to one of *Dakar-Matin*’s two main festival performance critics, Abdoulaye Ba, the group was a resounding success precisely because of “the dexterity of their musicians who could

---

<sup>202</sup> Abdoulaye Ba, “L’envolée de la fantasia marocaine au Stade de l’Amitié a enthousiasmé une foule conquise,” *Dakar Matin*, April 20, 1966, 8; Patricia Geesey, “Collective Autobiography: Algerian Women and History in Assia Djébar’s *L’amour, la fantasia*,” *Dalhousie French Studies* 35 (Summer, 1996): 158.

miraculously make their instruments sing under the magical baton of maestro Aly Zarrag” (la dextérité des musiciens qui font miraculeusement chanter leurs instruments sous la baguette magique du maestro Aly Zarrag). The troupe’s performance consisted of a series of popular dances, beginning with “Nubian dances,” and following with the “Baton dance” and the “Baptism” dance.<sup>203</sup> In an amicable gesture of pan-African solidarity, these dances were followed by a musical interlude in which the orchestra performed a Manding love song arranged for Egyptian instruments. Such a musical mélange appealed to pan-Africanism’s tendency to lift up Egypt’s ancient civilisation as a symbol of the grandeur of African history and culture.

Professionalism and amateurity were alternatively touted as evidence of an ensemble’s perceived *authenticité*. While Mohamed Abdallah, the troupe’s director, was quite excited to be bringing his performers to West Africa for the first time, the Egyptian troupe claimed legitimacy and superiority from their well-established international presence. In their program description they boasted having already performed over 300 shows in 17 festivals across Europe and North Africa, for a total of over 600,000 spectators.<sup>204</sup> The Ghanaian folkloric ensemble, on the other hand, considered amateurity to be a more convincing form of authenticity. The delegation was proud to say that its ensemble consisted of students from the School of Music and Dramatic Arts of Ghana, adding that not only did experts from the various represented villages visit the school to supervise and teach specific repertoire, but “to assure the authenticity and quality of their performances, the dancers are occasionally sent to villages to perform with traditional groups;

---

<sup>203</sup> Abdoulaye Ba, “L’Egypte, trait d’union entre l’Afrique et le reste du monde, a foi en la coopération avec les peuples africains,” a déclaré M. Sawy, chef de la délégation de la R.A.U. au Festival,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 13, 1966, 6. Note: “Nubian” has sometimes been employed by pan-Africanists to refer to anyone of African ancestry.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid and Abdoulaye Ba, “La troupe nationale de la République Arabe Unie présente ce soir à Sorano son spectacle de danses populaires,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 8 1966, 6.

this way they learn the spirit and atmosphere of the dances they perform in addition to the technique” (afin de s’assurer de l’authenticité et de la qualité de leur présentation, les danseurs sont envoyés, de temps à autre, pour danser dans les villages avec les groupes traditionnels. C’est ainsi qu’ils apprennent à se pénétrer de l’esprit et de l’atmosphère des danses qu’ils ont à interpréter de même qu’ils peuvent parfaire leur technique). Nevertheless, lest they turn anyone off by the potential for a lower quality show, the troupe’s promoters assured potential audiences that the quality of their performances would not be compromised, adding, “despite just being students at the Ecole folklorique, they have already achieved a high level of professionalism and recently went on a successful European tour” (Bien qu’ils ne soient encore qu’élèves de l’École de Musique et d’Art dramatique, les membres de l’École folklorique ont déjà atteint un haut degré professionnel et ont fait récemment avec succès une importante tournée en Europe). Audiences were not disappointed; a later *Dakar-Matin* review raved, “Without a doubt, one can affirm without risk of being mistaken that Ghana is one of the best troupes to have performed since the opening of the Festival” (Incontestablement, l’on peut affirmer sans risque de se tromper que le Ghana est l’une des meilleurs troupes qui se soit produite depuis l’ouverture du Festival). Niger also marketed the lack of its troupe’s experience as an asset, although it is possible that such spin was the result of a lack of any other options. To confirm their authenticity, the Niger Ensemble’s promoters let journalists know that their ensemble was made up of “peasants, nomadic and sedentary livestock farmers, artisans, [and] traders” (paysans, éleveurs nomades et sédentaires, des artisans, des commerçants).<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> “L’Ensemble folklorique du Ghana,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 15, 1966, 6; “Tonnerre d’applaudissements au Stadium pour l’ensemble national du Ghana,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 18, 1966, 6; “L’Ensemble artistique du Niger présente ce soir à Brottier un spectacle de danses ancestrals,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 6, 1966, 6.

As the host country of the entire Festival, Senegal deserves special attention. Senghor reserved his country's gala night for the Festival finale. The show incorporated performances by the Senegalese Instrumental Ensemble, the Frères brothers (a classical duo), and the Senegalese Armed Forces Band. The soirée was an exclusively musical affair, rather than the more common hybrid performances (music-dance or music-theatre-dance) of many of the other traditional national troupes. To begin, the instrumental ensemble performed a concert of folkloric music representing "all" (or most of) of Senegal's ethnic groups: "the Wolof, Toucouleur, Malenké, Diola, Balante, Sérère, Mandingue, Socé" were those listed in a column promoting the upcoming concert in *Dakar-Matin*. Their program included songs representing various aspects of traditional life, such as those for work or for conjuring spirits. The ensemble was still in its infancy; it had been created just nine months earlier by an African music professor, M. Oumar Baraud N'Diaye, who taught at Senghor's relatively new Ecole des Arts. Following this musical demonstration of pan-ethnic national unity-in-diversity, the concert switched gears entirely in a manner true to Senghor's philosophy of "biculturalism." The Kété Brothers were both classical music professors (one of violin and the other of piano) at the Ecole des Arts. Both had studied in Europe, and, according to the columnist, the duo had a reputation that "extends beyond our borders" (leur réputation dépasse nos frontières). Interestingly, the duo was not even originally from Senegal, but Togo; Senegal, however, had become their "adopted country" (Togolais d'origine, ils sont Sénégalais d'adoption) The Kété brothers performed "Terre sénégalaises," which was a movement from a larger work by the duo based on various "airs Africains."<sup>206</sup> Following this, they performed two more pieces, "La rhapsodie sénégalaises" and "Laï Laï."

---

<sup>206</sup> Ebongué Soellé, "L'Ensemble instrumental du Sénégal: les Frères Kété et la Musique des Armées animeront la gala du clôtura du Festival," *Dakar-Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.

This little ensemble represented exactly the kind of bicultural hybridity that Senghor envisioned in his *civilisation de l'universel*. Lastly, the Senegalese Armed Forces Band took the stage, led by Captain Jean Avignon. The ensemble performed a work entitled “Les heures sénégalaises,” with four movements: “Muezzin,” “Marche,” “Idylle,” and “Tam-Tam.” According to the *Dakar-Matin* description, the work was meant to evoke “a day in the life of a Senegalese: the morning call to prayer, the afternoon march, the promise of romance sparked by a beautiful sunset, and lastly, a night filled with dancing” (on vit une journée entière avec les Sénégalais: l’appel matinal à la prière, le spectacle qu’offre le marché à midi, les promesses d’amour que suscite un beau coucher de soleil et enfin la nuit meublée de danses). As perhaps another musical manifestation of Senghor’s biculturalist vision, Avignon’s *Les heures sénégalaises* “gives a bit of nobility to Senegal’s folk themes through classical or descriptive forms. In this way...Wolof, Bambara, and Toucouleur songs become international” (donne son cachet de noblesse aux thèmes folkloriques du Sénégal grâce aux formes classiques ou descriptives. Par cette initiative...les chansons du petit oulof, du petit bambara et du petit toucouleur deviendront internationales). In addition to Senegal’s official FESMAN performances, Dakar also featured local and regional ensembles devoted primarily to the traditions of each group’s specific locale or ethnicity.<sup>207</sup>

### *Africa and the Diaspora in Dialogue*

By the mid-1960s, the tables had turned and much of the African continent had achieved independence. Under these new circumstances, it could not necessarily be taken for granted that

---

<sup>207</sup> Ibid; Ex: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de Casamance, Troupe folklorique de la Région de Diourbel, Troupe folklorique des Associations Sérères (see appendices for complete list).

past symbols would carry the same meaning in a postcolonial world. However, due to the increasing availability of recorded music on the continent, the proliferation of radio programming, and the burgeoning African recording industry, African music became more actively participatory in representing notions of pan-African cultural blackness than during the colonial era, when it was left primarily to black diasporic musics to symbolize black modernity. Diasporic music still had the advantage of its newer hybrid forms being able to claim modern sophistication while co-opting authenticity from a distant African ancestry, but new, hybrid African musics, particularly popular forms which were adding more and more localisms were now coming into their own and were beginning to recenter black cultural identity back toward the continent. At the moment of independence, new African nations needed a way to bond their disparate populations together that bypassed the European legacy of colonialism. Music from anywhere in the black diaspora, therefore, once again served as a way to assert a non-European form of modernity. What had changed was that by the 1960s access to foreign music had widened beyond that of an elite minority of expats and become increasingly available across the continent. Many Africans in the 1960s, sharing a sentiment with those across the Atlantic, believed that music from any part of the diaspora could be legitimately claimed as their own. Particularly in the areas where new African music businesses flourished, musical styles and genre labels were beginning to conflate into a kind of pan-African composite.

Advances in music technology, radio diffusion, and popular music journalism meant that, by the 1960s, music could be guaranteed to reach a wider and more diverse audience than ever before. Literary expressions of negritude assumed a certain level of education, usually acquired through study abroad at one of Europe's elite universities, that music did not. Literature also

separated readers into sometimes mutually exclusive groups: Anglophones and Francophones at FESMAN often quarreled, for instance, over the lack of adequate translations for many of the Festival's theatrical productions. The visual arts, too, still clung to colonial notions of museum-culture, even as they reached out to include African handicrafts as just as worthy of exhibit as oils (itself a trend started in colonial France). Even the cinema, that bastion of popular culture, was only accessible to urban Africans of a certain means and linguistic flexibility. Music, on the other hand, was accessible to all via radio, a technology increasingly available even in the remotest areas. African-American, Cuban, South-African, and Congolese musics, among others, engaged audiences in the city as well as across the "bush."

The term "jazz" itself had become a conflated and generalized moniker much as "rumba" had. Particularly to Africans, but internationally as well (thanks to the radio and record industries), "jazz" had become a catch-all reference for practically any diasporic music. "Soul," "jazz," and "rumba" were often bandied about interchangeably or inconsistently in band names, on album titles, in music venues, and in band repertoire. Despite distinct differences in style, gospel choirs, rhythm and blues artists, negro spirituals, jazz big bands, Broadway musicals, rumba groups, and even juju bands were, at least categorically, often blurred together.<sup>208</sup> Simply put, the usefulness of these connotations outweighed their inaccuracies. Musicians were likely aware, at least on some level, that these were catch-all terms, but they nevertheless served as a shorthand which could simultaneously reference the dual ideals that Senegal and other postcolonial African nations were striving for: authentic Africanness and modern legitimacy.

---

<sup>208</sup> See Cook, "The Negro Spiritual," 42-48. Note: Louis Armstrong's "Hello Dolly" won best "jazz" LP in the Festival's recording competition; I.K. Dairo's juju band was simply referred to in some ads as "Nigerian jazz": "En marge du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, une brillante soirée dansante a eu lieu jeudi soir au Camp Mangin. Elle a été animés par les orchestres Saloum Jazz et Nigérien Jazz de Lagos," *Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, 5.

The Significance of “Jazz” to the Construction of Postcolonial Black African Modernities

Much as had already been the case decades earlier in the colonial metropolis of Paris, music from the black diaspora in the 1960s continued to represent something distinctly “African” and held significant cultural value because it could be claimed as ancient (via its original African forbearers) and modern (via its current form) at the same time. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, this black musical capital played a vital role during the struggle for independence in unifying a sense of pan-African solidarity on both sides of the Atlantic. Following independence, newly formed African nations found themselves in need of similar modern cultural symbols for which they could claim an authentic ownership. Diasporic musics such as jazz and rumba offered new African nations, like their expat pan-Africanist predecessors in Paris, a claim to globally popular, modern musics through their historical link to the African continent via slavery hundreds of years before. Despite the obvious fact that these musics have long, complex, and multi-colored histories that developed far away from African shores, skin color alone was enough to legitimize a continental claim on the music – nobody who was black could deny a genetic link to the mother continent, and this in and of itself was enough validation for Africans to adopt these diasporic musics as their own. For emphasis, it is worth repeating from Chapter 2 an excerpt from the Congolese musicologist Michel Lonoh’s study of the relationship between modern Congolese music and the concept of *négritude*, which echoes the sentiments of many African admirers of black diasporic musics: “One sometimes loses perspective that jazz was born on African soil and that Africa has every right to claim it as a part of the artistic heritage that she has offered to the world. ... Jazz is the music of *Négritude* as much as is the music of Senegal or the Congo” (On perd parfois de vue que le jazz est bien né sur la terre africaine et que l’Afrique a

tous les droits de le revendiquer comme faisant partie du patrimoine artistique qu'elle a offert au monde. ... Le jazz est la musique de la négritude, autant que la musique sénégalaise ou congolaise).<sup>209</sup> With independence, the continent of Africa was able to insert its voice into the diasporic mix more directly than ever before. The presence of such African-jazz hybrids as the Congolese (Brazzaville) superstars, "O.K. Jazz," also reinforced this notion of jazz as negritude. Although the music itself sounds like Cuban rumba, for all intents and purposes, the conspicuous presence of "Jazz" in the band's name pays, at the very least, a superficial homage to the great art form. The name "O.K. Jazz" is said to refer to the name of the first pub in which they performed regularly, the "O.K. Bar" (itself said to be named after the owner of the establishment). However, it is perhaps more than mere coincidence (a subliminal Freudian slip, perhaps?) that the band's name also sounds reminiscent of Ellington's former record label, Okeh Records. Lonoh does not exaggerate in his assessment of the breadth of jazz's influence, and Ellington was already household name across Anglophone Africa as early as the 1930s and by the 1950s he was well known in the Congo as well.<sup>210</sup> As nations transitioned into early independence, diasporic music genres such as jazz and "rumba" (in the pan-African sense of the term), which could claim to be both modern and traditional, both "Western" and "African," served a vital purpose in uniting incredibly diverse peoples both nationally and continentally. Since both of these genres served generally similar purposes, it is no surprise, perhaps, that so many young African rumba groups included the word "jazz" in their band names (Guinea Jazz, Harlem Jazz, O.K. Jazz, etc.).

---

<sup>209</sup> Lonoh, *Négritude et musique*, 15-16.

<sup>210</sup> Edmund John Collins, "Jazz Feedback to Africa," *American Music* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 1987): 183.

This conflation of diasporic black musics also extended into the genre of Negro Spirituals. With a distinctly different sound from jazz, negro spirituals were nevertheless corralled, along with rumba, into the larger category of “jazz.” A major difference, of course, is that Negro Spirituals could not claim to be modern; their appeal, rather, was the closer chronological proximity of these songs, via slavery, to the motherland. Despite the fact that many Negro Spirituals were pre-existing Protestant Christian church hymns adopted by early African-American churches, and the fact that most of the slaves who sung them were likely generations removed from the continent, the temporal distance was deemed inconsequential. What mattered most to Africans was that the suffering exuded in these songs came out of a history which, for better or for worse, forever linked them with their brethren across the water.

At the time of independence, Senegal had a number of home-grown rumba acts, all using the word “jazz” in their band names (Guinea Jazz, Harlem Jazz, Tropical Jazz). The sounds which were connecting Senegalese all over the country, from all walks of life, were not the balafon and kora traditions valorized by Senghor (although these certainly still maintained culturally significant roles for individual ethnic groups), but an international amalgam of diasporic music. It was a foregone conclusion that any diasporic music could by default be claimed to be inherently “African” at its core. Therefore, Senegalese musicians saw no contradiction in calling their rumba bands “jazz” bands. Likewise, these groups, despite frequently referencing the foreign (Guinea, Harlem, “tropical”...), still very much considered themselves to be “Senegalese.” Cuban music, as it was performed in Senegal, was an integral fulcrum point between the national and the pan-African. For one, many of these groups *were* inherently Senegalese or pan-African in the sense that many were made up of musicians from

either all across Senegal and therefore of different ethnic backgrounds, or just as common, from many locales from the Caribbean as well as other Francophone African countries. In referring to themselves, they would therefore not be able to accurately consider their group anything more specific than “Senegalese” or “pan-African”. Additionally, because Cuban music was not a phenomenon unique to Senegal, but rather a craze that had spread across the whole continent (particularly the West and West-Central coasts) of Africa on the wings of the burgeoning record and radio industries, it became something *shared* by Africans of all nationalities who, in the 1950s-60s, were experiencing the same growing pains. The music was neither Anglophone nor Francophone, and the fact that many groups could not understand the Spanish they sang was a point of connection rather than separation. At a moment when many Africans were looking for a new cultural identity that reflected their postcolonial reality, it made sense to look to something that was at once considered local (in multiple locales) pan-African, and not a product of their colonizers (or at least not their own).

African-American writers and musicians held similar pan-African views about jazz (and other diasporic musical genres) in the 1960s. Langston Hughes, a featured writer at the Festival, called “Soul” the African-American equivalent of negritude, by which he implied not only the music of such festival performers as Mahalia Jackson and Marion Anderson, but an overall state of being on par with negritude’s existentialism.<sup>211</sup> Brian Ward contextualizes Hughes’ comparison, noting that the pervasive spirit of liberation so alive in the 1960s led many blacks to seek an “antidote to white assumptions of cultural superiority by self-consciously valorizing their own culture and celebrating peculiarly African-American experiences and practices as the

---

<sup>211</sup> *West Africa* (April 30, 1966): 482.

critical repositories of identity and worth. To Ward, this same atmosphere facilitated the emergence of the “soul phenomenon” which “eventually encompass[ed] most aspects of black life to become almost synonymous with ‘negritude.’”<sup>212</sup> Duke Ellington and his orchestra, given regal red-carpet treatment and presented as the festival’s signature act, reinforced this pan-African interpretation of jazz. The great bandleader claimed, “the music of my race is something more than the American idiom. ...It is the result of our transplantation to American soil, and was our reaction in the plantation days to the tyranny we endured.” As such, exporting jazz “back to Africa” was almost redundant, given that it meant exporting an “American idiom with African roots.” In his Dakar journal, Ellington marveled, “After writing African music for thirty-five years, here I am at last in Africa.”<sup>213</sup> To many performers as well as listeners of all colors, from across Africa as well as from Europe, South America and the United States, Ellington’s music had finally returned to its source. Yet the Duke would have been the first to admit that he by no means intended for his music to sound “African,” literally – rather, he evoked an “idea” of the continent while still being faithful to his own compositional integrity. While one could argue that FESMAN’s was dated, urban Dakarais were not unaware of the more recent jazz innovations that had been going on over the past decade. One of the city’s primary newspapers featured a review of the Modern Jazz Quartet’s most recent album just a month before the festival.<sup>214</sup> To put the Duke’s ideas into a more specifically musical context, however,

---

<sup>212</sup> Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 182.

<sup>213</sup> Duke Ellington, “The Duke Steps Out,” *Rhythm* (March, 1931): 20-22, in Mark Tucker, *The Duke Ellington Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 49; Duke Ellington, *Music is My Mistress*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 436; 337.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid. See Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 66-71; “Jazz: Le Modern Jazz Quartet: de Bach à Aranjuez,” *Dakar-Matin*, March 7, 1966, 4.

I describe in some detail below the debut performance of a piece he wrote specifically for the occasion of FESMAN:

A Musical Interlude: Duke Ellington's *La Plus Belle Africaine*

President and Madame Senghor sat regally, yet with evident eagerness, on the edge of their seats. One of the most highly anticipated events of the First World Festival of Negro Arts, held in Senegal's modern capital of Dakar in 1966, was about to begin. The Duke announced the premiere of a new piece, written especially for the occasion: *La Plus Belle Africaine* ("The Most Beautiful African Woman"). A low, syncopated piano vamp, doubled on bass and accented with light cymbal hits, started the tune. Out of this rhythmic landscape, Jimmy Hamilton's clarinet emerged, seductively luring the audience in like a snake-charmer. His solo, in E-flat Phrygian, evoked vague images of camel caravans, or gypsy caravans, or starry nights in Moorish Spain, or wandering Jewish klezmerim... The Phrygian scale served as a useful catch-all reference to the exotic due to its presence in so many diverse musics, all considered "other" to the Western ear: the music of the Roma, or "gypsies," the klezmer music of Eastern-European Jews, the classical music of North Africa and the Middle East, the music of Andalusia. Here, the likely reference, given Ellington's previous compositions such as "Caravan," was to the music of North Africa. Ironically, ideas at this time of how to reconcile the often conflicting identities of North and Sub-Saharan Africans were by no means clear. To fully represent the continent, the syncopation of Ellington's opening riff, which returned again and again throughout the piece in between repetitions of the main theme (a descending Phrygian line first introduced by Hamilton in his opening solo), gestured to common desires by blacks and whites, Africans and African-Americans, for Africa to represent that most fundamental of musical elements: rhythm. Later

Harry Carney seduced the audience with a more extended baritone sax solo, daring to move outside of the pre-fab Phrygian setting into his own melodic territory. Eventually the Duke returned with his opening riff, again accompanied by bass and cymbal fills, and this time he invited the audience to contribute a syncopated snap to fill every other beat. With this group endeavor, the piece faded into oblivion and the audience erupted into applause – not just for the Duke, but for themselves.

### Cuban Music: An Alternative to French, British (and American) (Neo-)Colonial Influences

The use of jazz, soul, or negro spirituals as pan-African symbols goes back to the beginnings of the movement with writers such as W.E.B. Du Bois, as I have discussed in Chapter 1. Like jazz, but for somewhat different reasons, Cuban music offered Africans another “tradi-modern” music that they could consider their own by proxy. The music of black America entered into European consciousness considerably earlier than that of Cuban music, for the simple reason of global geo-politics. Since the end of the eighteenth century, when the United States began to grow into a modern imperial power with a global military presence, the music of African-Americans became one of its key exports and had already begun to spread around the world well before World War I. In Europe, the Great War had therefore only intensified a cultural movement that had already been underway for decades. While Cuban music did not enter global circulation quite as early as some forms of African-American music, particularly Negro Spirituals (due to international tours of such groups as the Fisk Jubilee Singers as early as the 1870s), by the end of World War I it too had spread around the world in much the same manner as jazz: boleros, cha-chas, mambos, rumbas, and son were all the rage in the same

Parisian nightclubs that featured *revue nègre* stars like Josephine Baker.<sup>215</sup> Argentine tango, too, had also entered the popular fray, as had the French Caribbean beguine, rounding out the “Diasporic Invasion” of Paris to something significantly more diverse than the term *negrophilia*, often used to characterize interwar Paris, implies. To Europeans, all of these musics seemed equally exotic, coming as they all did from so far away from their own continent. The common denominator they all shared, from a European point of view, was “blackness.” Considering the accuracy of this assessment rather misses the point. What is important here is not whether or not Parisians of either color were “correct” but simply that they shared a common desire to see and hear all of these diverse musics from the diaspora with such an essentialist ear. To the French, diasporic exoticism appealed to urban elites; to blacks in exile in the same country, the musics’ local popularity was advantageous and could be capitalized on to further their own cause of pan-African solidarity in the fight for independence.

Because of its long-standing relationship with the Francophone community (both black and white), Cuban music was one of the most pervasive presences at FESMAN despite its country’s conspicuous absence. It was not for want of trying; the Cuban Ambassador to France, Juan David Possada, solicited the festival administrators repeatedly to let artists from his nation participate. President Senghor, however, would not budge. He repeatedly sent the same rejection letter back to Possada through his intermediary, the FESMAN Conseil Générale Sidibe. Senghor’s refusal was entirely political; it amounted to a rebuttal against what he perceived to be Cuba’s intrusions on his country’s sovereignty (Senghor believed Cuba was hosting and training subversive members of the Senegalese opposition). The President demanded that Sidibe emphasize very strongly to Ambassador Posada that this rejection was solely Senegal’s and not

---

<sup>215</sup> See Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination*.

merely the puppetry of any “grand powers,” especially not the United States. It was the dignity of *Senegalese* sovereignty alone, stressed Senghor, that would be compromised if he accepted their invitation.<sup>216</sup>

That Senegal’s own national music at the time these rejection letters were written (1965-66) bore more than a passing resemblance to that of Cuba was not necessarily contradictory. Regardless of the current political state of affairs, Cuban music had been a part of coastal Senegalese musical life for more than two centuries. The advent of records first and later radio (from 1939) gradually widened the territory penetrated by Cuban music well into the Senegalese interior.<sup>217</sup> Shain argues that it should be no surprise that Cuban music became such an integral part of Senegal’s national sound after independence if one considers how far back the extensive trans-Atlantic relationship with the island reaches. The coastal Senegalese had been exposed to Cuban culture for so long that it was no longer foreign to them at all, but instead a familiar part of their own world. To the Senegalese, Cuban music also did not carry the colonial political or religious baggage that French and Christian music genres did and therefore was less threatening to burgeoning Senegalese identities. As a music that was considered “African” as much as “Cuban,” it connected a broad spectrum of Senegalese from diverse backgrounds and cultures. Much like jazz, Cuban music served as a kind of panacea for Senegalese hopes for the future. For Senegalese elites, Cuban music reflected a desire for cosmopolitanism; it was modern, hybrid, and all the rage in Paris. For rural workers who had relocated to Dakar, Cuban music

---

<sup>216</sup> Consequently, the sculptor Augustin Cardenas and the painter Guide Llinas, who had both solicited the Festival to participate, were unable to attend; “Letter from Souleymane Sidibe, National Commissioner of FESMAN, to Juan David Possada, Cultural Ambassador of Cuba in France,” February 9, 1966; SNA FESMAN Collection, Folder 34.

<sup>217</sup> Shain, “Roots in Reverse,” 85. Note: The first Cuban record, “El Manisero (The Peanut Vendor),” by Don Azpiazu and his Havana Casino Orchestra, was released in Senegal in 1931 and was an instant hit.

seemed “urban” and became a key to fitting into an otherwise unfamiliar cultural landscape. For a politician like Senghor, the nightclubs brought Europeans, Africans of various nationalities and ethnicities, and Arabs (Senegal has a significant Lebanese population) together; all Senegalese seemed equally eager to dance to the same *son* rhythms.<sup>218</sup>

Because of this long-standing musical relationship between Senegal and Cuba, it is not such a surprise that when Senghor decided to commission a festival “theme song” in 1964 (the festival was initially slated for 1965), he contacted a rumba band. It should be noted, by the way, that when I use the term “rumba,” I use it in the Senegalese context, which is to say, not at all what a Cuban would consider a true “rumba.” Instead, Shain clarifies that Senegalese rumba is more of a mix of various *son* genres, including *son montuno*, *charanga*, and other offshoots such as the *cha-cha-cha* and the *pachanga*. These musics became conveniently labeled by the record companies as “rumba” for easy identification purposes, thereby forever associating the name with the dance craze that hit Paris about a decade after the first wave of the jazz boom.<sup>219</sup>

In the case of Senegal in particular, the already blurred boundaries between the national and the pan-African were even more entangled than in many other parts of the continent. In Senegal, Cuban music became a national music, perceived to be as much Senegalese as Caribbean. Across the continent, Cuban music and jazz were often conflated via the recording industry and the radios which broadcast their LPs. As I have already mentioned, any music of Cuban origin was called “rumba” regardless of the accuracy of the term, and the proliferation of touring Cuban big bands aided in the general conflation of jazz and Cuban music. OK Jazz, one

---

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, 85-87; 91.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, 89-91; John Collins, *West African Pop Roots* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 52.

of the continent's first truly pan-African (in scope) popular bands, played more or less straight-ahead Cuban *son*. In Senegal, the extent to which Cuban music had become nationalized is immediately apparent in FESMAN's theme song, "Light the Lamp." Written and performed by Ablaaye Thiossane and his rumba band, the only departure this song takes from classic Cuban rumba is in the lyrics, which are sung in Wolof. The President himself commissioned Thiossane to write the festival theme song and sent him out across the country to promote the festival through its performance. The president knew rumba was a common musical denominator among Senegalese; the music could be heard from the most expensive clubs to the dustiest dry goods stalls.<sup>220</sup> In order to extend a formal invitation to the rest of the country (which was often rather isolated from the goings on in the capital except for the radio broadcasts) to participate in the festival, music afforded the ideal media for communicating at once national and pan-African appeals to negritude.

#### A Biographical Interlude: Ablaaye Thiossane's Story<sup>221</sup>

According to Ablaaye Thiossane, President Senghor contacted him personally to request that he write a song especially for the promotion of FESMAN (source: personal interview, check date). In his 80s now, frail, blind, with black glasses and a cane, and an unkempt white beard, the small framed, soft-spoken Ablaaye Thiossane is a musical relic. Thiossane means "history" in Wolof – a significant coincidence because of his historical contribution to the 1966 festival. By 2010 he was virtually an afterthought to festival organizers, who only called him at the eleventh hour, just one week before the festival was to open (Thiossane declined their ungenerous offer). He holds a nostalgia for the past, like many, but his is as much a musical

---

<sup>220</sup> Shain, "Roots in Reverse," 87.

<sup>221</sup> Ablaaye Thiossane, interview by author, Dakar, Senegal, February 8, 2011.

nostalgia as anything else. Senegalese society at large tends to look back at Senghor's era (1960-80) with rose-tinted glasses, admiring the "man of culture" and his efforts to support pan-African culture. But this cultural-political nostalgia does not tend to extend as uniformly into the realm of music, where the average Senegalese today is far less attached to Thiossane's musical era and much more enamored with and invested in its own uniquely national cultural commodity, *mbalax* (internationally popularized by Youssou N'Dour). Thiossane's music is a relic of a largely (but not entirely) bygone era, when Cuban-Congolese rumba was considered practically the national music of a new Senegal. Thiossane's music contains little musical innovations that reference Wolof or other Senegalese cultures outside of the addition of sabar and tama drums; the only particularly "Senegalese" quality about the music is its lyrics, which are sung in Wolof. And yet, this style *was* "Senegalese" in the 1960s – it may have been a largely imported genre, but it was the music more of the country was listening to than any other at the time.

Thiossane was particularly hurt to have been so blatantly passed over at the third edition of FESMAN, considering the significant musical contribution he made to the first festival. Hand-picked by Senghor himself, Thiossane was personally commissioned with writing the official theme song for the first World Festival of Negro Arts. No small task, Thiossane took this very seriously and went about writing "Light the Lamp" (Talene Lampe Yi). While the music itself is no different stylistically than any other rumba one might hear in a Dakar nightclub in the 1960s (and, to a lesser extent, still today), the lyrics aptly reflect Senghor's pan-Africanist ideal of negritude, encouraging citizens to take charge of their destinies, to "light the lamp of freedom" (talene lampe yi alaafiya) for themselves. Ironically, Thiossane did not directly participate in FESMAN I at all. His work was done the minute the festival began, when he no

longer bore the task of publicizing the event throughout the country. Senghor commissioned Thiossane to write “Light the Lamp” as a form of musical propaganda. He needed to stir up support and enthusiasm for the Festival and to sell his philosophy-cum-cultural policy of negritude to the masses in a less academic, more populist format. Thiossane’s band was the ideal ambassador of Senghor’s message. Once the song was complete, Senghor paid Thiossane and his group to travel all across the country and perform the FESMAN song. At a time when there was no television (the Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision du Sénégal, ORTS, was not created until 1973), radio, cinema, and print media were the only means of distributing information (at the time, the cinemas would broadcast French news during intermissions). Needless to say, these amenities did not reach far beyond the capital and other city centers. Print media required literacy, and in the early years of Senghor’s presidency, the vast majority of his citizenry could not read or write. As for the cinema, there were no theatres outside of urban areas. That left the radio as the most effective means of mass communication, and music became an effective “translator” for those who did not understand the Wolof or French broadcasts.<sup>222</sup> Even the radio, however, could not reach everyone, since the funds required to purchase one were still well beyond the means of many Senegalese at the time. Therefore, Thiossane’s live FESMAN rumba tour (which lasted from 1964-1966) was the most effective way of advertising the upcoming festival throughout the country.

*Popular Music at FESMAN: The Beginnings of a Global Dialogue*

FESMAN in the Popular Press

---

<sup>222</sup> Eventually other Senegalese languages would be broadcast as well.

Beyond the sonic influence of Cuba, the broader Caribbean echoed strongly in FESMAN's popular music programming as well. Outside of the African American contingent, in which Duke Ellington, Marion Williams and the Leonard de Paur Choir were especially favored in the festival's press coverage, the performers given the most publicity at FESMAN were popular music stars of Africa and its diaspora. Much of the music that colored the streets and *boits* of Paris in the 1930s continued to resonate strongly in the newly independent nations of Africa. For similar reasons to those which made popular diasporic musics perfectly suited to unite expatriate blacks in Paris during the *entre-guerre*, post-independent Africa clung just as fervently to the pan-African musical symbolism of the diaspora. On the continent, however, these musics did not remain static relics, but continued to morph as they had been doing for centuries, through creative trans-Atlantic exchange. In their most recent metamorphosis, these diasporic influences had become increasingly intertwined with continental musical trends, creating a new generation of African popular music that began to flourish by the 1950s. Radio technology leftover from the war continued to spread music across the continent, and the best of these new popular recording artists quickly transformed from local talents into true pan-African stars. Intending to appeal to the broadest possible audience, FESMAN organizers knew that popular music would play a crucial role in the event's success. To be a 'modern' nation meant being hip to the latest trends, and in addition to the music's reach itself, the pan-African distribution of newly created popular culture magazines such as *Bingo*, *Zonk!*, and *Drum*, brought these trends to a broader public than ever before.<sup>223</sup>

---

<sup>223</sup> See Tsitsi Jaji, "Bingo: Francophone African Women and the Rise of the Glossy Magazine," in *Popular Culture in Africa: the Episteme of the Everyday*, ed. Stephanie Newell and Onookome Okome (NY: Routledge, 2013).

*Bingo* was the first African-owned popular magazine (founded by the Senegalese writer and politician Ousmane Socé Diop), and its readership stretched not only across France, Francophone Africa, and the French Caribbean, but even into African-American, Brazilian, and Hispanic Caribbean circles.<sup>224</sup> The publication began spreading the word about FESMAN several months in advance of the opening, and gave considerable attention to the event's popular musical acts both before and during the festival. *Bingo* allotted considerable space to music news, and the critic Gilles Sala's "Disques d'actualité" was a regular feature of the monthly magazine. Sala avidly followed up and coming African and diasporic stars, and a month before the festival Sala recommended the latest recordings by the rising Dahomeyan guitarist G.G. Vikey, the jazz pianist and composer Erroll Garner (author of "Misty" and husband of FESMAN performer Moune de Rivel), and a recent compilation of Congolese performers called *En Direct du Congo* which included the latest dance music from Franco, OK Jazz, Les Bantous du Capitale, and several others. Sala also mentioned a television program called "Afrique sur Seine," produced by OCORA, which aired across the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Upper Volta and the Congo and which had recently featured the guitarist G.G. Vikey.<sup>225</sup> Besides reviews of specific festival performances, the magazine provided readers with recommendations of the latest popular recordings including those by festival performers. In these segments he selected current popular LPs that he considered particularly noteworthy for his readers. Negro spirituals, while not exactly "popular music," was nevertheless well respected as a representation of black culture which, as I have mentioned, Africans felt they could legitimately claim as their own. Likewise,

---

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>225</sup> *En direct du Congo*, LP, Pathé-Stenco, Stx 196, 1966; Gilles Sala, "Les disques que vous aimez: Chants et dances pour soirs de fête," *Bingo* (March, 1966): 35.

the exotic held as much fascination for *Bingo*'s readership as it did for anyone who considered themselves sophisticated. In the January edition of *Bingo*, the magazine featured a short segment about the possibility of Japan bringing its own negro spiritual singer to FESMAN. As a cosmopolitan magazine, the optimistic message of black culture's global stretch could only be reinforced by such an article. It mentioned a young Japanese woman, Kazuko Kitagawa, whose father, an African-American soldier during World War II, likely never knew she existed and whose Japanese mother committed suicide out of shame for the race of her child. She grew up in an orphanage where learning to sing African-American spirituals gave Kitagawa comfort and strength to overcome the daily racial prejudice she experienced. She hoped to premier an original spiritual she had written about the ravages of the atomic bomb called "Never, Never a Third Hiroshima." Kitagawa said she "wants to feel African among Africans; this is the reason why she has such a strong desire to attend the festival" (veut se sentir africaine parmi les africains, c'est la raison pour laquelle elle a ce désir ardent d'être présente au Festival). For its part, *Bingo* wished to support such contemporary extensions of black culturalism and encouraged her to come, saying, "we will receive her as our own child" (nous la recueillerons comme notre enfant). In February of the same year, *Bingo* featured an article about the gospel singer Marion Williams, who had recently performed a show in Paris.<sup>226</sup> Williams' gospel music received considerable press coverage and she was one of the festival's most lauded performers.

---

<sup>226</sup> "L'Asie présente au Festival des Arts Nègres," *Bingo* (January, 1966): 39; "Ils ont séduit Paris," *Bingo* (February, 1966): 26-7. Note: Williams was the replacement for Marian Anderson, who had originally been engaged to perform at FESMAN but then backed out. According to *Dakar Matin*, Anderson was still programmed to perform on February 13, but by February 17, 1966, Marion Williams had replaced her on the next version of the program that was posted (the program changed considerably over the months and weeks leading up to the Festival). "Formidable effort des Etats-Unis: 105 artistes et 600.000 dollars," *Dakar Matin*, February 13, 1966, 3; "Programme des spectacles du Festival," *Dakar Matin*, February 17, 1966, 5.

*Bingo* allotted considerable space to festival coverage over the course of its three-week run in April, 1966. Since the issue was written in anticipation of the Festival, critics could not have known that several of the stars slated to perform would cancel, including Marian Anderson and Miriam Makeba. Ella Fitzgerald's recordings were also presented as a part of those by Festival artists, although she was never a part of the U.S. delegation. A page entitled, "Musiciens et chanteurs du Festival," also recommended recordings by Josephine Baker, Duke Ellington, OK Jazz, and the Antillean chanteuse Moune de Rivel. Three months after the Festival, Sala plugged another LP by G.G. Vikey, *Vive l'Afrique!* but also a recording by FESMAN alumn Bachir Touré, *Bachir Touré dit et chante l'Afrique* featuring Touré reading and singing poetry by African authors including President Senghor and Birago Diop.<sup>227</sup> Sala paid special attention to this FESMAN performer (check this – DM?), and included a rather lengthy quote from the album's preface, written by Edouard Maunick in his review:

This first disc is a return to the source, a rebaptism. ...It's not about refusing to be a part of one's own time, to erase the history that has already passed, but to exalt, in order to put back into the world a tradition as consequential as the continent which holds it. This négritude, Bachir Touré illustrates here with his great talent and, in his voice, the African gesture begins again.

[“Ce premier disque est donc un retour aux sources, un rebaptême. Comme je l'ai déjà dit ailleurs, il ne s'agit pas de refuser d'être de son temps, de ressasser l'accompli de l'histoire, mais d'exalter, afin de la remettre au monde, une tradition aussi conséquente que le continent qui la porte. Cette négritude-là, Bachir Touré l'illustre ici avec le grand talent qui lui est propre et, dans sa voix, la geste africaine recommence.”]<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>227</sup> “Musiciens et chanteurs du Festival,” *Bingo* (April, 1966): 41; G.G. Vikey, *Vive l'Afrique!*, LP, Riviéra, 231.180, 1966; Bachir Touré, *Bachir Touré dit et chante l'Afrique*, LP, Festival, FAN 9501, 1966.

<sup>228</sup> Gilles Sala, (no title) *Bingo*, July 1966: 37. (quote by Maunick, Edouard, in preface to *Bachir Touré dit et chante l'afrique*, FAN 9501.

Sala also featured the Philips commemorative FESMAN LP which had been released for sale as a FESMAN souvenir. The LP's first side consisted of the Festival's nightly "Spectacle féérique," written by Jean Brierre and produced by Jean Mazel, while the second side featured classical Mandinka and Balanta music ("La petite musique de cour des rois Mandingue et Balante") and the Leonard de Paur Choir, who performed a few traditional African songs in addition to popular negro spirituals.<sup>229</sup>

### Pan-African Stars

FESMAN may have paid particular attention to the Americans, but Africa, too, shared a number of its own stars with festival audiences. While it is true that the majority of African musical representation took the form of a national ensemble of some kind, whether in a specifically instrumental format or as a part of a dance or theatrical troupe, African popular music was, if under-represented, still a powerful festival voice. Because African popular music was so deeply rooted in diasporic sounds, it doesn't seem unfitting to include several popular performers from across the Atlantic as well. Together, these groups represented a collection of popular black music that was distinct from the mainstream diasporic musical framework of African-American and Cuban genres. While Miriam Makeba did not end up performing at FESMAN, she did not cancel her visit until a few short weeks before the festival, and her anticipated presence was still very much a part of the event's promotional hype. Makeba was presented as the ultimate pan-African super-star, and her global fame lent prestige to any event

---

<sup>229</sup> Marcel Leclerc, prod. *Premier festival d'art nègre: Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal*, LP, Philips, R774 862, 1966. Note: There was also a second recording, by Barclay, of the Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal, but this album was exclusively their own rather than half of a FESMAN album with the Gorée spectacle's music on the other side. Likewise, the Barclay recording did not include any collaborations with the De Paur Choir. See: *Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal, 1er Festival des Arts Nègres*, LP, Barclay, 86119, 1966. Note: the classical Mandinka and Balanta music was performed by two musicians from the Traditional Instrumental Ensemble of Senegal: Soundioulou Sissoko (kora) and Mane Foca (balafon Balante).

she participated in. Makeba may not have performed at FESMAN, but her absence was nevertheless a very strongly felt presence of its own. In addition to Makeba, two other successful continental acts received particular praise in the press as well as in interviews with passerby conducted by journalists (footnote) were I.K. Dairo and His Blue Spots (Nigerian juju) the Congolese rumba band OK Jazz and their rivals across the river les Bantous de la Capitale. OK Jazz, probably the continent's most famous representative of Congolese rumba despite its clearly diasporic ties (in the name "jazz" and in the rumba style), was considered truly African, and indeed, pan-African. From the Caribbean, Moune de Rivel, a celebrated Antillean singer famous for her lovely beguines, and the two Trinidadian/Tobagoan calypso stars, the Gay Desperadoes and Mighty Terror, also stirred considerable press and popular attention.

*Miriam Makeba: FESMAN's Biggest Star who Never Performed*

“Mama Afrika,” as the late Miriam Makeba was fondly called around the world, was perhaps the world’s first truly pan-African solo artist. When Makeba lost her right to return home to South Africa in 1959, she lost her country but gained a continent, becoming Africa’s premier musical voice she simultaneously became an exile who represented the voice of Africa to the rest of the world. As she wandered from adopted home to adopted home, acquiring over twenty diplomatic passports as she performed all over the world, Makeba adopted an increasingly pan-African repertoire to salute her many hosts, including Brazilian bossa novas, Trinidadian calypsos, African-American jazz standards, as well as folk songs from Guinea, Ethiopia, and Kenya.<sup>230</sup>

With the early support of Harry Belafonte, Makeba found herself the darling of the American elites of New York and Hollywood almost as soon as she arrived in America in 1959. Steve Allen had seen her in the film *Come Back Africa* (1956) which had helped launch her international career, and he wanted her to come be a guest on his popular TV show, *The Steve Allen Show*. Makeba debuted at the Village Vanguard the same year at the behest of Max Gordon, prefiguring future ethnojazz trends by a full generation. Once in New York, she quickly befriended the likes of Sidney Poitier, Marian Anderson, Nina Simone, Sarah Vaughan, Marlon Brando, Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespe, Duke Ellington, and Langston Hughes, not only as a

---

<sup>230</sup> Sean Barlow and Banning Eyre, *Afropop! An Illustrated Guide to Contemporary African Musicians* (Edison, NJ: Saraband / Chartwell Books, 1995): 13; Graeme Ewens, “Obituary: Miriam Makeba,” *The Guardian*, November 10, 2008, <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/nov/10/miriam-makeba-obituary> (accessed April 20, 2014); Alan Cowell, “Miriam Makeba, 76, Singer and Activist, Dies,” *New York Times*, November 10, 2008, [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/11/world/africa/11makeba.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/11/world/africa/11makeba.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0) (accessed April 20, 2014); Miriam Makeba, *Makeba: My Story* (New York: New American Library, 1987), 111-116.

musical colleague, but as a political activist.<sup>231</sup> After speaking out against apartheid at the United Nations following the Sharpeville Massacres in 1963, she found her stranded in the United States with her passport revoked. She would not return to her country until after the end of the apartheid regime. Makeba was able to capitalize on pre-existing tropes of “jazz” and “Africa” as mutually authenticating symbols of black cultural valor. In the mid-1960s, South African jazz was becoming the latest trend on the European jazz scene, the South African jazz musician Chris McGregor aptly depicts common views at the time, by both blacks and whites, about the links between Africinity and jazz music: “[Our African jazz musicians] have natural advantages denied to musicians in Europe... [Europeans] first have to teach themselves to play like Americans. Whereas the musical traditions of the African leads spontaneously and directly into something immediately recognizable as jazz.” Makeba sang a truly international repertoire—in addition to the Xhosa song, “Qonqonhwane,” from which she gained the nickname “the click-click girl,” she even sang “Vu Zenen Meine Zieben Gute Yohr,” a Yiddish song which she had learned from the mother of Johannesburg’s “African Jazz and Variety Show” producer Alfred Hebert.<sup>232</sup>

Makeba’s earliest musical influences are indicative of the diasporic blurring between African-American and Cuban popular musics. She listened to Ella Fitzgerald, Lena Horne, Duke Ellington, and Billie Holiday, and covered tunes by the Ink Spots and the Mills Brothers in her first two bands, the Cuban Brothers and the Manhattan Brothers. Most of the pop covers stayed musically close to the originals, but in the same kind of initial localization as so many other

---

<sup>231</sup> Lisa Miller and Miriam Makeba, “Miriam Makeba,” *Bomb* 72 (Summer 2000): 94; Ewens, “Obituary”; Makeba, *Makeba: My Story*, 84-87; 91.

<sup>232</sup> Lews Nkosi, “Jazz in Exile,” *Transition* 24 (1966): 34; Makeba, *My Story*, 86-87.

African hybrid genres, the lyrics were sometimes translated into local vernaculars (in this case Xhosa and Zulu).<sup>233</sup> As Makeba became an international soloist in her own right, she did the opposite: she began to translate songs from her own native languages into English. The English renditions did not always reflect the spirit of the original, however; to Makeba's frustration, for example, the Xhosa love song "Lakutshuna Ilangu," about a man's enduring love for his wife, became "You Tell Such Lovely Lies," a song about infidelity when it was transformed into an international crossover hit which became the first South African recording to make the Billboard Top 100.<sup>234</sup>

As her fame spread internationally, Makeba quickly branched out to incorporate an increasingly pan-African repertoire. After befriending Harry Belafonte, with whom she toured extensively and shared a Grammy for Best Folk Album in 1966, Makeba added the Trinidadian's "The Naughty Little Flea," a calypso song, to her repertoire. Makeba also made a point to host African students who had traveled to the United States, and through these relationships, she learned numerous folk songs from diverse African countries. One of her most famous songs, "Malaika," was one such borrowed tune, taught to her by a Swahili student she had helped to attend San Francisco State University. With the addition of Sevuca, a Brazilian guitarist and accordionist, into her touring band from the mid-1960s, Makeba added a bossa nova number called "Cove Chura," by Jorge Ben Jor, to her repertoire. A song named after the South African

---

<sup>233</sup> Ewens, "Obituary"; Cowell, "Miriam Makeba."

<sup>234</sup> Makeba, *My Story*, 52-53; Meintes, Louise. *Sound of Africa! Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 274n38. The English lyrics for the retitled song, "You Tell Such Lovely Lies" were written by Tom Glazer; the original Xhosa lyrics were written by Mankhewekwe Dvuashe. Makeba's 1956 recording with the Manhattan Brothers was the version nominated for the Billboard Top 100 in the same year. See Manhattan Brothers and Miriam Makeba, *Lovely Lies*, 1956 by London Records, London 1610, LP.

tribe AmaMpondo, which includes extensive rhythmic intakes of breath in quick upbeats, includes an accompanying habanera- or tango-style bass line accompanying it.<sup>235</sup>

Following Makeba's marriage to Stokely Carmichael in 1968, the singer found herself in political hot water. The FBI had begun to spy on the couple, and Makeba's performing contracts were being cancelled as venues sought to avoid somebody so closely associated with the Black Power movement. As a result, the couple relocated to Guinea, where President Sekou Touré had invited them to live in exile. By this point, Makeba had already become known as a political activist, as reluctant as she may have been to accept that role initially. In 1963 she had been invited by Angie Brooks of Liberia to speak at the United Nations, where she urged world leaders to boycott South Africa as a means to end apartheid. Additionally, as more and more African countries gained their independence, Makeba became the requisite guest of honor at numerous independence celebrations and official inaugurations.<sup>236</sup> It is no surprise, then, that when Dakar's President Léopold Sédar Senghor decided to host the first World Festival of Negro Arts, or in 1966, Miriam Makeba was proudly announced to be a part of the festival's star line-up. Up until early March, press releases continued to advertise Makeba's upcoming appearance at Dakar; by April, however, it seems that both Makeba and Marian Anderson had cancelled their performances. The circumstances behind these abrupt cancellation are far from clear. One possibility for the absence of Makeba and Anderson could be the budgetary problems of the American festival committee: the committee was only able to raise \$100,000, which was not nearly enough; the U.S. State Department contributed an additional \$250,000, but even with this

---

<sup>235</sup> Ewens, "Obituary"; Cowell, "Miriam Makeba"; Makeba, *Makeba: My Story*, 136-141.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., Sean Barlow, "Miriam Makeba," 12-13; Miller and Makeba, "Miriam Makeba," 91-95; Rob Allingham, "South Africa—Jazz—Hip Kings, Hip Queens," *World Music: The Rough Guide* Volume 1, edited by Simon Broughton, Mark Ellingham, and Richard Trillo (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 661-662; 665-667.

extra help the budget was far shorter than originally anticipated and could not support as large a contingent as the committee had originally planned for.<sup>237</sup>

Makeba's autobiography offers a different reason, but due to the chronological discrepancies in her account the story remains unverified. Makeba claims to have been kicked out of an unnamed Dakar festival by Senegalese government officials. According to her account, this was because she sang a Guinean song on the night of her first performance; shortly thereafter, government representatives visited her hotel room with an admonition that she must not sing the Guinean song anymore, as it showed disrespect for Senegal (Guinea and Senegal had been politically at odds for several years). She promised not to sing the song they mentioned, but on her second night she proceeded to sing a different Guinean song (she doesn't specify either song). Apparently the authorities were not amused, and following this second indiscretion, they cancelled her remaining shows and insisted that she leave the country. Makeba refers to this festival as if it happened in 1968, but I have not found a record of such a festival being held in Dakar that year.<sup>238</sup> It is possible that Makeba's memory blurs multiple festival engagements since she was touring so constantly; the political conflict between Senegal and Guinea is certainly accurate, and she may have been asked to submit a tentative program to the organizers which could have triggered a disagreement over her show's content. I have found no record of this in the Festival archives, however, so it is quite possible that the cancellation was financially motivated and nothing more.

In either case, Makeba's absence at FESMAN was strongly felt and indicates the extent to which she had become an important symbol across the African continent. She did manage to

---

<sup>237</sup> "Senegal Opens World Festival of Negro Arts," *The Bridgeport Telegram* (April 2, 1966), 24.

<sup>238</sup> Makeba, *My Story*, 171-172.

perform at the next two pan-African festivals, the First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers (1969) and the Festival of Black African Arts and Culture, or FESTAC, in Nigeria (1977), reinforcing the strong desire Africans felt to claim the nationless star as a maternal figure for the entire continent. Makeba's rags-to-riches story fed into the hopeful dreams of many Africans immediately after independence. Despite her own suffering at the hands of her country, Makeba's success represented the kind of American-dream fantasy shared by many early postcolonial African nations. The festival in Algiers, in particular, served as a political and cultural rebuttal of Senghor's FESMAN. Senghor was noticeably absent at the Algiers festival, while Guinea (not invited to FESMAN) was one of the most prominent countries featured at Algiers. Given the animosity between Senegal and Guinea, as well as Makeba's friendly relationship with Guinean President Touré and his wife (Makeba and Carmichael lived in villas on the Presidential compound), it is no surprise that she would be a featured performer in Algiers, nor that she may have come into conflict with FESMAN or Senegalese government officials. If indeed Makeba's Dakar cancellation was due to her political allegiances (although in 1966 she had not yet taken up residency in Guinea), it would be indicative of the tensions and animosities underlying early attempts to define a postcolonial brand of pan-Africanism that could be amenable to all.

*IK Dairo: FESMAN's Representative Juju Star*

Teju Olaniyan offers telling descriptions of juju which situate it against the reactionary Afrobeat of Fela Kuti, who in 1966 had only recently begun to attract a significant youth audience in Nigeria with an experimental, more jazz-influenced version of highlife.<sup>239</sup> Highlife

---

<sup>239</sup> Fela made the Nigerian news twice during the festival, and while he does seem to have been gathering a local crowd, his music had not developed much beyond highlife at this point. Fela was already describing his music as different from other highlife bands, however. After Fela won the Gala Pop Night at the Federal Palace Hotel in

“was the quintessential soundtrack to Nigerian independence” and, “as a decidedly nonethnic music,” it was “perhaps Nigeria’s first truly national music.” If highlife was nonethnic, however, it was not non-classist. From its beginnings the music was specifically the domain of “an arriviste bourgeoisie with a modernist ideology that by its refined cultural outlook and hard work would peel off the colonial shame and transform Nigeria into a modern, developed, and respectable nation.” Much like highlife, juju also glorified the upper crust of Nigerian society. With its stately tempo, the music sounded the graceful poise of the aristocracy and elite that those dancing to it admired. Highlife and juju both sonically represented the optimism of the modern progress narrative that Nigerians (and many others across the continent) embraced at the time of independence. The refined sound of highlife, many felt, “would peel off the colonial shame and transform Nigeria into a modern, developed, and respectable nation.” For its part, juju “trains your vision on the end goal of all aspiration, defined as the acquisition of limitless wealth, many children, [and] high status...”<sup>240</sup>

Juju, then, was a fitting popular musical addition to FESMAN as the music’s aesthetic of upward mobility mirrored Senghor’s vision for his own country and the continent as a whole. I.K. Dairo helped transform juju from its earlier beginnings into something that reflected the changing times of the late 1950s-early 1960s. In addition to introducing new instruments into the juju sound, namely the accordion and the mouth organ, Dairo also steered juju away from its

---

Lagos in early April 1996, fellow highlifer Rex Lawson backed out of the competition in protest and challenged Fela to a “highlife dual.” Part of Lawson’s critique was Fela’s clear jazz influences. Taunted Lawson, “[Fela] should go deep into African music for adaptation instead of going whiteman-wise. ... I swear I’ll paint his [Fela’s] face black with disgrace.” Paul Fry, “About Fela and his Music,” *Daily Times* (April 9, 1966), 7; Dapo Odebiyi, “Fela Ready to Meet Rex Lawson,” *Sunday Times* (April 10, 1966), 1.

<sup>240</sup> Teju Olaniyan, *Arrest the Music! Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 8; 161-162.

earlier, rather cosmopolitan tone, infusing it with more distinctly Yoruba sounds. In doing so, Dairo democratized the music beyond its originally elite, urbanite framework, bringing it to a larger listening audience that extended beyond the cities. Dairo's modern juju sensibility, which grounded the cosmopolitan, pan-African/pan-ethnic urbanity with a more distinctly Yoruba aesthetic, would inspire the next generation of juju artists, Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade. To the Senegalese, much of the nuances went unnoticed, and the music was simply considered "Nigerian jazz."<sup>241</sup> This in itself is important, however, indicating the significance of the pan-African musical imagination over the specifics of its representation.

---

<sup>241</sup> Alaja-Browne Afolabi, "A Diachronic Study of Change in Juju Music," *Popular Music* 8, 3 (1989): 235-236, 238; "En marge du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, une brillante soirée dansante a eu lieu jeudi soir au Camp Mangin. Elle a été animés par les orchestres Saloum Jazz et Nigérien Jazz de Lagos," *Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, 5.

*Pan-African Superstars: Congolese Rumba and O.K. Jazz*

Although music from the Caribbean had made its way “back” to Africa by way of the West Indian regimental bands that had been stationed in West Africa since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the advent of wax cylinder recordings, radio, and other technological innovations triggered an explosion of musical exchange all around the globe and exponentially increased the rapidity of musical fusions. Even before World War II, as discussed earlier, Latin American and Caribbean dance styles such as the rumba, conga, and meringue, had already become an integral part of the local popular music scene in many African cities since at least the early 1920s. As we have seen, rumba in particular had an enormous impact on colonial-era Senegalese music scene.<sup>242</sup> In the Congo, too, popular music had been a strong cultural force for well over a century. During the Great Depression, American record companies such as Gramophone and Victor sought new markets to replace the dwindling sales back home. The Congo, along with Nigeria and Ghana, were targets of a new campaign to redirect sales of Latin American music. Radio stations had begun to pop up in these areas and quickly diffused the music across Western and Central Africa. Consequently, local popular music bands, which had already been active for at least a decade, began to adapt some of the Latin American elements (particularly Cuban) to their own styles. Given the preexisting influences of Central and West African music on Latin American music, it is not surprising that the music would meet with such success in places like Kinshasa.<sup>243</sup> Since the founding of the first local record companies in the Congo in 1948, however, Kinshasa had

---

<sup>242</sup> Collins, *West African Pop Roots*, 49; 51-52.

<sup>243</sup> Michael Stone, “Out of Cuba: Latin American Music Takes Africa by Storm,” *Rootsworld* (website), 2006, <http://www.rootsworld.com/reviews/cuba0605.shtml> (accessed December 5, 2006); Ken Braun, “Kinshasa + Havana = Kinavana: Kékélé’s 2006 CD Release and Tour,” *Rock Paper Scissors* (website), 2006, [http://www.rockpaperscissors.biz/index.cfm/fuseaction/current.press\\_release/project\\_id/278.cfm](http://www.rockpaperscissors.biz/index.cfm/fuseaction/current.press_release/project_id/278.cfm) (December 5, 2006)

become one of Africa's premiere centers for contemporary popular music. Following World War II, Greek entrepreneurs came to the Congo in the hopes of developing a local recording industry, following in the footsteps of the American companies that had infiltrated decades earlier. The "Ngoma" label, founded by Jérónimides, marked the first in a flowering of local companies to set up shop in Kinshasa. By the mid-1950s, a distinctly Congolese popular music was spreading throughout the country and across the continent. The guitar, an instrument which had already become well established and localized by the time the Congolese record industry took off, also began to adopt new musical styles which fused traditional and popular elements. South African guitar music, too, via the miners who worked alongside the southern Congolese, became another particularly popular sound incorporated by local bands, creating a distinctly pan-African yet distinctly Congolese style of rumba<sup>244</sup>

O.K. Jazz, a Congolese rumba band from Kinshasa, had taken on superstar status that at the time of FESMAN only the likes of Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masakela could trump. As explained earlier, rumba, and particularly its distinct Congolese form, had taken the African continent by storm as the African recording industry boomed after World War II. O.K. Jazz was the product of this industry boom; its founding members were all session musicians who worked for the Loningisa label, another Greek outfit founded by the Papadimitriou brothers.<sup>245</sup> Having formed in 1956, prior to independence, the original O.K. Jazz line-up consisted of Congolese from both sides of the river. Célestin, de la Lune, and Edo were Brazzavilleans and following independence in 1960, briefly left the band to join their compatriots in "Les Bantous du

---

<sup>244</sup> Wolfgang Bender, *Sweet Mother: Modern African Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 42-3.

<sup>245</sup> Gary Stewart, *Rumba on the River: A History of the Popular Music of the Two Congos* (New York: Verso, 2003), 32; 49-59.

Capitale,” which had formed a year earlier. They returned to O.K. Jazz in 1962, but “Les Bantous” continued on and became almost as popular as O.K. Jazz (Franco’s superstar status as the leader of OK Jazz as well as the group’s three-year head start made them a force to be reckoned with, and les Bantous always seemed to slightly play second fiddle). Congolese rumba had already been popular across the continent for several decades prior to O.K. Jazz’s formation. Among these, African Jazz, founded in 1953 with session musicians from the Opika label and led by Joseph Kabasele (aka the Grand Kallé, and composer of the theme song of Africa’s independence era, “Independence Cha-Cha”) was the most significant of the early session bands to form in Kinshasa after the war and has been considered “the prototype for nearly all bands that followed.” Kabasele is believed by many other rumba artists to have been the first to introduce the tam-tam and electric guitars to Congolese rumba.<sup>246</sup>

Kabasele’s bandmate in African Jazz was “Dr.” Nico Kasanda, another pioneer who was known for incorporating traditional Baluba xylophone melodies into his guitar technique. Kasanda would go on to form African Fiesta in 1966. Other artists who paved the way for O.K. Jazz were Wendo Kolosy, Paul Ebongo Dewayon and his Watam Band, and Johnny Bokelo Isenge of Conga International. The star of O.K. Jazz, François Luambo Makiadi (aka Franco) was inspired by this earlier generation of rumba artists, but gifted guitarist soon began to outshine his predecessors. In 1956 he formed “O.K. Jazz” with five other session musicians from Loningisa: Daniel “De La Lune” Lubelo (bass), Victor “Vicky” Longomba (vocals), Jean Serge Essous (clarinet), Philippe “Rossignol” Lando (vocals), and Saturnin Pandi (conga).<sup>247</sup> Three

---

<sup>246</sup> Stewart, *Rumba on the River*, 34-48; 86; Stewart, “Kabasele,” *Rumba on the River* (companion website), [www.rumbaontheriver.com](http://www.rumbaontheriver.com) (accessed April 12, 2014).

<sup>247</sup> Ibid; “Franco.”

years later, in 1959, a rival band called “les Bantous de la Capitale,” formed across the river in Brazzaville, as mentioned earlier. A number of the musicians between O.K. Jazz and les Bantous overlapped; the genealogy of Congolese rumba bands is fraught with all sorts of defections, contradictory allegiances, and general overlap.

*Trinidad-Tobago: The Gay Desperadoes and the King of Calypso*

Trinidad and Tobago offered one of the Festival’s most memorable shows, featuring the calypso band “The Gay Desperadoes” and the “King of Calypso,” the Mighty Terror (née Fitzgerald Henry). “The Gay Desperadoes” had been a calypso fixture for two decades by the time they premiered at FESMAN, having begun in 1946 as the “Dead End,” and then becoming the “Coca Cola Gay Desperadoes” in 1955 in honor of their first financial sponsor. A decade later the band obtained the sponsorship of the West Indian Tobacco Company and consequently renamed themselves “The West Indian Tobacco Company Gay Desperadoes Steel Orchestra,” or “The Gay Desperadoes,” for short. Harry Belafonte had brought calypso to a wider international audience with his album, *Calypso* (1956), which featured the hit song “Day-O,” otherwise known as the “Banana Boat Song,” although the music had already been spreading since the 1930s, and had become popular in the U.S. with the Andrew Sisters’ cover of “Rum and Coca Cola” despite the song’s anti-American theme. The calypso “Dream Team” of the Gay Desperadoes (“un orchestre miracle”) and Mighty Terror struck a particular chord with FESMAN audiences.<sup>248</sup> According to the *Dakar-Matin*’s critic Abdoulaye Ba, their show would “remain one of the most perennial memories of FESMAN” (restera un des souvenirs les plus

---

<sup>248</sup> Dave Thompson, “The WITCO Desperadoes.” *Reggae and Caribbean Music* (San Francisco, CA: Backbeat Books, 2002), 96; Kevin Burke, “Calypso on Trial: The case of ‘Rum and Coca Cola,’” *BWIA Sunjet* 16 (Autumn, 1989): 8-11; 12-14; 49; see Angela Smith, *Steel Drums and Steelbands: A History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012); Abdoulaye Ba, “La fameux ‘orchestre miracle’ de Trinidad et Tobago a remporté un immense succès,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 25, 1966, 6.

vivaces de ce Premier Festival des Arts Nègres). The artists put on a rich and varied program suited “for all ages and all tastes” (de tous les âges, de tous les goûts) alternating between calypso, Latin-American, classical, and jazz repertoires. For his part, Mighty Terror dazzled audiences during the limbo feature when he managed to slide under a flaming limbo pole stick which was precariously low to the ground. The climax of the whole show, however, even apart from the flaming limbo feature, was at the very end of the evening. Ba paints a vivid picture: “The Trinidad and Tobago Ensemble did not leave the evening without a climax inviting the public to come onto the stage and share with them the enthusiasm of calypso. And everyone, actors and spectators, blended together in the rhythm” (L’Ensemble de Trinidad et Tobago n’a pas manqué à son apothéose en invitant le public à venir sur la scène partager avec eux l’enthousiasme du Calypso. Et tous, acteurs et spectateurs de se confondre dans le rythme).<sup>249</sup>

This serendipitous moment of joyful inclusion, in which boundaries between races, nationalities, and even between performers and spectators were blurred amidst the contagious sounds of a hybrid island music, was undoubtedly a rare moment of exactly the kind of “civilisation de l’universel” that Senghor envisioned.

Numerous local and international popular bands took advantage of the city’s boisterous nightlife, enlivened even more than normal by the influx of tourists and artists that FESMAN had attracted. Dakar had a series of “off” performances staged at various venues throughout Dakar as part of the “animation” of the city “dans le cadre du FESMAN” throughout the three weeks of the festival; some of these regional Senegalese folkloric groups, while others were of a more

---

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

popular vein.<sup>250</sup> Usually the popular musicians were advertised under the rubric of the individual nightclubs, rather than alongside the folk ensembles that were regularly advertised in *Dakar-Matin*'s "L'animation de Dakar dans le cadre du Festival" column, but I would consider these popular performances equally animating and therefore worthy of being considered as a part of the general atmosphere of both official and unofficial performances that made the city itself a kind of pan-African orchestra performing in layers all over town. Among the popular ensembles, several of the touring groups capitalized on the extra performance opportunities (each country was responsible for paying its own delegation whatever honorarium they saw fit; any "off" gigs would be pocket money on the side), most notably O.K. Jazz, their rivals "Les Bantous de la Capitale," the Trinidadian Gay Desperados and "Calypso King" Mighty Terror, and I.K. Dairo and his Blue Spots, which, in the Senegalese ads, was billed simply as "Nigerian Jazz," likely because Senegalese were not particularly familiar with Nigerian juju music or Anglophone African bands more generally. Among the clubs who hosted regular "soirées dansantes" around town during the festival, "Le Bodega" featured the René Messina Orchestra as well as the "Grand Fantaisiste Imitateur" René Focher nightly for the whole duration of the festival.<sup>251</sup> "Camp Mangin," proudly appointing itself the "Festival Headquarters," also held nightly dance parties with performances by none other than O.K. Jazz, les Bantous (sometimes billed as "Bantou Jazz"), I.K. Dairo and his Blue Spots (billed as "Nigerian Jazz") and three local popular groups, "Le Star," "Le Saloum," and "Le Super Star" (sometimes collectively advertised as

---

<sup>250</sup> "Off" is the term used in Dakar to refer to unofficial or second-tier billing.

<sup>251</sup> "Ce soir et pendant la durée du Festival...!, Le Bodega vous propose de 21h à l'aube: 'Cabaret – Dancing – Snack-Bar' animé par René Messina et le Grand Fantaisiste Imitateur René Rocher," (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 1, 1966, 5.

“l’Ensemble sénégalais,” not to be confused with Senegal’s national ensemble).<sup>252</sup> That evening’s line-up represented a truly pan-African evening of popular music, with I.K. Dairo’s juju band (simply billed as “Nigerian Jazz”) and three Senegalese pop bands, Le Star, Le Saloum, and Le Super Star (sometimes billed individually, other times abbreviated collectively as “l’ensemble sénégalais,” not to be confused with the Senegalese Instrumental Ensemble) also performing on the same bill. The “Relais” also booked O.K. Jazz, along with a Senegalese band based in Paris called Keur-Samba. The “Pigalle” actually featured a pop group from Liverpool, the “Formulat Group,” advertised as “le plus nouveaux des ensembles vocaux et instrumentaux de classe internationale.” Several countries eager to leave their national political stamp on the Festival donated tourist hotel-ships which docked Dakar’s port (the U.S.S.R. which sent poets Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Yevgeniy Dolmatovsky as cultural ambassadors, donated the “Rossia” (can’t find source – check Nat Archives) and the “Armenia,” Belgium sent the “Flanders” with 756 tourists on board, and Italy the “Surriento”). The “Surriento” offered several dance soirées featuring a special Italian dinner and entertainment by “Les Bantous,” sometimes along with the popular Senegalese the Trinidadian-Tobagoan groups mentioned above.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> “Camp Mangin: Dans le cadre du Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, des soirées dansantes sont régulièrement organisées chaque soir à 21 heures au Camp Mangin (Siège du Festival). Ces soirées sont animées par les orchestres réputés à savoir le O.K. Jazz, le Bantou Jazz, le Nigérien Jazz, le Star, le Saloum et le Super Star,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 14, 1966, 6.

<sup>253</sup> The Soviet poets did not do their official readings until two days after the closure of the festival to avoid any complaints that they did not fit with the theme of a black arts festival. “Grand Nuit de clôture: Des soirées dansantes auront lieu ce soir de 22 heures à l’aube à bord du S/S “Surriento” et à le “Caféteria” du Centre Mangin, animées par les orchestres Trinidad et Tobago, Bantou, et l’ensemble sénégalais,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8; “Une grande soirée de gala aura lieu ce soir au Relais, kilomètre 5, route de Ouakam, animée par l’orchestra O.K. Jazz, chants et danses du folklore du Congo-Léo, et le célèbre orchestre Keur-Samba, de Paris,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 9, 1966, 5; “Boule amicale: Stade Genin,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 16, 1966, 3; “300 touristes soviétiques à Dakar pendant trois jours,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 1, 1966, 8; Edou Correa, “Des touristes belges sont arrivés pour assister au Festival Mondial: Le ‘Flandres’ fait escale à Dakar avec 756 passagers à bord,” *Dakar-Matin*, April 8, 1966, 1; “Ce soir, on danse sur le bateau italien “Sorriento,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 16, 1966, 1; “Grand nuit de clôture,” (Advertisement) *Dakar-Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.

*Fance's Antillean / Pan-African Gala*

France's prominent role in FESMAN from start to finish is well documented in Senegal's National Archives and in press coverage of the festival from the beginning of its planning stages until well after the last tourists had left. Primarily, however, this coverage centers around France's logistical, financial, and organizational support. André Malraux, France's Minister of Culture, played more than a side part in Festival planning; he was the director of the Gorée Spectacle. On the stage, Aimé Césaire's play, "La Tragédie du Roi Christophe," was considered "one of the summits of the Festival" (un des sommets du Festival).<sup>254</sup> But even Césaire could not outshine France's adopted daughter, Joséphine Baker. By the time she dazzled FESMAN audiences, Baker was already sixty years old, her presence a reflection of Senghor's nostalgic musical taste for the days of a bygone era. Nevertheless, she was one of the Festival's biggest names and, especially following Miriam Makeba's cancellation, of particular value to the prestige of the Festival, along with Duke Ellington. The gala soirée, hosted by France, presented a patchwork of solo acts which could only be united under the broad sweep of "Chants et danses de l'Afrique et des Antilles." Josephine Baker was the hostess as well as, naturally, a featured performer. Her classic song, "J'ai deux amours," was particularly well-received and honored with a standing ovation and seven encores. Another American expat, Marpessa Dawn, was on the program as well. Dawn was most famous for her role as "Euridyce" in Marcel Camus' *Black Orpheus* (1959), a film which won an Oscar in 1960 for Best Foreign-Language Film. The night of the gala, Dawn performed a dance which did not garner much press attention, perhaps being overshadowed by Baker as well as a disturbance which happened at the start of the show, in

---

<sup>254</sup> "Chants et danses de l'Afrique et des Antilles," *Dakar-Matin*, April 21, 1966, 6.

which people discovered with dismay that certain seats had been double- or even triple-booked, leaving many stuck sitting in the aisles. The ticketing error caused a loud ruckus that interfered with Marguerite Taos Amrouche's solo performance, but she was lauded by the reviewer for her poise under such distracting circumstances.<sup>255</sup> Marguerite Taos Amrouche, an Algerian Berber who was born and raised in Tunisia and educated in France and Spain, never abandoned the repertoire of Kabyle songs she learned from her mother, who had been a famous performer in Algiers. Despite the fact that at the time of FESMAN Amrouche had not yet released an album (her first, *Chants berbères de Kabylie*, would not be released for another year), she was already well-established in French literary circles. Her themes of exile and nostalgia for her homeland (as an Algerian in France) mirrored sentiments Senghor expressed in much of his own poetry, and it was most likely their common experience as exiles in France and their involvement in the same French literary scene that prompted President Senghor's personal request to Amrouche that she perform at the Festival. At the gala she sang a series of traditional Berber poems from the mountain regions of Algeria.<sup>256</sup> Dibril Ba, who taught at the Ecole des Arts, read Senghor's poem, "New York," and Joseph Zobel, a Martinican author and poet whom Senghor had met and befriended in Paris in the mid-1940s, read excerpts from his work. Outside of Ba and Zobel, the gala was "an evening by women and for women" (une soirée de la femme et pour la femme). Cameroonian actress and vocalist Lydia Ewande performed "Nous avons sommeillé, nous n'avons pas dormi!" to the approval of the critics, who claimed that she "conquered with her Africinity

---

<sup>255</sup> "Merci Josephine pour cette soirée: 'Chants et danses d'Afrique et des Antilles,' *Dakar-Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.

<sup>256</sup> José Santos, "Mythes des origines et nostalgie chez Taos Amrouche," *The French Review* 77, 2 (December, 2003): 326-327; Meaghan Emery, "Taos Amrouche, romancière, by Denise Brahimi," review of *Taos Amrouche, romancière*, by Denise Brahimi, *Research in African Literatures* 30, 3 (Autumn, 1999): 224-227; "Merci Josephine," 8.

and her extraordinary sense of rhythm and elegant movement” (conquit par son africanité et son sens extraordinaire du rythme et de l’élégance dans le mouvement).<sup>257</sup> Moune de Rivel, a creole singer from French Guiana, launched her professional career in 1930s Paris, where she sang performed at various cabaret clubs around town such as the Boule Blanche, Cabaret des Fleures, and the Canne à Sucre. Considering the sizeable Antillean population in Paris at the time, Rivel was never wanting for work. Rivel led a successful career that included a two-year stint in New York, numerous recording contracts and European tours, opening her own nightclub, Le Perroquet du Nid, and even creating her own school, l’Ecole de danses et de chants traditionnels Moune de Rivel, with the mission of nurturing the next generation of Antillean talent. Most pertinent to her performance at FESMAN, Rivel had even recently authored the national anthem of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), “L’Hymne de la Liberté,” upon the invitation of the country’s newly elected leaders in 1960. France’s gala soirée did not only feature well-established stars; Célia, a young Antillean singer, was warmly dubbed “the new Josephine.”<sup>258</sup> FESMAN also featured a few classical soloists, including Armenta Adams, Martina Arroyo, and (Antillean Paris Conservatory girl), but the popular performances of events like France’s gala soirée captured much more attention.

Before returning to Dakar for the Third Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres (2010) in Chapter Four, I will take a brief “intermission” to explore the first Festival’s aftermath as manifested in two subsequent pan-African festivals: the First Pan-African Cultural Festival in

---

<sup>257</sup> “Chants et danses de l’Afrique et des Antilles,” 6 [Note: The exact excerpts Zobel read were never specified, but he was most well-known for his novel *La Rue Cas Nègres* (1950)]; “Merci Josephine,” 8.

<sup>258</sup> Alex Uri and Françoise Uri, *Musique et musiciens de la Guadeloupe: le chant de karukéra* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1991); Aude Bagoë and Claude Mahmud, “Cécile Jean-Louis Baghio’o, dite Moune de Rivel,” *Un siècle de musiciens et de musiques traditionnelles aux Antilles Guyane*, June 14, 2000, <http://alrmab.free.fr/moune.html> (accessed April 13, 2014); “Merci Josephine,” 8.

Algiers (1969) and the Second World Festival of Negro Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in Lagos (1977).

## “ENTRACTE”

## THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CULTURAL FESTIVAL (ALGIERS, 1969)

## AND THE SECOND WORLD BLACK AND AFRICAN FESTIVAL OF ARTS AND CULTURE (LAGOS, 1977)

*Anti-Negritude and the First Pan-African Cultural Festival of Algiers (1969)*

In the short span between FESMAN (1966) and its counter-festival, the O.A.U.-sponsored First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers (1969), the black world underwent a sea change. Martin Luther King’s assassination (1968) left many proponents of non-violence disillusioned and frustrated, and black liberation movements began to take on a new sense of urgency. While the phrase “Black Power” was coined in 1966, the same year that FESMAN took place, the movement had consolidated its power considerably by 1969 and the U.S. government was keeping a watchful eye on black opposition leaders. Many fled abroad to escape FBI scrutiny and increasing violence at home. Algiers had become the “Mecca of liberation movements around the world” after its president, Houari Bouedienne, began offering generous monthly stipends to members of any revolutionary organization dedicated to the overthrow of colonial or neocolonial powers. Among these revolutionaries, senior leaders of the Black Power movement such as Elridge Cleaver, Michael Tabor and Stokely Carmichael found in Algiers a safe haven from which to direct their movement away from the U.S. government’s prying eyes.<sup>259</sup> Seven years after Algeria’s bloody revolution had finally put an end to French colonial rule, those still struggling for equality around the world looked to the country as a

---

<sup>259</sup> Mohamed Sadek Loucif, “40 ans après sa tenue à Alger: Le premier Panaf revisité,” *L’Expression: le Quotidien* (Kouba, Alger), July 2, 2009, <http://www.l'expressiondz.com/actualite/66953-le-premier-panaf-revisite.html> (accessed April 13, 2014); Brendan Koerner, “A Black Panther Guide to Algiers,” *Roads and Kingdoms* online, 2013, <http://roadsandkingdoms.com/2013/a-guide-to-algiers/> (accessed April 14, 2014).

symbol of their own future freedom. Algeria's path to independence bore little resemblance to that of Senegal; Senghor had negotiated a bloodless transfer of power and maintained close diplomatic and financial ties with the same French colonizer. Those with more militant anticolonial leanings found Senghor's political brand of nationalized *négritude* nothing more than thinly veiled neo-colonialism.<sup>260</sup> In calling the Algerian festival the "first" of its kind, its organizers directly challenged FESMAN's legitimacy and the philosophy of *Négritude* it had propagandized. To those disillusioned with the efficacy of less extreme forms of protest in the wake of King's assassination, Fanon's virulent critiques of the colonial system and its neocolonial aftermaths seemed to resonate more deeply.

"Panef," as the festival in Algiers was dubbed, hosted its own symposium in which intellectuals, politicians, delegates, and other spokespeople gathered to debate four main themes: the reality of African culture; culture as a factor in social and economic development; the place of culture in the struggle for national liberation, and culture as a factor in the consolidation of African unity. Léopold Senghor was noticeably absent at the festival, although via his Minister of Culture, M. M'Dow, he sent a message infused with his characteristic universalism, connecting the glories of North Africa with that of the rest of the continent and claiming a common "African civilization" (*civilisation africaine*) to be the "true foundation of our unity" (*veritables fondements de notre unité*). Senghor's message politely avoided mentioning the word "négritude," despite so many allusions to the philosophy; an anonymous reporter for the *Nouvelle critique*, on the other hand, did not hesitate to frankly state his position and even name names: "the black African delegations were quasi-unanimous in denouncing the "négritude" so

---

<sup>260</sup> Olivier Hadouchi, "'African Culture will be Revolutionary or it will not be': William Klein's Film of the First Pan-African Festival of Algiers (1969)," *Third Text* 25, 1 (2011): 125.

dear to Sartre and Senghor” (les délégations d’Afrique noire furent quasi-unanimes à dénoncer la ‘négritude’ chère à Sartre et à Senghor).<sup>261</sup> Despite this well-wishing, however, the symposium quickly became a forum for direct rebuttals against Senghor’s philoso-politics. President Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea offered this response to Senghor’s négritude: “It’s about making a revolution. To lead a proper fight, responsible Africans...should never let themselves be guided by false concepts of negritude and so-called cultural cross-breeding” (Il s’agit de faire la révolution). More mildly, professor Hunga Kabonga of Congo-Kinshasa conceded negritude’s role as a “first stake in the black African liberation movement” (le premier jalon des mouvements de libération de l’Afrique noire), but felt that it was something ideally to be “transcended.” Concerned that notions of the universal could become so overshadowing as to become prescriptive, he said, “African culture can no longer merge in the universal to the point that its elements are determined by it” (la culture africaine ne peut encore se fondre dans l’universel tant que ses éléments n’en sont pas déterminés). The Haitian writer René Depestre also gently suggested that the time for racial distinguishing had passed, saying, “Perhaps we will renounce this ethnic denomination. After all, we never talk about ‘white art’, do we?” (Peut-être que l’on renoncera à cette dénomination ethnique. On ne dit jamais "l'art blanc", n'est-ce pas ?). The Dahomean educator Stanislas Spero Adotevi, on the other hand, spared his tact when he voiced his own concerns. He pronounced Negritude an utter failure, nothing more than “pseudo-philosophical scribblings” (gribouillages pseudo philosophiques) that “fix and congeal the most overused theories of African traditions...by denying its origins in order to deliver us hands and feet bound, to the ethnologists and cannibals.” (fixe et coagule à des fins inavouable les théories

---

<sup>261</sup> “Le premier festival culturel panafricain,” *Maghreb* 35 (Sept.-Oct., 1969): 11; “Alger, 21 juillet-1er août 1969: manifeste culturel panafricain,” *La nouvelle critique* (Oct., 1969): 45; Hadouchi, “African Culture,” 117-128.

les plus éculés des traditions africains...qu'en reniant ses origines pour nous livrer pieds et poings liés aux ethnologues et aux anthropophages). To Adotevi, radical nationalism should be based on “scientific socialism” (socialisme scientifique) rather than “cults of the past” (culte[s] rétrograde[s] du passé) which only distract people into forgetting the present. He further validated his position by referencing Fanon, saying “The enforced search for traditions, we repeat Fanon’s view, is a banal search for exoticism” (La quête forcée des traditions, nous le disons après Fanon, est une banale recherche d'exotisme). Tunisian delegate Mustapha Farsi echoed Adotevi, condemning “mummification” (momification) and “folklorization” (folklorisation) in favor of a uniquely African modernity. M. M’Dow, Minister of Culture of Senegal, was reluctant to get involved in the negritude debate and uncomfortably reminded people to limit their discussions to the symposium’s four official themes.<sup>262</sup> His intervention, however, was by and large ignored.

Themes of revolution, socialism, solidarity, and struggle figured prominently at the symposium. In addition to cultural ambassadors from all over the world, numerous rebel and resistance organizations participated, including the MPLA, Frelimo, PAIGC, ANC, Zapu, Black Panthers and El Fath, whose chief delegate declared to the international press, “the Palestinian struggle merges with the African struggle against colonial racist regimes.” A delegate of El Fath forcefully declared his allegiance to a united Africa: “We are on the side of Africa because we defend the same cause. Our history is identified with that of Africa” (Nous sommes aux côtés de l’Afrique parce que nous défendons la même cause. Notre histoire est identique à celle de

---

<sup>262</sup> “Le Premier Festival culturel panafricain,” 10-12; Hadouchi, “African Culture” 125.

l'Afrique).<sup>263</sup> While Algerian President Boumediène believed in the same political force of culture as Senghor, he saw the struggle against imperialism, rather than simply racial solidarity, to be what unified the continent. Boumediène saw the festival as “an integral part of the struggle we all continue to wage in Africa,” (intrinsèquement partie du combat que nous continuons tous en Afrique à mener) and strove to connect cultural and revolutionary consciousness together. According to historian Robert Mortimer, Boumediène considered the fates of Algeria and Africa to be intertwined, and their cultures served as a “weapon” against Europeanization and the medium through which the process of independence could be completed.<sup>264</sup>

At the end of the festival, delegates drafted a Pan-African Cultural Manifesto to synthesize the debates of the symposium and provide a directive for the future. The Manifesto covered the symposium themes of “The realities of African culture” (Les réalités de la culture africaine), “The role of African culture in national liberation struggles and in the consolidation of African unity” (Le rôle de la culture africaine dans la lutte de libération et l'unité africaine), and “the role of African culture in the economic and social development of Africa” (Le rôle de la culture dans le développement économique et social de l'Afrique). Emphasizing the importance of backing culture with action instead of merely serving as a form of entertainment, the document presented socialist themes of culture “built up by the people” (édifiée par le peuple) as a force for change. “The role of culture in the liberation struggle” called on all African states to utilize their cultures for the greater purpose of uniting elites and masses together in a common struggle against colonial and neocolonial domination. As for economic and social change, the

---

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>264</sup> “Le Premier Festival,” 10; Robert Mortimer, “The Algerian Revolution in Search of the African Revolution,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 8, 3 (1970): 383-384.

manifesto saw culture as “the surest means for our peoples to overcome their technological handicap” (le plus sûr moyen de rattraper notre retard technique).<sup>265</sup> The proclamation closed with 40 recommendations made by the Algiers symposium. These included calls for the state to sanction more cultural activities and venues, to generate more African cultural material through the creation of presses and publishing houses, and to support local languages and cultural exchange to create African standards for arts and letters, a united African Trade Union movement, and the development of mass organizations (for youth, for men, etc.) to help society participate in its own progress.<sup>266</sup>

In addition to the political and cultural debates, discussions, and symposia, over 4,000 artists exhibited a wide array of traditional and contemporary visual art, performed ancient and modern ballets and plays, screened relevant films, and infused Panef with diverse music from across the continent, the Diaspora, and the Arab world. Events were covered daily on radio and television for all to follow.<sup>267</sup> The musical dimension of Panef, perhaps more than any of the other arts at the festival, reflected the transformation the black world had undergone in the three years since FESMAN. While Duke Ellington was considered one of FESMAN’s “Very Important Persons,” Panef favored Archie Shepp.<sup>268</sup> Stylistically worlds apart, Ellington and Shepp represented two opposite ends of the jazz spectrum; in many respects Ellington reflected where jazz had come from, and Shepp where it was going. The musical contrast between the two events demonstrates a more general difference in pan-African philosophies; FESMAN

---

<sup>265</sup> “Le Premier Festival,” 12-13; “Manifeste culturel panafricain,” *Présence Africaine* 71, 3 (1969): 115-120.

<sup>266</sup> “Manifeste Culturel Panafricain,” 124-127; 129-132.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid*, 129.

<sup>268</sup> “De triomphe en triomphe: Duke Ellington,” *Dakar Matin*, April 6, 1966, 6. Note: the article used the English phrase “Very Important Person.”

sounded the rather nostalgic pan-Africanism that was Senghor's Negritude, while Panef broke away from old notions of black harmony (literally and figuratively) and moving in a more dissonant, revolutionary direction. While this juxtaposition is convenient, however, it is also overly simplistic. Oscar Peterson also performed at Panef, and he is not particularly known for his experimentalism. Likewise, Ellington premiered a new work, *La plus belle Africaine*, at FESMAN which was not just a re-hashing of popular swing-era classics, but a sophisticated extended work.

Certain political realities influenced the line-up at both festivals. Because Algiers had become a hub of revolutionary activity and a safe haven for those targeted as extremists at home, several of Panef's performers associated with such politics benefited from the fact that they were already in the area or relatively close by. Miriam Makeba, for instance, was married to the exiled Black Power activist Stokely Carmichael and the two were being sheltered at President Touré's residence in Guinea. Carmichael's colleague and fellow exile Eldridge Cleaver had recently set up the first international branch of the Black Power Party in Algiers, so he was already there. Dorothy Mazuke, a jazz singer from Rhodesia who, like her friend Miriam Makeba, had been exiled from her native country, was also welcomed by the Algiers committee. In William Klein's documentary of the festival, there is a scene in which Makeba and Mazuke are intermittently rehearsing together while they hold squirming children, laugh, and talk about life in exile. Nina Simone, too, had found herself unwelcome at home, where her visceral protest songs had gotten her an FBI file and a boycott in parts of the south. At the time of the festival, she had grown tired of the violence and was ready to leave the US behind. Simone incorporated into her festival program songs for which she had become well-known during the Civil Rights

movement such as “To be Young, Gifted and Black.” Reporters for *Jeune Afrique* fondly recalled her performance, in which she “shared with a sympathetic/compassionate public the sadness of black Americans” (partager à un public compatissant la tristesse de l’homme américain).<sup>269</sup> Unapologetically militant and convinced that violence was necessary to liberate American blacks, Simone had been expressing increasing anguish at this time over recent atrocities through songs such as “Mississippi Goddamn” (1964), written in response to the assassination of Medgar Evers and the Birmingham church bombing, as well as her revival of Billie Holiday’s “Strange Fruit.” Considering the significant Black Power presence at Panef and her close affinity with its members and their politics, her protest songs certainly fit the overall mood of the festival and found many sympathetic ears. Oscar Peterson, too, had musically participated in the civil rights movement with his composition “Hymn to Freedom” (1962; the same year that Algeria won its independence, incidentally); written in the style of an old Negro spiritual, the song had become “an anthem to the Civil Rights movement.” Randy Weston, who had been on the U.S. FESMAN Committee’s board in 1965 but dropped out for unaccounted reasons, had moved to Tangiers, Morocco two years prior to Panef and started up a successful jazz club there, the African Rhythms Club. It is unclear why he didn’t participate at Panef, as he lived relatively nearby and was sympathetic to pan-African causes. Marion Williams, who had been slated to perform at FESMAN in 1966 but cancelled a few months before the festival, was the gospel superstar of Panef. William Klein’s documentary film of the festival alternates live footage of Williams singing amidst a diverse crowd of excited fans, all clapping in rhythm with

---

<sup>269</sup> Alla, B., Ph. Constantin and M. Haciane, “Dans alger en fête [2],” *Jeune Afrique* 449 (12-18 août, 1969): 26-27.

her like members of a gospel congregation, with an image of Miriam Makeba, Dorothy Mazuke, and their friends and family enraptured with a live TV broadcast of the same performance.<sup>270</sup>

It was Archie Shepp, however, who seemed to be the darling of Panef, much as Ellington had been at FESMAN. Klein gave the last ten minutes of his film over to Shepp's live performance, considerably more than he devoted to any other performer. Panef's commemorative book (called its *Livre d'or*) devoted several pages to Shepp, including excerpts from an interview he gave to an Algerian magazine and a sentimental description of his July 31 performance taken from an article the critic Paul Alessandrini had written for *Jazz Magazine* (September 1969). In the interview, Shepp exalted the continent he was visiting for the first time, noting, "Africa is the starting point of our experience." He was entranced with the music of Algeria's Tuareg, nomadic relatives of the Berber who roamed the south of the country and across the Sahara. When asked by the magazine if he considered Tuareg music to be comparable to that of African Americans, he answered without hesitation, "Absolutely. The similarity is evident in their music" after which he waxed rhapsodic about the thrill of seeing Tuaregs riding camels like "the stories of the kings of old." This "desert blues" connection has become an increasingly prominent theme over the decades, being especially capitalized upon by the successful Festival au Desert of northern Mali which has propelled Tuareg rock groups such as Tinariwen and Tartit, and a new generation including Bambino, to international fame.<sup>271</sup>

---

<sup>270</sup> Oscar Peterson, "Musical Moments: The True Origin of the 'Hymn to Freedom,'" *Oscar Peterson* (official website), June 16, 2002. [www.oscarpeterson.com/musicalmoments/detail.aspx?nid=668](http://www.oscarpeterson.com/musicalmoments/detail.aspx?nid=668) (accessed 4 January 2014); Alla et. al, "Dans alger en fête [2]," 27; *Festival panafricain d'Alger*, directed by William Klein (1969; Issy-les-Moulineaux: Arte Éditions, 2010), DVD.

<sup>271</sup> Algerian Ministry of Information and Culture, *The First Pan-African Cultural Festival* (Algiers: Ministry of Information and Culture, 1970), 50-54; Archie Shepp, *Live at the Pan-African Festival*, LP, BYG Actuel, CDGR 292-2, 1969; Melissa Reiser, "Festival au Desert, Essakane, Mali: A Postcolonial, Postwar Tuareg Experiment" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007).

Archie Shepp's performance at Panef was memorialized in a live recording of the event, *Live at Panafest* (BYG Actuel, 1969) and featured an outstanding line-up: Shepp's tenor sax and vocals were supported by Clifton Thornton on cornet, Dave Burrell on piano, Grachan Moncur III on trombone, Sunny Murray on drums, Alan Silva on bass, Ted Joans and Don Lee doing spoken word renditions of their own poetry, and a group of six Algerian musicians on *qaraqib* (metal castanets) and traditional drums. In the film, a woman begins to announce the performers, while Shepp wanders around backstage and tests his reed, giving off two loud foghorns that must have been heard on stage. Soon, the film skips to Ted Joans beating/rapping his poetry while Shepp still lingers behind stage. Joans begins, "Nous sommes revenus," in French ("We have come back", the title of the piece they were starting to perform). He begins to work up the crowd, directly linking the band's performance to African American political presence in Algiers, in the form of the Black Panther party: "Jazz is a black power!" – *applause* – "Jazz is an African power!" – *louder applause* – "Jazz is an African music!" – *wild applause* – "From Harlem, from Watts, from Chicago, from Alabama, from Kentucky, from California... We have returned!" While Joans speaks, Clifton Thornton, wearing an African-print short-sleeved shirt, starts to play. Soon, the others join in, and eventually Archie Shepp walks out, dressed head to toe in a white kaftan and *taqiyah* hat, the typical attire of Algeria's Muslim men. As Shepp begins to play, we also hear the soft sounds of a traditional flute played by a Tuareg man with covered face lined up behind the band alongside a large array of people dressed in a variety of traditional clothing. Shepp's playing gets increasingly frenzied, and the crowd seems to absorb the energy and amplify it. The long line of Africans behind them, however, do not seem moved – their faces remain expressionless as they clap along.<sup>272</sup>

---

<sup>272</sup> *Festival panafricain d'Alger* [dvd].

The festival's *Livre d'or* attempted to connect Shepp's free jazz to the continent in much the same way people were doing with more traditional forms of jazz. Of course Shepp's collaboration with local Berber musicians helped, and the commemorative book highlighted "his fabulous encounter with the music of the Southern Sahara in its overview of African-American performers."<sup>273</sup> In an effort to more specifically link Shepp's music to the past, the author elaborated poetically, "A solid 'thread of Ariadne' led, involuntarily, for those who listened to the traditional ensembles, on to Free Jazz." To the author, these musical styles were but distant relations on the same family tree—"two branches inspired by one and the same feeling." Shepp's collaboration with Algerian musicians on stage at the Atlas therefore offered "proof" of an already foregone conclusion: that traditional music and free jazz belonged to the same ancestral bloodline. Seemingly in awe, the author "was aware of the astonishing variety of this music, of its instrumental wealth and of the changes it has undergone. African musical instruments themselves evoke the eventful history of this music." Following a vague catalogue of generic African musical instruments which grandiosely insinuated continental origins for all membranophones, chordophones, aerophones and idiophones throughout the world, he continued, "The wealth of instrumentation justifies the greatest hopes, now that they are in the hands of artists free from all constraint." In this way, free jazz symbolized Africa unchained, the promise of a black culture both modern and still tied to its roots—a trope that echoes pan-African rhetoric about early jazz in the 1920s. In a bold statement foreshadowing that of Fela Kuti, he added, "jazz has become a weapon and proved that music cannot be dissociated from those who create it, and from the environment which gave it birth." The critic Paul Alessandrini reported

---

<sup>273</sup> *The First Pan-African Cultural Festival*, 54.

how new audiences received the “black soul” of this music (referring to the free jazz of Archie Shepp): “Contact was simple and immediate, without intellectual partisanship and without reasoning.” He concluded, “in accordance with the ideas of LeRoi Jones, it was as much a political act as a musical phenomenon.”<sup>274</sup>

Likewise, the festival’s revolutionary critique of negritude’s passivity and neocolonialist collusion contradicts the sentimental tone of the *Livre d’Or*’s musical descriptions, which could have come directly out of a Senghor poem. “The whole of Africa was united in rhythm,” Alessandrini rhapsodized.<sup>275</sup> Falling into comfortable tropes of musical blackness, Alessandrini described Shepp’s performance as “exploring sound in search of primeval cries, plunging into the unconscious of the black peoples’ history.” Evoking the “natural” rhythm and musicianship of the black body, he continued dramatically, “The two drums, his serene face, his body moving with a natural balance, propelling a passionate Archie Shepp into the pulsations of the great African heart, suddenly rediscovering physical liberation: his body twists and writhes... Remember, my body, the great black Festival, remember.” The *Livre d’or* also praised several of the new hybrid popular musics coming out of Congo-Brazzaville (*Les Bantous de la capitale*), Kenya (Kenya Air Fiesta), and Nigeria (Victor Nwaifu, the King of Akwete) and honored Bembeya Jazz with 2<sup>nd</sup> Prize, “Modern Orchestra,” for their recording honoring President Touré, *Regard sur le passé*.<sup>276</sup> Manu Dibango performed as well, debuting a composition he named after a local Algerian train station. He called the song “Soleil de Zaralda” but later, in a nod to

---

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 50-51; Paul Alessandrini, “L’Amérique noire au festival d’Alger,” *Jazz Magazine* 169-70 (September, 1969): 16-17, quoted in *The First Pan-African Festival*, 54; 59.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 51, 59.

Ellington's *A Night in Tunisia*, changed it to "Nuit de Zaralda."<sup>277</sup> In the end, Panef contained as many paradoxes and contradictions as FESMAN. Despite the many verbose critiques of negritude's failings, such as Adotevi's concern of a fetishization or exoticization of culture, it would be hard to deny that Panef wasn't doing exactly that.

*FESTAC (LAGOS, 1977) and the Commodification of Culture*

The eleven years between the Algiers festival in 1969 and the second official World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) held in Lagos in 1977 saw still more transformation across the African continent. By 1977, most countries had freed themselves from colonialism and were well on their way to negotiating new forms of postcolonial governments and identities. More than a few had undergone various civil conflicts, regime changes, coups d'état, and other forms of duress, but others had found relative stability. In 1977, however, few countries in Africa could boast the level of confidence and prosperity of Nigeria, which, despite the wake of a three-year civil war (1967-70), had become an economic force to be reckoned with. By 1974, Nigeria was in the midst of an incredible oil boom which enabled the country to host the most extravagant pan-African festivals to date. Davidson Nicol recalls the preparations for it: "The preparations for it rivaled and exceeded those which lavishly preceded meetings of the OAU Heads of State, demonstrating that Africa now equated in importance culture with politics." Not only did Nigeria equate culture with politics, as both Senegal and Algeria had done, it also had a new capacity to equate culture with money. Because of the oil boom, "petro-naira [became] the common 'substance' of national culture." To go even further, Apter writes,

---

<sup>277</sup> Cherif Ouazani, "Il était une fois le Panef...", *Jeune Afrique*, April 15, 2009, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2518p076-077.xml0/> (accessed April 18, 2014).

“we can appreciate FESTAC’s spectacle of culture as a stabilizing conversion of sudden wealth into blackness.”<sup>278</sup>

The complexities of Nigeria’s oil boom economy are beyond the scope of this brief “intermission,” but we should understand that it was largely “phantasmagorical,” to use Apter’s term, in that the commodities had speculative rather than concrete value. Consequently, there was a growing gap between producers and consumers, and the country’s profit was based on the “privatization of public resources rather than [on] . . . wage labor.” This meant that, in a sense, the state was consuming itself into a crisis (as the subsequent oil bust would prove). To Apter, this economic context explains why FESTAC so thoroughly epitomized the commodification of culture: “Nigeria’s commodification of national culture made ideological sense, masking divisive ethnic cleavages and the absence of indigenous production through the production of Indigenous Culture.”<sup>279</sup> Not everyone profited equally from this booming economy, however. The civil war had clouded many people with cynicism and destroyed their trust in the leaders of the country’s military regime. Olaniyan describes this time as “the age of the urban masses,” who were “overworked, underpaid, and stressed out by the pressures of the new petrol-fueled economy.” To these people, the new musical genre of “Afrobeat,” founded by Nigerian Fela Kuti, symbolized everything that the more upper-class juju and highlife did not. If juju idealized wealth, aristocracy, and the elite, Afrobeat “hail[ed] you as a member of the oppressed lower classes, its harried rabble-rousing tempo insistently remind[ing] you of the harshness of your life

---

<sup>278</sup> Davidson Nicol, “Alioune Diop and the African Renaissance,” *African Affairs* (78, 310 (Jan., 1979): 3-8; Anthony Apter, *Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 50-51; 282.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

and now and then show[ing] you...those who profit from the harsh system so that you can confront them.”<sup>280</sup> It would seem that Afrobeat’s cosmopolitanism, with its “simultaneously transcultural, transnational, and transcontinental” reach, would have made the genre an ideal music for FESTAC ’77, especially as a genre native to Nigeria. Despite the same rhetoric of universalism which by now we recognize as part and parcel with all pan-African cultural festivals (and rooted in colonial-era expositions and fairs), however, it was clear that the masses were not benefiting from the oil boom which made FESTAC possible. This may explain why Fela Kuti and his Afrobeat music boycotted the festival, while King Sunny Ade, the heart and soul of juju, wrote a song which Apter called the unofficial “FESTAC theme song”—“FESTAC for you, FESTAC for me, FESTAC for black people,” he sang.<sup>281</sup> Olaniyan does not regard the song as FESTAC’s theme, however, but instead “a song about the [festival] by an enterprising musician responding to a contemporary event.” Either way, it represents the more material side of culture epitomized by FESTAC. Fela, for his part, condemned the event as “no more than a waste of money by the elite and not a people’s festival.”<sup>282</sup> Fela was right, of course; the festival was all about excess, an excess that the country never really properly possessed. In the end, FESTAC was a product of the collective imagination’s fascination with commodity culture.

The ghost of *négritude* still haunted the floors of FESTAC’s colloquium. Even after so many years, Senghor’s philosophy continued to be a point of contention. In general, Anglophone Nigeria was not sympathetic to “The Black Frenchman” (Senghor) and his version

---

<sup>280</sup> Olaniyan, *Arrest the Music!*, 37-38, 161-62.

<sup>281</sup> Apter, *Pan-African Nation*, 213.

<sup>282</sup> Olaniyan, email message to author, April 18, 2006.

of negritude, which they found too French, elitist, and romanticized. While Apter situates the Second FESTAC as a continuation of the first, the Lagos edition ultimately manifested a “tension between succession and usurpation.” Senghor had hoped that FESTAC ‘77’s colloquium could restore negritude’s reputation, particularly after the “thrashing” that his ideas had undergone in Algiers. Ultimately, however, Nigeria’s oil boom tilted the scale away from racial valor (as in Dakar) or common struggle (as in Algiers) as the key to Africa’s future, instead foregrounding profit as the primary means of “remak[ing] the black world.”<sup>283</sup>

While Nigeria’s FESTAC may have outspent and out-hosted the previous two festivals, all three (Dakar, Algiers, Lagos) performed the same struggle of modern African nations to reconcile their colonial past with a postcolonial future. Colonial-era narratives of progress and modernity transformed into postcolonial ones, carrying in their lineage the same tropes of cultural blackness as harbingers of the “tradi-modern.” Festivals served as the ideal platform to construct new, modern African nationalisms out of “indigenized colonial cultures” and invented precolonial traditions.<sup>284</sup> They also created a venue for both national and transnational cultural commodities. All three pan-African festivals, each in its own way a spectacle of cultural negotiation and invention, performed a microcosm of Africa’s shifting postcolonial self-image.

---

<sup>283</sup> Apter, *Pan-African Nation*, 65, 70.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 15.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## THE THIRD WORLD FESTIVAL OF BLACK ARTS, DAKAR, 2010:

AN “AFRICAN RENAISSANCE” FOR THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

In 2007, on the windswept island of Gorée off the coast of Dakar, the South African poet and former anti-apartheid activist Breyten Breytenbach eloquently called upon the world to imagine Africa differently. Culture, he believed, offered an ideal meta-medium in which to imagine a new Africa into existence. After all, he said, “part of the human condition, if not the essential flame, is the process of imagining ourselves to be.”<sup>285</sup> Speaking as the Executive Director of the Gorée Institute, which was hosting a conference to strategize the strengthening of Africa’s cultural capital, Breytenbach must have known that his words would ring especially poignantly to the Senegalese in the audience. The conference was held on the same island which, forty-one years before, had staged nightly performances for international audiences at the First World Festival of Negro Arts, or FESMAN. Moreover, plans to launch a third edition of the Festival at the end of 2009 had already gone public by the time Breytenbach addressed his audience in March of 2007.

Despite a one-year postponement, Senegal finally succeeded in hosting a reprise of its legendary World Festival of Black Arts in December 2010, forty-four years after its debut. The cultural memory of the unprecedented 1966 festival reverberated strongly at the 2010 event, as past and present interpretations of musical blackness and conflicting imaginations of “Africa” collided in real time. The literal and metaphorical cacophony of FESMAN III’s overlapping

---

<sup>285</sup> Breyten Breytenbach, “Imagine Africa” (ARTerial Conference, Dakar, Senegal, March 5, 2007), reprinted in *Harper’s* (June, 2007): 16.

performances, further strengthened by the continuing resonance of memories of the original, created a unique environment in which conflicting ideals of “blackness” were forced to confront each other. As Breytenbach argued, “culture can create oppositional frameworks from which to imagine new realities which challenge and destabilize the powerful.” The spontaneous riffing on what it means to be “black” or “African” demonstrates how the most recent FESMAN, even more than its predecessor, served as just such an oppositional framework. Each FESMAN artist had a uniquely personal sonic imagination of “Africa”. The power of this festival lay in the very moments in which multiple imaginaries collided to create something entirely new.

### *The Renaissance Monument*

At the top of a large hill in Dakar, Senegal, on the newly dedicated “Renaissance Monument,” the enormous, chiseled bodies of a man, woman and child point forever westward across the Atlantic. People argue about the symbolism of this monument: Senegal’s third president, Abdoulaye Wade, intended it to represent the coming “African Renaissance” that was destined to mark Africa as the “continent of the the twenty-first century.”<sup>286</sup> The statue’s iron family beckons to their cousins throughout the diaspora to its diaspora to forge more enduring (and profitable) ties to the Motherland; Wade stressed that the development of Africa’s full potential will never be possible without a strong relationship with its diaspora. Others take a more cynical view: some joke that the figures point toward America because that’s where so many Africans would rather be. Still others forgo interpretations of symbolism altogether, considering the more immediate issue of finances to be scandalous enough. President Wade

---

<sup>286</sup> FESMAN III Colloquium Commissioner Iba Der Thiam, quoted in René Massiga Diouf, “FESMAN III: A Global Celebration of African Culture,” *WIPO Magazine* 1 (Feb., 2011): 22.

spent 27 million (U.S. dollars) of the country's treasury, after all, on a statue that wasn't even built by Senegalese, but North Koreans. The statue, considered by many to be a monstrosity better suited to Pyongyang than Dakar, was unveiled just eight months before the Festival and was meant to coincide with its theme, "African Renaissance."

References to Africa's "Renaissance" have been bandied about since the earliest days of pan-Africanism: Pixley Kalsaka Seme, who later founded the African National Congress in South Africa, used the term in the early 1900s; Nnamdi Azikiwe, later the first president of an independent Nigeria, used the term in the 1930s; Cheikh Anta Diop wrote a series of essays on the subject from 1946 up to Senegal's independence, published together as *Toward the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946-1960*, and Kwame Nkrumah referred to it as a part of his concept of "African personality" in the 1950s. At the turn of the new millennium in 2000, however, talk of the "African Renaissance" escalated with a new kind of fervor and urgency and for Wade, nothing could have been a more ideal theme the third FESMAN. Wade was not alone in his ambitions to lead the continent in a new direction under the flag of the "African Renaissance." Libya's dictator Colonel Gadaffi had been trying to do so for years, and, more recently and more convincingly, South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki had come up with the "Africa Renaissance Plan," which had begun to garner support among other countries such as Algeria and Nigeria.<sup>287</sup> This idea of an "African Renaissance" is not without complication, of course; it carries within it the same tensions that the Festival performs, tensions between hope and despair, optimism and cynicism. The world has changed considerably since

---

<sup>287</sup> "Afrique: FESMAN III – Festival mondial des arts nègres 3ème édition," *Le Soleil* (Dakar, Senegal), June 23, 2008, <http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200806240409.html> (accessed 23 January 2014).

the first FESMAN in 1966, and while many still carry a firm conviction that the future will brighten, many others regard the idea of a magical African “rebirth” to be naïve at best.

So why *did* Wade wish to host a third FESMAN? Apart from the desire to create a personal legacy to compete with that of Senghor, what did he hope the country would gain from such an event, and how did he justify the expense to the country? Did people even feel such an event to be relevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? I traveled to Dakar in the fall of 2010 to answer these questions and to experience the third World Festival of Black Arts for myself. As I have done for the previous FESMAN, I will devote two chapters to FESMAN III. This chapter will consider the event’s broader implications before examining the festival’s music in more detail in the following chapter. Here, I will analyze the overarching significance of FESMAN III from the following vantage points: Wade’s national platform, continuing conversations about the relevance of negritude in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and the creation of a new historical narrative through the institutionalized exhibition of musical blackness.

*“A FESMAN for our Time”: Wade’s National Platform*

Originally President Senghor had hoped to make FESMAN a regular occurrence every two years.<sup>288</sup> It quickly became apparent, however, that this was far too ambitious, both financially and logistically, for any potential host country – even one with a home country advantage. FESMAN’s second official edition, called FESTAC (for its English acronym: the Festival of African Culture), would not be held until eleven years after the original (in Lagos, 1977). As I have mentioned in the Intermission following Chapter Three, FESTAC seemed to

---

<sup>288</sup> “Convention entre l’Association du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres et le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal,” SNA FESMAN Collection Folder 031, September 21, 1963, 1.

point to Nigeria as the new apex of African glory, but the oil bubble burst almost immediately following the festival, leading many Nigerians to blame the festival, in all of its extravagance, for the subsequent financial crisis.<sup>289</sup> While the festival may not have caused the oil crash, the economic catastrophe that followed it certainly put things into perspective, and many questioned whether or not culture was worth so much financial investment when people were struggling to feed their families. The aftershocks of the crash rippled across the entire continent throughout the 1980s, wreaking havoc and political instability. One could argue that this decade marked the end of early independence's "Afro-optimism" and the expansion of a new wave of "Afro-pessimism" as news from the continent became increasingly dire. Foreign investment shrank as companies were increasingly reticent to gamble their capital in a place perceived to be so unstable. Unsurprisingly, given the circumstances, the 1980s came and went without a Festival reprise. This was not for lack of trying; the *New York Times* had reported an indefinite postponement of FESMAN III in 1988, indicating that efforts by Senegal to host a third edition had already been in the works for years.<sup>290</sup> Even as far back as 1980, Senegal committed to hosting a third edition of the Festival at a meeting of black Ministers of Culture.<sup>291</sup> Senghor had ceded power to Abdou Diouf in 1980, one of the few African leaders to step down voluntarily. While Senghor's priorities had included the investment and promotion of culture, Diouf focused primarily on infrastructure and public works. During his presidency, roads improved, parks were beautified, and trash service was predictable, but funding for cultural institutions stagnated. The

---

<sup>289</sup> See Apter, *Pan-African Nation*; Ann Waymouth Genova, *Oil and Nationalism in Nigeria* (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest, 2007), 78.

<sup>290</sup> James Brooke, "Senegal Postpones a Black Cultural Festival," *New York Times*, November 13, 1988.

<sup>291</sup> Seynabou Touré, *Les Coulisses du FESMAN 2009: Récit d'un rêve avorté* (Paris: Acoria Éditions, 2010), 37; "Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres," *Au-Senegal*, December 10, 2010, <http://www.au-senegal.com/+1er-au-21-decembre-2009-Festival+.html?lang=fr> (accessed April 16, 2014).

Ecole des Arts and other facilities did not all close down, but they did suffer from a loss of quality teachers, a lack of publicity and recruitment, and general material and infrastructural decline. Diouf had never been able to make FESMAN a reality during his tenure as president, and Wade considered it an opportunity to build his legacy to succeed where others had failed. Because of Senghor's immense cultural legacy, it is likely that Diouf's initial limited efforts to host a 3<sup>rd</sup> Fesman were inspired by the desire to create an equally appealing legacy; Diouf's successor, President Abdoulaye Wade, has also felt the same weight of the country's nostalgia for their first poet-President. Therefore, when Wade came to power in 2000, he almost immediately began resuming plans for a third FESMAN.

Wade's electoral bid had finally succeeded; he had attempted a run four other times before, all to no avail. He had been a strong force of opposition against the stalwart socialist party of Senghor and his hand-picked successor, Abdou Diouf. By the time Wade was elected, people were ready for *sopi*, or "change" in Wolof, which became Wade's campaign slogan and the name for a coalition of oppositional parties working together to topple Diouf. At the beginning of his tenure, Wade seemed like a breath of fresh air. He had won the support of Dakar's youth, particularly the disenfranchised residents of the city's suburbs, whose rap music spread powerful messages of reform. Senegal had been a hotbed of rap-critique since the 1990s, and hip hop artists played a crucial role in getting Wade elected. Like a younger brother always trying to measure up, Wade's presidential tenure has been perpetually overshadowed by Senghor's legacy, which Senegalese were increasingly recalling with nostalgia the longer Wade was in office. Well into his 80s, Wade, too, desired to create a legacy of his own united by Senghorian themes of "renaissance" and pan-African unity. It was in this context that Wade

began his presidency not just with a strong determination to relaunch FESMAN, which hadn't occurred in Dakar since Senghor's presidency, but with ambitious plans more generally to lead the continent into an African renaissance. In this regard, he was not that much different than Senghor, who also wanted Senegal to serve as a beacon for the rest of Africa to follow. Senghor presided in the era of early independence, however, when nations were trying to establish cohesive identities. By 2010, nationalism seemed a quaint artifact of the past to be left behind in favor of a more pan-African vision, a "United States of Africa."

At the beginning of his presidency, Wade had widespread support and a strong mandate to steer the country in a new direction. He announced a series of intended reforms and new development projects, but most of these have never been realized. In 2001, Wade outlined his pan-African "Omega Plan" to France's President Chirac and Prime Minister Jospin. The plan focused on four key areas of development crucial to Africa's transformation from third world status to a global economic force to be reckoned with: infrastructure, education, health and agriculture. The plan was considered innovative for focusing on sub-regional areas as intermediary monitors between work at the individual country level and the transformation of the continent as a whole. Wade suggested that countries pool financial resources and work with a combination of private funding and 50-year finance plans from the IMF; two-thirds of development costs could be the responsibility of the North, and one third left to African businesses.<sup>292</sup> Indeed, over the course of his presidency he maintained all sorts of pet-projects at the architectural-model level, but the majority of these were never carried out either. Besides his grandiose "Omega Plan," Wade had plans for a "Cybervillage," which would be Senegal's

---

<sup>292</sup> Brigitte Breuillac, "Senegal Leader Unveils Plan for African Development," *Guardian Weekly*, section: "Le Monde", June 29, 2001.

equivalent to Silicon Valley, as well as a “University of Africa’s Future,” based on U.S. satellite courses and intended for postgraduate study. The latter was perhaps intended to compete, as Wade’s “Omega Plan” would have done, with South Africa, which had already formed the Institute for African Renaissance Studies at the University of South Africa in 2003. While South Africa’s Institute is alive and well, however, Wade’s “University of Africa’s Future” remains a dream overshadowed by the reality of Dakar’s crumbling Cheikh Anta Diop University. As Senghor had done, Wade also envisioned a new international airport, but unlike Senghor, Wade’s plan, which was to be funded by unnamed Middle Eastern donors, has not been put into motion either. Wade also dreamed of building new preschools and rehabilitation centers for the country’s troubled youth, its disabled, and its mentally ill. These, too, have largely not come to fruition. While Wade’s ideas have merit, his priorities have been strongly questioned: the schools and rehabilitation centers remain unbuilt, while in 2010 Wade bought a 20 million Euro airplane from French President Sarkozy to replace his defunct private plane and spent 27 million U.S. dollars building (or, commissioning the North Koreans to build) the controversial African Renaissance Monument. These extravagances infuriated the majority of Senegalese who were fed up with perpetual power outages and dismal unemployment rates. Of the airplane, opposition leader Hélène Tine fumed, “It is a crime against the people of Senegal. People who make such expenditures are mentally unbalanced.” Impoverished street hawkers like Amadou Ndiaye scoffed at all of the grandiose city development plans, both realized and unrealized; after all, he said, “We can’t eat roads.” He questioned whom all of these projects were meant to benefit: clearly not the average Senegalese. Wade also worked with Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi to create a “Libya Tower” on Dakar’s Atlantic coastline. Wade’s relationship with

Gadaffi was solidly built on a shared vision of African unity. The proposed compound of buildings would include offices, apartments and other luxury housing, gardens, sports facilities, swimming pools, a five-star hotel with 250 rooms, conference halls designed to hold over 4,000 people, a trade center, social and cultural facilities, and plenty of parking. The plan, like many other infrastructure plans in Dakar including those affiliated with the first FESMAN, were intended to boost tourism and create jobs for Senegalese. Wade crowned the plan as “tangible proof of African solidarity.”<sup>293</sup> While the cornerstone was symbolically laid in 2006, the tower remains unbuilt. Giving joint speeches at FESMAN III, Gadaffi urged for the foundation of single African army to defend against the “world’s wolves” who want to devour the continent. Wade, for his part, intoned, “We ask, here and now, for the establishment of the United States of Africa, the only solution to free our peoples and ... make Africa a major cultural, economic, political, and social whole which will be respected.”<sup>294</sup>

Among Wade’s pet projects which *were* actually brought to fruition, Fesman III and the Renaissance Monument mark the two most prominent statements of presidential grandeur. Given the political climate at the time of Fesman III (Wade had fallen from favor in much of the country by this time and his second election win was highly contested), many considered both the festival and the monument to be a shameful waste of public funds for nothing more than Wade’s self-aggrandizement. Wade may have been able to relaunch his predecessor’s Festival, but he could not duplicate its optimism. Journalists covering a 2008 conference in Dakar to

---

<sup>293</sup> “Outcry after Senegalese President buys new airplane,” *Mail and Guardian*, November 12, 2010; Lydia Polgreen, “Shadows Grow Across One of Africa’s Bright Lights,” *The New York Times*, June 18, 2008, 8; “Libyan, Senegalese Leaders Lay Foundation Stone for ‘Libya Tower’ in Dakar,” *BBC Monitoring Middle East-Political – Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, April 6, 2006.

<sup>294</sup> “Gadaffi Calls for Single African Army,” *Mail and Guardian*, December 15, 2010.

reassess the country's direction, a conference which was led by opposition groups and which the government itself boycotted, noted the "sense of malaise that has settled over Senegal," and lamented that "Senegal's people seem to have lost their seemingly endless optimism."<sup>295</sup> At a time of heightened discontent, when fifty-six percent of a Gallup survey's pollers said they would leave the country if they could and growing numbers of desperate people were dying trying to reach Spain in flimsy pirogues, Wade was still determined to make FESMAN III a reality. In this respect, at least, he can be credited with succeeding where others had failed. Despite several postponements, which, of course, was nothing new (the first Fesman had also been postponed several years), Wade did eventually succeed in hosting his Festival. This had certainly been no easy task; since 2000, Wade had appointed eight different Ministers of Culture, none of whom was more satisfactory than the last. With such high turnover, it is not surprising that festival organization proceeded only in fits and spurts.

Wade's motivations for reviving FESMAN were likely sentimental and idealistic as much as political. He was an astute politician and from the beginning of his tenure he sought to strengthen ties with useful foreign powers including the U.S. He was gifted at promoting a sparkling image of himself to those outside of the country; he had been particularly successful in that regard with the U.S.'s African-American community, or at least those who had decided to attend the third Festival either as tourists or as part of the official American delegation. The group of African-American delegates I sat with at the Colloquium's opening luncheon marveled at Wade's dedication to the noble cause of polishing Africa's reputation and reviving a sense of possibility and optimism in the face of so much bad news from the continent that dominates the foreign presses. Needless to say, these visitors had not been presented with the whole picture, as

---

<sup>295</sup> Polgreen, "Shadows Grow," 8.

Wade was very careful to shield foreign eyes from anything that might be perceived in an unflattering light by foreign visitors. Senghor had been just as careful, and for equally calculating reasons; he had had the city's "undesirables" relocated in order to give the city a quick facelift before opening the doors of the city to foreign guests. In their nostalgia, however, people have by and large forgotten these less savory aspects of Senghor's presidency.<sup>296</sup>

While Wade did not go as far as Senghor in creating new infrastructure for the festival (and one could argue that it was less necessary in 2010 than it was in 1966, although by 2010 local infrastructure was still in need of considerable refurbishments), he did refurbish several cultural centers, particularly the Maison de la Culture Doua Seck, where the Black Music Exhibit would be housed for the duration of the festival. Walking by the centre on occasion in the weeks before the Festival, I couldn't help but wonder if it could possibly be finished on time. One week prior to the festival's opening, I went there to meet with members of the National Ensemble and interview the director. To get to the rehearsal area, a dilapidated structure with clearly inadequate protection for the ensemble's instruments and equipment, I had to trek over mounds of dirt, teeter across rickety planks bridging areas covered in mud, and slalom around bits of rock and cinders. Somehow, the centre did indeed get itself primed for the opening and I was impressed with its finished look when I went back to the Centre to see the museum exhibit and listen to concerts there in the following weeks.

The greying infrastructure that I noticed walking around the streets of Dakar starkly contrasted with the image of the city presented to the majority of foreign guests. For the bulk of

---

<sup>296</sup> *"D'autre part, le douloureux spectacle qu'offraient les mendiants, les lépreux et les fous dans les rues de la capitale tend à disparaître, la police urbaine s'en occupant efficacement"* (As for the sad spectacle of the homeless, the lepers, and the insane on the streets of Dakar, the city police are efficiently tending to their displacement); "La campagne d'assainissement est en bonne voie," *Dakar Matin*, March 10, 1966, 3.

the visitors, particularly those of primary interest to Wade (foreign dignitaries and high profile performers), their view of Dakar was limited to the pristine, unusually green lawns of the city's four-star hotels, the bucolic ocean views (the hotel beaches had much less litter), or the bustling, colonial-style downtown, where one could feel as if he or she were a part of the hustle and bustle of any modern metropolis. These areas never suffered from power outages, one of the primary complaints of almost every Dakarois I met over the course of my stay. For the majority of Dakar's citizens and for myself throughout my nine-month residency, power outages were a daily part of life. They lent a certain unpredictability to day-to-day living, and this lack of control over the ability to perform tasks with any regularity necessitated, for sanity's sake, a somewhat light-hearted approach to living. *Coupures* had become such a predictable unpredictability (no one could anticipate when they would come, but were never surprised when they came) that people simply took them in stride as opportunities to smoke and chat.<sup>297</sup> When I visited the National Ensemble for the first time, their rehearsal was delayed for over an hour because the amplified instruments couldn't project without power; the musicians were unconcerned, though, and most gathered outside for a smoke and enjoyed getting a chance to inspect the new *toubab*.<sup>298</sup> I was told by several friends who lived around the city that in the neighborhoods nearest the Corniche (the scenic highway that hugs the city's western rocky coastline) do not suffer the same outages, because Wade did not want any of the dignitaries traveling this main thoroughfare to notice anything that might imply poverty or privation. Much to our bemusement, my friends and I noticed that during the Festival we were suddenly blessed

---

<sup>297</sup> "Coupures" are power outages.

<sup>298</sup> A "toubab" is slang (across French West Africa) for a white person or a Westerner.

with a rare three-week reprieve from the coupures. Baffling at first, we soon realized that of course it was because of the festival and Wade's wish to protect the city's image to international guests. As we expected, the outages resumed almost immediately after the Festival, and seemingly for even longer than normal as if to make up for the three weeks of excessive electricity consumption. The deliberately deceptive façade which Wade went to such lengths to maintain in order to shield his presidential failures from visitors frustrated all but the wealthiest Dakarois (who benefitted from living in the areas which cater most heavily to foreigners) to feel a deep resentment and cynicism for Senegalese politics. When large swaths of the city seemed almost entirely untended to, bearing the largest brunt of coupures, and with no viable sanitation system in place leaving areas replete with sewage and garbage (something my acquaintances spoke about with shame, and which they reminded me had not always been the case; at least in that department, Diouf had been respectable, they said), it is not hard to understand why many Senegalese whom I talked to felt that hosting such a costly event was an egregious waste of resources.

Even though Wade had ordered the relaunch of FESMAN during the first weeks of his Presidency, it was not until February 2005 that the festival's organization was officially launched and publicized. One of the first actions of Aminata Cira Lô Paye, Festival advisor to Wade's Minister of Culture at the time, Mme. Safiétou Ndiaye Diop, was to go to the National Archives to learn as much as possible about Senghor's 1966 inaugural edition. She also studied the details of FESTAC (Lagos, 1977), and interviewed as many witnesses of these earlier festivals as she could in order to get a sense of the impressions they had left on people. Almost from the beginning, however, the FESMAN III organization was fraught with problems. Many

Senegalese who in one way or another had been involved with the first FESMAN, either as a part of its organization or as a participant, offered their services to help make the third edition a success, but when their advocates in cultural administrative posts were shoved aside (keeping in mind that there were eight Ministers of Culture from 2000-2010), they, too, were largely ignored or forgotten. Many of those from the generation of the first Festival felt insulted that they were not consulted (including Ablaaye Thiossane, whom I introduced in Chapter Three, and Ousmane Sow and Robert Lahoud, whom we'll meet later in this chapter), and that the newest edition was not respecting the inaugural event's proper legacy. Christiane Yandé Diop, the niece of Alioune Diop now in charge of his two organizations, the Société Africaine de Culture and Présence Africaine, had offered to lend her expertise and experience to the organization, but was completely ignored. Diop lamented, "An event like FESMAN has a history that should never be obscured, at the risk of overlooking something essential."<sup>299</sup> Seynabou Touré, the author of the only behind-the-scenes look at the Festival's organization and one of the many eventually fired or let go by Wade or the Coopération Générale over the course of the event's tumultuous five-year organization, sought the advice and experience of as many people as she could, including UNESCO delegates, Ambassadors, and artists such as Manu Dibango, Youssou Ndour and Gilberto Gil. Dibango told Touré that early on he had been asked to compose the Festival Hymn, but as he had not heard any news about the Festival for several years, he wasn't sure whether or not the project was even still happening.<sup>300</sup> Dibango did end up performing at FESMAN III, including in a prime solo slot at the opening ceremonies, but was overshadowed

---

<sup>299</sup> Seynabou, *Les Coulisses du FESAN*, 36.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, 51.

during the weeks to come by the popular acts hosted at the Biscuit rie or the Ob lisque, as Ray Lema so bitterly bemoaned (see Introduction).

Only eight months before FESMAN III's launch, in April 2010, President Wade abruptly wiped the organizational slate clean and commandeered a complete overhaul of personnel. In a gesture seen as blatant cronyism / nepotism by many, especially considering the lavish appointments Wade had already given to his son Karim, Wade announced that his daughter Sindiely would head the new committee. Unfortunately, both present and past organizers were extremely reluctant to share their views on these changes with me in interviews; undoubtedly they felt their careers and political posts were at stake. No one would admit to knowing anyone from previous or later committees, nor could anyone give me straight answers about why things had been so suddenly and thoroughly overhauled. It is certainly possible, if unlikely, that some of these people really didn't know each other, but there is no doubt that the cultural and political bigwigs in Dakar are very well connected – they would not have been able to attain their posts otherwise. Wade's regime had become notoriously more despotic in recent years, with journalists finding themselves under closer scrutiny, and sometimes even jailed. Critical young rappers feared for their families, who had been threatened by Wade's security forces. Even if the cultural administrators did not face such overt security concerns, it was clear that crossing the President could have disastrous consequences, if not physically, than certainly for their careers. It is likely for these reasons that those I interviewed who were in official capacities, such as Aziz Dieng (FESMAN'S music director) and Tidiane Diallo (director of the Senegalese National Orchestra and of Senegal's musical participation in FESMAN III) were particularly reluctant to stray from sanctioned Festival narratives.

*“Negritude Should Rest in Peace”: Formal and Informal Debates on the Relevance of Negritude, Blackness, and the “African Renaissance” in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

In this section, I will present four individuals’ views on FESMAN’s contemporary significance in Senegal and its broader implications for the continent. Serge Huchard and Robert Lahoud are representative of the “old guard,” in that they are old enough to remember or have participated in the first FESMAN. With vivid and nostalgic memories of Senghor’s presidency, Huchard and Lahoud, like many of their generation (such as Thiossane), felt a certain allegiance to the original FESMAN of 1966. Tidiane Diallo and Aziz Dieng, both officially involved in the Festival’s organization, unsurprisingly took a more optimistic view of the direction the country has taken since the first FESMAN.

Serge Huchard

Serge Huchard is nothing if not honest. Somewhat of a recluse, the 62-year-old percussionist, translator, and NGO worker has very strong opinions which he enjoys airing without restraint. Having fond memories of participating in the first FESMAN in 1966 as a young teen, Huchard felt deeply concerned that President Wade was trying to replicate an irreplicable moment in time and setting himself and the country up for failure.<sup>301</sup> Indeed, Huchard was so personally invested in the Festival that he had been closely following news coverage of FESMAN III’s planning since its earliest stages and kept all of his clipped FESMAN articles in a scrapbook. He showed the book to me with pride, taking great pleasure in pointing out his witty and sarcastic marginalia and pun-filled re-titled headlines mocking how seriously

---

<sup>301</sup> Serge Huchard, Personal interview with the author, February 3, 2011.

the organizers took themselves while, to his mind, they were making buffoons of themselves and the country.

Mr. Huchard was almost 15 years old when FESMAN premiered, a student at the Catholic secondary school, Ecole Saint Michel. He fondly remembers the school's director, Frère Emanuel, as a dedicated supporter of school music programs throughout the country. The French clergyman had lived in Senegal for over thirty years and felt deeply invested in the futures of his young charges. In addition to his administrative duties, Frère Emanuel directed Ecole Saint Michel's choir, which performed religious and secular music not only in churches around Dakar, but also in theatres and other venues in and outside of the city. In 1966, Huchard and his older brother were members of Frère Emanuel's choir and had also recently started their own rumba band with two other friends. Huchard does not know exactly how it happened, but suspects that his brother told Frère Emanuel about their new band; however it happened, he remembers Frère Emanuel inviting the newly formed ensemble to play for him on the school's day off. With Serge on drums, his brother on guitar, and their two friends on bass and second guitar, the group gave a brief demonstration of their rumba and *variété* repertoire for Frère Emanuel and afterwards, he surprised the band with an invitation to perform at the Place de l'Indépendance as a part of FESMAN. Huchard does not know exactly how Frère Emanuel was able to secure this performance, only that the director was very well connected with many venues and impresarios around town and likely used his connections to make something happen. It also helped that the city of Dakar was likewise interested in holding various "off" performances throughout town to enliven the city while tourists walked about. Because their performance was so last-minute it never made it into the papers, but Serge remembers an Italian news station's

cameraman there filming the performance. He has never been able to track down the footage, but he did show me a photograph of himself with the band on the day of their performance, captioned “FESMAN, 1966.” Their serendipitous FESMAN performance helped push Serge, his brother, and their musician friends into more serious musical endeavors. They began playing in several different bands, all with English names (“The Young Boys,” “The Teenagers,” etc.) and had numerous opportunities to play around town because “at that time,” he noted to me wistfully, “there were a lot of good jazz clubs in Dakar – the New Express, the Cours Samba, ... we also played in private clubs or restaurants....”<sup>302</sup> The musicians also benefited from the numerous cultural competitions Senghor had initiated around the country, which often got national radio and cinema-news coverage (at that time there was no television and all filmed news was aired at the movie theatres in between or before films).

I asked Serge what he remembered most fondly from FESMAN '66, and he told me about his experience hearing the Trinidadians at the Théâtre Daniel Brothier. He had never heard calypso music before, and he was instantly fascinated by the sound of the steel drums. He also was excited to practice his English and tried to make out as many of the calypso lyrics as he could (although he admits this proved difficult). Some forty-four years later, Serge still remembers with some pride hearing the rhyming of “wife” and “life” in one of the song’s lyrics. He also remembers attending one of the English-language plays and being disappointed to learn that his English wasn’t advanced enough to understand very much of it. Although an avid and sophisticated jazz connoisseur now, the young Huchard was more interested in the rumba and *variété* acts that were so popular at the time and he therefore missed the concerts by Duke

---

<sup>302</sup> Huchard; Note: *Dakar-Matin*’s “L’animation de Dakar dans le cadre du Festival” listed daily performances by local and regional groups at the Place de l’Indépendance as well as movie theatres and parks around town. See appendices for the schedule.

Ellington, whom he had never heard of. Of course, he kicks himself now for having missed such an opportunity. He also remembered the pomp and circumstance surrounding the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's festival visit, which was filmed and aired on cinema news. He said that people called Selassie "Charle-Lo" for Charlie Chaplin, because they thought the emperor resembled him.

After I listened to Serge reminisce for a while about this earlier FESMAN and the glory-days of his youth, I steered the conversation in a new direction and asked him his opinion about the third edition, which had ended just a little more than a month before our interview. "Our current President, I can't pronounce his name," he joked, speaking of Wade, "understands nothing about culture." As for Wade's daughter Sindiély, Mr. Huchard was disdainful of her performance but slightly more sympathetic to her situation, saying "she found herself lost in a festival she had nothing to do with and didn't know what to do." When I asked Serge to clarify his own thoughts on the third Festival, he told me he boycotted the performances despite the numerous jazz stars, such as Stanley Clarke and Archie Shepp, he would have loved to see. I asked him why, and his true disdain for the entire endeavor quickly spilled forth: "I don't agree with this festival, and if I'm not ok with something, I'm not going to get involved in it. I've been against this for years." "It wasn't the right thing to do," he continued, "not the right time, it was a waste of money. Culture is not something you mess around with."<sup>303</sup> When I asked him to be more specific in his critique, he continued with an assault on the festival's Colloquium, particularly its lack of publicity and the inanity of some of the presentations. "It was a failure, because there was no visibility," he explained. As for the topics covered at the conference, Huchard said with disdain, "I disagree with people talking about 'were the Egyptians black?'"

---

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

Whose problem is that?! Who the hell cares if they were black or white?” It would have been much more practical, he argued, to discuss “what we can share, what we can apply today, what we can use today, what we can give to the next generation.” To Huchard, the Festival’s theme, “The African Renaissance,” was absurd. “Do we have to die to be known?” he scoffed. “Already the word is complicated because of that Renaissance Statue... So already the theme was not understood, people didn’t know what they were talking about.”<sup>304</sup>

### Robert Lahoud

The 58-year-old Senegalese-Lebanese musician and producer Robert Lahoud was similarly, if not quite as severely, disgruntled as Serge Huchard about the third FESMAN. Like Huchard, Lahoud considered the Festival’s theme of “African Renaissance,” nonsensical. “For me,” he began, “‘African Renaissance’ doesn’t mean anything, frankly.” Such a concept was completely anachronistic in the twenty-first century, felt Lahoud. “We can’t speak of an African Renaissance in 2010, it doesn’t make sense. To me it’s putting the machine in reverse.” Reflecting back, he mused, “I was never ok with this phrase. I was already against it back in 2004. Maybe that’s why nobody asked me to be associated with the event.” I asked Lahoud why he believed so many people rallied behind the renaissance theme. After some thought, he replied, “It’s only because African leaders have a complex that there’s still talk about an ‘African Renaissance.’ On a cultural level, it’s others who need the renaissance, not us; we’re ahead.” Speaking of President Wade specifically, he added, “Our President doesn’t understand this. Maybe because he grew up in Europe and married a European... *Il est décalé.*”<sup>305</sup> I italicized Lahoud’s use of the word *décalé* because it brings to mind Edwards’ thesis on how culture is

---

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> “He’s out of touch.”

translated between the diaspora and the continent. The *décalage* Lahoud speaks of should be understood in a more literal context than that of Edwards, however. In this context it implies being anachronistic, lagging behind the times. Nevertheless, there is a certain parallel between Edwards and Lahoud here. In both cases, something has gotten off -- things are slightly out of sync. To Lahoud, the time for FESMAN had come and gone with the sixties and it made no sense to try to revive a time and an ethos which no longer existed. Not without some nostalgia, he said, “To me the first Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres was the only Festival des Arts Nègres, because it happened at a time when there was a need to promote black arts. There was a struggle. For Aimé Césaire, for Senghor, it was their *raison d’être*. So Senghor had a reason to impose this identity. So, it was truly a real festival.” Beyond this, Lahoud felt that the first FESMAN was a “who’s who of Senegalese.” He added with pride, “We really put black culture to the fore, especially Senegalese culture. We presented Senegalese artists like Doudou Ndiaye Rose. It was really a who’s who of Senegalese.”<sup>306</sup> A quick look at the line-up for FESMAN III (see appendices) would suggest that Lahoud was at least somewhat mistaken, however; regardless of whether he considered their talents to rival that of Doudou Ndiaye Rose (Senegal’s most famous griot sabar drummer), it is clear that in 2010 Senegalese musicians were well represented, particularly in the genre of hip hop.

### Tidiane Diallo

As director of Senegal’s National Orchestra, Tidiane Diallo works for the state and occupies a rare and enviable post. It was therefore in his best interest to tow the official Festival line. Diallo’s responsibilities pertained exclusively to the national level, while Aziz Dieng,

---

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

whom we'll meet next, dealt with international musical participation. Along with the Minister of Culture and a selection committee made up of senior members of the two orchestras (the Senegalese National Orchestra and the National Traditional Instrumental Music Ensemble), Diallo managed Senegal's official music participation at FESMAN III. In addition, Diallo and his team were responsible for coordinating the "off" concerts around town; just as in 1966, the city featured a number of secondary performances outside of those in the official FESMAN program. Over 500 Senegalese artists performed from around Dakar, the *banlieues*, and even further afield to a lesser degree). Despite begrudging criticism from many *banlieu* hip hop artists, like Fou Malade (see next chapter), Diallo insisted that given the number of "off" opportunities, "no one can say they didn't have the opportunity to participate in the Festival." Diallo was also given the task of promoting the festival to some degree, and for this he and his ensemble recorded a Fesman album which features two songs written especially for the Festival by Alioune Ndiaye (xalam / vocals) and Khalifa Gueye (guitar / vocals). In a manner reminiscent of Ablaaye Thiossane's promotional concerts in 1964-65, "Waajal Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres" (Prepare for FESMAN) and "Dalal Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres" (FESMAN, Begin) blared from trucks as members of the orchestra rode around Dakar to broadcast the upcoming Festival. In order to appeal to the broadest possible demographic, Diallo had the songs recorded in more than one Senegalese language; in addition to Wolof, the most widely spoken, versions sung in Sérère, Solinke, Manding, Diolla, Pular also resounded from the truck speakers. These mobile sonic advertisements took place primarily in Dakar and Thies, but the National Orchestra also performed live promotional concerts for the upcoming Festival in suburbs such as Guedewaye.<sup>307</sup> Again contrary to the opinions of young hip hop artists such as

---

<sup>307</sup> Tidiane Diallo, Personal interview with the author, May 24, 2011.

Fou Malade (himself a resident of Guedewaye), Diallo insists that he and his musicians worked to give as many young artists as possible opportunities to advance their careers through the exposure of Fesman performances. He made sure to arrange “off” concerts in various neighborhoods around town and helped recruit musicians.

As for the Festival’s theme, the “African Renaissance,” Diallo’s position unsurprisingly reflected a more politically favorable stance than that of Huchard or Lahoud. He did not agree that the “Renaissance” concept was outmoded, informing me that April 3 had been designated “African Renaissance Day” by the African Union and was a holiday celebrated across the continent.<sup>308</sup> Diallo believed that FESMAN was a good opportunity to jump start Senegal’s cultural infrastructure, and considering the face lift given to the cultural center where he regularly rehearsed his ensemble and kept his office, he certainly has reason to believe so. While they did not all receive the same degree of attention as Diallo’s Centre Culturel Douda Seck, all of the city’s cultural centers were at least moderately refurbished. And, added Diallo, the country could now boast the infrastructure to host blockbuster performers like Akon.<sup>309</sup> When I relayed this last observation to my professional musician friends, they rolled their eyes, knowing that little of that infrastructure was likely to trickle down to the level of local performers.

### Aziz Dieng

Like Robert Lahoud, FESMAN Music Director Aziz Dieng had a lot of experience in Senegal’s recording industry, helping to launch the careers of numerous emerging artists from

---

<sup>308</sup> While this may be true on paper, I can only note here that I met no one else during my time in Senegal who had ever heard of this holiday. I have also not found any official African Union designation of an “African Renaissance Day,” although they have declared May 25 to be “Africa Day.” April 3 is the date that the Renaissance Monument was unveiled in Dakar in 2010, so Diallo was likely conflating these two events.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

the 1990s. Active in the music labor scene, Dieng was President of the Association des Metiers de la Musique du Senegal (Senegal's music union) from the late 1990s to the early 2000s. The organization has dwindled significantly since Wade's Presidency, and the musicians I met consider it an entity that exists in name only and serves no visible purpose. When I asked Dieng how he felt the third FESMAN compared to the first edition, he outlined three significant differences. The first regarded national representation: "At the first festival, it was one group that represented Senegalese music at the festival, the Ensemble Lyrique National Traditionnel; this year there are fifty groups officially representing Senegal." While a quick look at FESMAN I's program (see appendices) reveals that Dieng is mistaken, it is true that many of these were "off" performances representing a smaller variety of musical styles (primarily, "traditional" or "folkloric" on the one hand, or "jazz," meaning rumba or variété, on the other). Nevertheless, FESMAN III did certainly feature more "on" Senegalese acts, and by 2010 the number of musical genres around the world more generally had increased exponentially, leaving FESMAN III replete with a more diverse representation of musical styles than its predecessor. "The second difference," Dieng continued, "is that in '66 we didn't have the global African stars, except maybe Miriam Makeba, but Miriam Makeba cancelled her Festival performance. Now, there are many African stars, like Youssou N'Dour, Khaled, Hugh Masakela, Salif Keita, Richard Bona..." To Dieng, this proliferation of African stars offers proof that "African music has evolved a lot and is much more present in the world now."<sup>310</sup> Lastly, Dieng commented that the current rendition of FESMAN more accurately reflected current musical trends, noting that at FESMAN I, "Duke Ellington was the biggest [musical] representative... but you know very well that by 1966 Ellington was no longer what was current in jazz (the actualité) ... In 1966,

---

<sup>310</sup> Aziz Dieng, Personal interview with the author, March 14, 2011.

[l'actualité du jazz] was Miles Davis, free jazz, Herbie Hancock, etc.” Along the same lines, Louis Armstrong's *Hello Dolly* had won best jazz recording at the first FESMAN, despite submissions by some of the most prominent innovators of the era [see Appendix]. Dieng summarized, “You could say that [the current Festival] takes into account the evolution of African music.” Another difference, he noted, was that FESMAN I's performances were ticketed with fees that excluded a large number of Senegalese. While it is true that some performances catered to more affluent audiences, there were also venues devoted specifically to local audiences, particularly those performed at the Stade de l'Amitié which offered free concerts by most of the main acts. Whether or not it was financially sage, FESMAN III did open all events to the public free of charge, thereby allowing a larger percentage of the population to feel a part of the Festival. I nevertheless heard many complaints from friends and passersby that the logistics of local transportation available to the poorer segments of society were still expensive enough and inconvenient enough (due to the geography of Dakar and its outlying areas, it is only possible to get into the center of the city from one main, almost constantly bottle-necked artery) to effectively exclude a considerable percentage of the city's population.

### Media Criticism

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into elaborate detail about the FESMAN III's press coverage, and I consider such an overview less relevant to the current festival than the first simply because of the wealth of information readily available now on the web. Therefore, I will limit myself here to a few significant critiques of the Festival which echo those I heard most often in informal conversations with friends and passersby. Naturally, the press coverage of FESMAN III reflected the diverse opinions of its journalists, and while President Wade has been

criticized for limiting the freedom of the press, the diversity of opinions about FESMAN represented in the Senegalese media suggest that, at least to some degree, dissent was not censored. Right in the middle of the Festival, Amath Dansokho, spokesperson for the opposition coalition Bennoo Siggil Sénégal (BSS; “United to Boost Senegal”), went right for the jugular in a scathing critique against both Wade and the Festival more generally: “Mr. Wade is the incarnation of malgovernance and the personification of all of the scandals which have marked the life of the Republic since he took power!” he seethed. After first cataloguing Wade’s long track record of scandals—the “Joola” boat tragedy of 2002, the rerouting of over 20 million FCFA from the public treasury for repairs on Wade’s private air fleet, the blatant nepotism regarding his son Karim Wade’s government contracts, the “shameful” monstrosity of the Renaissance Monument, and the general “financial pillage” of the country—Dansokho concluded his critique with the biggest scandal of all, FESMAN III: “The preparation, the convocation, the organization and the duration of the Third Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres offers the perfect representative cross-section of the so-called “liberal” regime’s defects outlined above.” Dansokho condemned the “improvisation and confusion, nepotism and amateurism, corruption and misappropriation, waste, frivolity, incompetence and ‘folies des grandeurs’ that plagued the festival.<sup>311</sup> Calling Wade’s management of the country “suicidal autism,” the BSS coalition complained that the President had “lost all touch with reality and ... national priorities.”

---

<sup>311</sup> Note: On September 26, 2002, a passenger boat named *Joola* departed the southern Senegalese city of Ziguinchor for Dakar. Despite being licensed to carry no more than 580 passengers, the boat was crammed with a staggering 2000 people on board. At least 1863 passengers drowned, more than the number who died in the *Titanic*. The official rescue team took so long to arrive that local fisherman began attempting their own rescue efforts with their small pirogues and were able to save a few lives. Government officials including Prime Minister Mame Madior Boye were blamed for the disaster, and a few lost their jobs; none were ever brought to trial, however. See Sheriff Bojang, “Le Joola: Seven Years Since Africa’s Worst Maritime Disaster,” *Radio Netherlands Worldwide*, September 29, 2009, <http://www.rnw.nl/africa/article/le-joola-seven-years-africa%E2%80%99s-worst-maritime-disaster> (accessed April 16, 2014).

Considering the country's dire financial situation, the B.S.S. saw a grossly inappropriate use of national funds.<sup>312</sup> The "indecent spectacle," Dansokho continued, is nothing more than "a vulgar operation of familial clanic usurpation with shameful ends of parental and cliental enrichment, starting with the daughter of her father, Sindiély Wade!" Like many Dakarais, including even a musical colleague of mine who knew Sindiély personally, Dansokho and the B.S.S. saw the sudden appointment of Wade's daughter to the Festival's commander-in-chief just eight months before its launch just another example of the President's nepotistic opportunism. Criticism has continued well after the close of the festival; hundreds of artists and designers who had loaned works for the event have complained that they still had not gotten their property back. Together, they signed a petition demanding the items be returned, denouncing the "lack of respect towards all artists and designers," communicated by such negligence. They continued, "FESMAN was to sign a new beginning for ... history and African identity, but instead and because of bad management, this festival is a source of inestimable damage and economic disaster."<sup>313</sup> These formal and informal critiques rubbed against the grain of FESMAN III's Afro-optimist narrative, revealing the cracks that lie beneath the surface of the Festival's idealized universals. Much as the first Festival had done, FESMAN III performed its own counter-narratives of black culture. These contrapuntal voicings manifested beyond direct musical performance, as well. FESMAN's sophisticated packaging of musical history in its Black Music Exhibit lent a certain institutionalized credibility to a new, twenty-first century telling of black music's story.

---

<sup>312</sup> Synthèse Assane Mbaye, "Bennoo Charge Wade: Fesman, 'dernier d'une longue série de scandales de la République,' *Sud Quotidien*, December 17, 2010, 3.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid; "FESMAN: International Petition Against Abdoulaye Wade and his Daughter Sindiély," *Seneweb News*, August 10, 2011, [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/fesman-petition-internationale-contre-abdoulaye-wade-et-sa-fille-sindiely\\_n\\_49489.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/fesman-petition-internationale-contre-abdoulaye-wade-et-sa-fille-sindiely_n_49489.html) (accessed April 16, 2014).

*A New Historical Narrative: FESMAN III's Black Music Exhibit*

How does one exhibit music? By its nature elusive, music seems an inherently slippery medium to confine within the walls of a museum space. It is certainly not an unusual phenomenon, however – there are countless spaces across the globe devoted the celebration of one type of music or another. Even prior to the first edition of FESMAN, Dakar could boast that it housed one of Africa's research institutions, IFAN (Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noir), a product of French colonialism dating back to 1936. When Senghor became president in 1960, he relocated the Institute to Cheikh Anta Diop University and repurposed the older building into a museum. Hosting the first FESMAN provided the impetus to create another new museum, the Musée Dynamique, funded in part by UNESCO and devoted to traditional arts (the Festival's contemporary art exhibit was held in the Palais de Justice). FESMAN I moved beyond the scope of previous pan-African conferences and congresses by presenting the arts in a more dynamic and inclusive fashion. The performative and visual arts were given equal stature to the literary. Nevertheless, an obvious segregation between museum culture and stage culture could not be denied at FESMAN I. In 2010, this segregation was partially mediated through the creation of a museum exhibit devoted exclusively to black music.

Created by Marc Benaïche and his company, Mondomix, at the behest of FESMAN III organizers, the International Exhibition of Black Music was intended from the start to be a collaborative endeavor. In partnership with FESMAN's country of honor, Brazil, organizers planned that the exhibition would debut in Dakar as a festival event, then tour the globe for a few years, and finally take up permanent residence in Bahia, Brazil as the groundbreaking new

Center for Black Musics.<sup>314</sup> Following the exhibit's FESMAN debut, which logged 32,000 visitors<sup>315</sup>, the exhibit traveled to the National Museum of Ghana in Accra and simultaneously to Saint-Denis, Réunion. The exhibit then moved on to the Institut Français in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso and finally to South Africa at the African Museum of Johannesburg.<sup>316</sup> According to the official FESMAN III press kit, this music exhibit was created with three primary goals in mind which all reveal the national and pan-African interests still underlying Senegal's cultural policy: 1) "to celebrate the global corpus of black music", 2) "to be a major collaborative element of FESMAN", and 3) "to consecrate Dakar's role as the cultural capital of black musics in Africa." The last two of these lofty ambitions obviously bypass the interests of their Brazilian counterparts, but the exhibit intends a similar tri-partite mission statement for its permanent residence in Bahia, the future Centro de Música Negra: 1) "to pay homage to the black musics of Brazil and the rest of the world", 2) "to invigorate the cultural and tourist activity of the city of Salvador [de Bahia]", and 3) "to consecrate [Salvador de Bahia] as the cultural capital of black musics in South America." In both cases, the ideal way to promote a national agenda is through the promotion of a pan-African one. Much as Wade emphasized the importance of Africa's relationship to its diaspora, Brazilian Minister of Culture Juca Ferreira insists, "Africa makes us more Brazilian." He continues, "The Brazilian government has a duty to recognise the African

---

<sup>314</sup> The Center was slated to open at the end of 2013, but to date the project remains uncompleted.

<sup>315</sup> Black Music Worldwide, "Présentation de l'exposition de Dakar," *Black Music Worldwide*, December 1, 2011, <http://www.blackmusicworldwide.com/2011/12/01/lexposition-de-dakar-presentation/#more-255> (accessed April 16, 2014).

<sup>316</sup> November 2011 to January 2012 (Accra); December 2011 to June 2012 (Saint-Denis); April to May 2012 (Ouagadougou); September to December 2012 (Johannesburg). Black Music Worldwide, "Réalizations," *Les musiques noires dans le monde: l'Exposition multimédia de Mondomix* (Paris: Mondomix; Dakar: Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, 2010), <http://www.musiquesnoires.com/realisations/> (accessed April 16, 2014).

dimension of our cultural diversity, the African matrix which so fundamentally shaped us. We are unique because of our diversity, because we are pluralist. And our music is the greatest testament to this complex mixture.” As an institute of research, says Ferreira, the Black Music Center will be “the foremost international reference for Africa’s musical heritage, with a mission for research and for raising cultural awareness, to counter the lack of data and analyses on the history of national and international black music.”<sup>317</sup> Rather than serving only academic clientele, however, the Center plans to prioritize outreach as a primary agenda. He explains, “The Center will also enrich our collective education, and galvanise integration between the peoples of the black diaspora. The Center shows that to be more African is to be more Bahian, and more Brazilian.”<sup>318</sup>

As I mentioned earlier, Dakar’s Maison de la Culture Douda Seck got a hasty but elegant facelift to herald “the world’s first international multimedia space dedicated to black musics.” The exhibition boasted over 1000 square meters of installations, an online documentation center, and state-of-the-art interactive technologies to make the visitor’s experience as memorable as possible.”(check if direct quote) It housed 6 exhibit rooms, featuring 92 interactive installations accessible in Wolof, French, and English.<sup>319</sup> Much as FESMAN I had done with the *Spectacle féerique de Gorée*, FESMAN III considered it a priority to emphasize the state-of-the-art technology which was being used to service the representation of the past. The newly planted tropicals surrounding the walkway leading to the exhibit had yet to fill in, with most of the area

---

<sup>317</sup> “Festival mondial des arts nègres: dossier de presse,” World Festival of Black Arts press release, Dakar: Government of the Republic of Senegal, 2010), [http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier\\_presse\\_FR.pdf](http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier_presse_FR.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014); “Le centre des Musique Noires à Salvador/Bahia,” *Mondomix* (Paris: Mondomix Media, 2009) [http://mymondomix.com/Publish/fichier/252/482\\_570.pdf](http://mymondomix.com/Publish/fichier/252/482_570.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014); Black Music Worldwide, *Les musiques noires dans le monde*, 6.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

still bare dirt. Palm trees were well established, however, and gracefully leaned this way and that across the grounds of the cultural center. Some had even become works of art themselves, living exhibits adorned and painted by local artists over the years. The building itself, an L-shaped minimalist design of pure white framed and with angular metal supports, seems particularly modern, almost futuristic, in the context of the rest of the center, and even more so with the immediate neighborhood surroundings of Dakar's former colonial ghetto, Medina . The building conveyed a message of modern sophistication, inviting the entering visitors to feel this sophistication vicariously through their participation. Inside a sterile, squarish reception area, I was warmly greeted by museum attendants whose dark skin glistened against the stark white of the room. After relieving me of my bag, to be picked up later, an attendant handed me a pair of headphones and an Android Smartphone attached to a lanyard. She explained how to start the app and told me that as I walked through, I could save my favorite musical choices onto an online playlist which could be accessed later on any mobile device via iTunes. The catalogue elaborates, "As you move through the exhibition, you can select and activate the sequences of your choice. At the end of your visit you can save your route online so that you can revisit your favourite parts of the exhibition via the internet."<sup>320</sup> In this way, the exhibitors offered me the opportunity to participate directly in the experience, and encouraged me to take a piece of it with me when I left. Through the music itself and the route taken, the confines of a typical museum's space and time transformed into a realm of intangible, personalized space-time.

Leaving an initial whitewashed antechamber veiled with an open, metal-grated roof, I walked through a long, narrow hallway reminiscent of an airplane's boarding tunnel. Along the

---

<sup>320</sup> Black Music Worldwide, *Les Musiques Noires*, 15.

wall I read a quote by Bob Marley: “Every man gotta right to decide his own destiny” (Zimbabwe, 1979). Although white on the inside, the “Container,” as this hallway was called, was painted a bright, vivid red on the outside. According to the exhibit catalogue, the red symbolized “globalisation and the journey of black music around the world.”<sup>321</sup> The Container led directly to the first major exhibit zone, “The Sacred Figures of Black Music.” Five more would follow: “Mama Africa,” “The Birth of a Black Atlantic: The Crossing,” “The Birth of a Black Atlantic: Sacred Rites and Rhythms,” “The Black Americas,” and lastly, “Global Mix.”

In the first room, the names of various black music legends scatter across one of the bright yellow walls in various sizes and fonts of black or white. In the center of the room’s black floor sit twenty-one identical crystal clear columns which appear to dance in their own light. Each dedicated to its own music figure, the columns are waist-high and project a video from its base onto the underside of the clear column’s top cover. The effect is an incredibly futuristic, almost holographic presentation, offering the visitor an utterly unique bird’s-eye view of each artist’s mini-documentary. The roster of musical monoliths consists of: Gilberto Gil, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Miriam Makeba, Ali Farka Touré, Oum Kalthoum, Marvin Gaye, Billie Holiday, Ray Charles, Miles Davis, Louis Armstrong, Nina Simone, John Coltrane, Manu Dibango, Aretha Franklin, Bob Marley, Michael Jackson, Jimi Hendrix, Prince, Youssou N’Dour, James Brown, and, lastly (and perhaps most questionably), Elvis Presley. Benaiche justified Presley’s inclusion with the reasoning that Elvis’s music grew directly out of black musical roots. In his own words, Benaiche’s twenty-one selections represent “the collective imagination we all share.” At the exhibition opening on December 15, Benaiche further explained what he was hoping his presentation would convey: “When we talk of ‘*black music*

---

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 18.

[in English]’—la musique noire—we think of African-American music, North American music—blues, jazz, soul.” Less often do people consider the diaspora, he continued, “we don’t necessarily think of...the music of South America, Afro-Brazilian music, Afro-Columbian, Caribbean music, the European diaspora, and then, of course well agreed upon, African music.”<sup>322</sup> Benaïche would be the first to admit that reducing such an extensive and varied inventory to a mere twenty-one representatives is necessarily problematic, and while he aimed for a diverse selection, it is immediately apparent that African-Americans dominate the group.

From “The Sacred Figures of Black Music,” the visitor is enters the second space, entitled “Mama Africa” and is immediately surrounded, quite literally, by black music. Six enormous video screens angle around the space in a hexagonal half-circle against a deep red background. A white silhouette of the African continent centers the black floor. Each screen cycles through three different documentaries, for a total of 18 short films representing six regions: West Africa, North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, Southern Africa, and, in honor of the host country, Senegal. To find the next exhibition space, the visitor must walk through a foreboding, dark and narrow corridor. Each wall is made of metal grating against a black background, with larger-than-life close-ups of black faces cropped just below the nose to seemingly silence their voices. One has the uneasy feeling of being stared at by prisoners, and the discomfort is exacerbated by the discovery that one is literally stepping on top of the lyrics of negro spirituals, projected in white onto the black floor from above, in order to traverse the corridor. This metaphorical transatlantic crossing seems to implicate the visitor with experiences of both the perpetrators and the victims.

---

<sup>322</sup> Moira De Swardt, “International Exhibition of Black Music,” *Arts Comments* (blog), September 5, 2012, <http://artscomments.wordpress.com/2012/09/05/international-exhibition-of-black-music/> (accessed April 16, 2014); Marc Benaïche, “Inauguration du centre des musiques noires,” *Cultures*, Senegal TV5, Dakar, December 15, 2010.

Having reached the other side, one is surrounded by a 360° screen nine meters across, divided into twelve different segments and each showing various aspects of musically invigorated religious practices from across the diaspora. From Candomblé to Vodou to Santeria, the visitor “participates” in the rituals by blowing on various “candles,” which activate corresponding videos on the screen meant to evoke a trance-like state environment. After being thus symbolically cleansed of the grueling transatlantic passage, the visitor is subsequently plunged into the vibrant world of the Black Americas. Here, the room is elongated, with stretches of one grey wall devoted to a red time-line marking 64 significant dates in black history, from the time of the earliest “black pharaohs” of Egypt to the election of Barack Obama. The opposite, red wall is lined with flat-screened TVs devoted to significant genres: 1) “The Adventure of Blues and Jazz”; 2) “Rhythm’n’Blues, Soul, and Funk”; 3) “From Samba to Salsa: the Black Latin Americas; 4) “Suites Caribéennes”; and 5) “Cuba Musical Club”. Throughout the room, homage is paid (to name only a fraction): Bo Diddley, Ray Charles, James Brown, Parliament, Sly and the Family Stone, Antonio Carlos Jobim, João Gilberto, Harry Belafonte, Wyclef Jean, Ibrahim Ferrer and Compay Segundo. At the museum’s opening, curator Marc Benaiche cautioned against the popular tendency to draw too many musical links between the diaspora and the motherland, however. The “Black Americas” portion of the exhibit is meant to be appreciated of its own accord, rather than simply for having an African pedigree: “We always believe in the roots of blues and jazz necessarily being in African musics,” he clarified, “but no. Most of the slaves who arrived on American soil were completely aculturated, traumatised – they *re*-invented the rhythms, and the sacred rhythms... of course, based on their memory, but it is really an invention.”<sup>323</sup>

---

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

The final room of the exhibit, entitled “Global Mix: Black Musics are Planetary,” provides the most opportunity for creative interaction. As music and technology have become increasingly intertwined, the audio guide explains, “Jazz emerged alongside the invention of the microphone; rock has roared since one of the first amplified guitars. After the advent of hip hop and techno, the digital revolution has continued to engender new styles across the planet.” To contextualize what this means for African music, the guide continues, “No *coupé décalé* without cut-and-paste, no *soca* without motherboard, no *kuduro* without microprocessor, no *kwaito* without graphic interface.” And lest the summation seem overly mechanical, the concluding remarks add back in a little soul: “The bits which organize the machines and the beats which structure the new rhythms are sealed in a sacred union which reinvents the sounds and the pulsations of the planet.”<sup>324</sup>

Subcategories feature reggae, hip hop, black rock, and an “African mix,” devoted to electronic genres from the continent such as Ivoirian *coupé décalé* to Angolan *kuduro*, South African “house,” electric kora, and the slew of African hip hop artists that have emerged since the 1990s. The room consists of two interactive installations: in one, visitors can create their own mixes on real DJ turn tables; in the other, an entire wall houses the world’s largest iPhone, two meters large, where people can create their own graffiti, which they can have emailed to them as a souvenir. In all, the sensory-rich exhibit demands participation, allowing visitors to connect viscerally and socially to the history of black music. Transcending the confines of museum passivity, one never truly leaves the exhibit but instead is able to take it with them, having entered and participated in a borderless digital sphere which can be accessed anytime, anywhere.

---

<sup>324</sup> Black Music Worldwide, *Les musiques noires dans le monde*, 73.

In this chapter I have revealed some of the underlying political motivations behind Wade's decision to revive FESMAN. The historical cultural legacy left behind by Senghor and by the first Festival itself continued to reverberate into Wade's presidency, and one-upping the former "Poet-President" could potentially polish what was looking to be a tarnished legacy for the elderly Wade. While official discourse surrounding FESMAN III strayed little from those heard forty-four years earlier, my informal conversations with ordinary Senegalese indicated a distrust of the President's motives and a skepticism as to the purpose of the whole Festival venture in the century of America's first black President. Did the world still need a Festival to cater specifically to black artists? How should such a definition be delineated? Who is "black" and who is not? With African independence far in the past, people seem less concerned with cultural legitimization and much more interested in confronting issues of economic disparity, widespread poverty, and the lack of potable water or adequate educational facilities. While Senegalese citizens faced these same issues in 1966, the mood at the time was much more optimistic; things had not yet fallen apart. The continent's postcolonial future had yet to be written. By 2010, however, such grandiose gestures as a black cultural festival seemed to ring a bit hollow. With a certain amount of resignation and cynicism, many considered FESMAN III just the latest reminder of how far Africa had fallen since the hopeful years of its early independence. Yet in the face of such discouragement, counter some, doesn't the continent need such dreams of "African Renaissance" even more than ever before to inspire new generations? Perhaps performances and exhibitions of cultural blackness such as those of the Festival and its Black Music Exhibit provide safe spaces in which to imagine a different Africa, or different Africas, more closely in tune with the dreams of the people.



## CHAPTER FIVE

## CONTESTING “BLACKNESS” AND RE-SOUNDING RACE:

## MUSICAL PERFORMANCES AT FESMAN 2010

While the musical presence at FESMAN I was dominated in sheer numbers by the recently formed national ensembles that were consolidating regional, national, and pan-African notions of blackness into distilled performances, FESMAN III was just as ubiquitously dominated by considerable number of hip hop groups. With hip hop musicians or dancers representing nearly one quarter of all FESMAN III performances, it is clear that to tell the last chapter of FESMAN’s story, hip hop must be a prominent voice.<sup>325</sup> To understand just how powerfully hip hop has impacted the nation of Senegal and consequently why it held such sway at FESMAN, we need to explore how it came to be such a fixture of Senegalese youth culture. This chapter begins with a study of how hip hop came to be such a dominant part of FESMAN III. I follow with an investigation of several second generation of pan-African performers who are reflecting changing attitudes toward racialized notions of “blackness” and “Africanness” through their performances for 21<sup>st</sup>-century audiences. Lastly, I leave with a reflection of the festival’s aftermath, and particularly how shortly afterward hip hop once again became a powerful mobilizing force for Senegalese youth against the very President that the same music had once supported.

---

<sup>325</sup> See appendices: approximately 60 hip-hop groups; approximately 253 total groups [I say “approximate” because some groups were difficult to categorize].

*Hip Hop: The New Diasporic Music*

A Brief History of Hip Hop in Senegal

Hip hop had reached Africa's shores within only a few years of its emergence from New York's ghettos. The Senegalese were among the first to start spreading this new music across the continent because of several coinciding factors: first, from 1973 to 1985 the combination of severe drought, devalued peanut prices, and ripple effects from the oil crisis devastated the Senegalese economy and forced many to seek opportunities outside of the country; second, in the hopes that such international ventures might end up circulating much-needed capital back into the Senegalese economy, the country waived its exit visa requirements in 1981; third, from 1981 to 1985 the value of the French franc (and consequently the closely-tied West Africa franc, or CFA) depreciated significantly in comparison to the US dollar, making America a more appealing option for immigration; and fourth, beginning in 1986, France imposed tougher visa restrictions on African visitors, thereby pushing many more toward America. Consequently, a large influx of Senegalese took advantage of the dollar's high value and began to flood New York with their goods in the early 1980s. This increased trade activity between New York and Dakar fueled a new global circulation of hip hop culture. From Senegal, which had perhaps the most direct access to New York culture at the time, hip hop spread outward throughout the continent.<sup>326</sup>

The geography of Dakar itself is in part responsible for the proliferation of the city's hip hop culture. Just as early rap grew out of the desolate experience of life in New York's black ghettos, hip hop in Senegal, although introduced by the relatively privileged individuals who

---

<sup>326</sup> Eric Charry, "A Capsule History of African Rap," In *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*, ed. Eric Charry, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 10.

were most likely to have access to New York goods, it came into its own in Dakar's ghettos: the suburbs, or *banlieu*. A peninsula within a peninsula, the center of Dakar is at once paradoxically both accessible and inaccessible. Open on all but one side to the vastness of the Atlantic Ocean, this westernmost point of the African continent has been a cosmopolitan thoroughfare for centuries. Colonial administrators, merchants and adventurers from Portugal, France, the Netherlands, and Britain all passed through. In addition, of course, are the native Dakarais, the Lebou and the Wolof, who first settled the area as fishermen centuries over a thousand years ago. As a thriving commercial and administrative hub situated in an area with a very limited amount of space, it is no surprise that over time the cost of living in downtown Dakar has become increasingly prohibitive. At the same time, the city has continued to be an employment draw for outlying areas, even though the unemployment rate in Dakar is actually no lower than elsewhere in the country (in fact, it's slightly higher), and underemployment in the city is nearly seventy-five percent. As a result downtown Dakar, at the edge of the peninsula's peninsula, houses the wealthiest strata of society. Slightly further out from the peninsula's edge lie neighborhoods with varying demographics, from very elite to relatively poor. Outside of Medina, the only inner-city ghetto, the city's poorest populations live in the suburbs on the outskirts of Dakar. As one travels away from the city center and towards these *banlieues*, the peninsula widens gradually, eventually opening out into the rest of the country. Anyone wishing to enter or exit Dakar must therefore pass through the banlieues. Because the only entrance to and from Dakar must pass through a geographic bottleneck, the banlieues roads are perpetually congested. This means that residents of these areas are literally and figuratively marginalized from the center of the city, its wealthier and more powerful downtown residents, and from the government of

President Wade who, despite owing his office largely to the youth of the banlieues, had clearly turned his back on them over the course of his years in office. This is why despite Diallo's efforts to the contrary, many banlieu youth felt excluded from FESMAN, both financially and logistically. While various cultural officials, including Diallo, insisted that the banlieu were not overlooked when planning FESMAN and that they did indeed held some events outside of Dakar, these events were inadequately publicized and poorly attended. Of the people I knew who lived in the suburbs, none of them knew about any events happening in their neighborhoods, and all of them complained that they missed groups they had wanted to see because of poor publicity (without access to a computer with internet, up-to-date schedules were hard to come by; daily paper schedules were distributed, but often not until the evening of the day in question after the performances had already commenced). In addition, the financial and logistical constraints of banlieu to downtown transportation figured largely in these residents' resentment at being excluded yet again. While the US population has only grown fifty-four percent from 1969-2011, Senegal's population has skyrocketed by one hundred and eighty-four percent. With an average of three children per family in Dakar, expanding to four-and-a-half in poorer suburbs like Pikine, it is clear that youth constitute the vast majority of this population increase; over sixty-six percent of Dakar's population is under eighteen years of age. These restless, disenfranchised youth reside primarily in Dakar's suburbs and are relying increasingly on music in order to be heard. The continent of Africa as a whole has the largest youth population in the world, with over seventy percent of the continent's people under thirty. It is projected that by 2020, seventy-five percent of Africans will average twenty years of age.<sup>327</sup> Why does this

---

<sup>327</sup> My calculations are based on facts taken from: African Union Commission, "Youth and the African Union Commission," Department of Human Resource Science and Technology (HSRT), 2013, website. <http://www.africa->

matter? Because more than anything else, these youth are listening to hip hop. Africa's future, it would seem, may very well be written in rap.

The single most important figure in the history of Senegalese hip hop, Didier Awadi's was first exposure to the sounds of rap through artists like Kurtis Blow and the Sugarhill Gang in the early 1980s. Over the course of the decade, American rap spread rampantly across Africa, locally incubating in a style that at first remained by and large a faithful copy of the original. Most aspiring African rappers at this time stuck to English lyrics, regardless of how well they understood the language. They also had little desire at this early stage to relate rap to their own traditional cultures; indigenizing the genre was not important to most African artists until later. Gradually, however, African hip hop began to localize more and more, taking the same first step as rumba by switching to their native vernaculars. This linguistic shift prompted the music itself to similarly self-reflect, and gradually artists began to incorporate more local musical styles. This process is not unique to hip hop; in Africa's long relationship with diasporic music, be it jazz, *variété*, reggae, or rumba, the imported genre eventually took on a localized identity over the course of two to three musical generations, usually beginning with a shift into local vernaculars and then gradually incorporating more musical localizations.<sup>328</sup>

More than any other Senegalese artist, Awadi helped bridge this transition from a purely adopted style to a more locally conscious one. He got his break thanks to MC Solaar, a

---

youth.org/ (accessed August 18, 2013); Urban Reproductive Health Initiative, "Senegal," Measurement, Learning & Evaluation Project for the Urban Reproductive Health Initiative, 2013, <http://www.urbanreproductivehealth.org/projects/senegal> (accessed August 18, 2013). *African Underground: Democracy in Dakar*, DVD, directed by Ben Herson, Magee McIlvaine, and Christopher Moore (New York: Nomadic Wax and Sol Productions, 2009); UNESCO, "Statistics on Youth," World Radio Day, 2012, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-days/world-radio-day/statistics-on-youth/> (accessed August 18, 2013).

<sup>328</sup> Charry, "A Capsule History of African Rap," 4; 11-12.

Senegalese-Chadian rapper who grew up in France and made it big with his first album, *Qui sème le vent récolte le tempo*, back in 1991.<sup>329</sup> Being one of the first international stars of non-English rap, and being of African heritage to boot, MC Solaar inspired a whole generation of young Francophone Africans. Even before Solaar's breakout album, however, Awadi's new group Positive Black Soul, co-founded with Duggy-Tee (Amadou Barry), was getting an increasing amount of radio airplay and fast becoming a national phenomenon. A fortuitous opening concert for MC Solaar at the French Cultural Institute in Dakar in 1992, however, launched the group's career. MC Solaar invited Positive Black Soul to tour with him in France, and within four years the group had released the first African hip hop record on a major label.<sup>330</sup> As the name implies, one of the group's primary goals was to counter the widespread "Afripessimism" that pervaded the international media, being dedicated instead to "promoting a positive image of Africa." They were inspired by positive African thinkers and leaders such as Kocobon Barma (a Senegalese philosopher from the previous century), Hampate Ba, Kwame Nkrumah, and Cheikh Anta Diop, and wished to pass this inspiration on to other youth.<sup>331</sup> Even early on, Positive Black Soul looked beyond the American model and sought to make hip hop relevant to their own local communities.

Awadi has always had a somewhat ambiguous relationship with Senegalese leaders, but the feelings have been mutual; Senegalese leaders have long had a contradictory relationship with Awadi and with hip hop in general, for that matter. Positive Black Soul's first international

---

<sup>329</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid: 15. Note: the label I'm referring to is Mango Records, a subsidiary of Island Records, which is itself a subsidiary of Polygram.

<sup>331</sup> Patricia Tang, "The Rapper as Modern Griot: Reclaiming Ancient Traditions," In *Hip Hop Africa*, Charry, ed., 83.

release, *Salaam* (1995), was a tremendous success, complete with two years' worth of European and North American tours and enthusiastic media coverage on all fronts. One song on the album, "Le bourreau est noir" (The Executioner is Black) was particularly critical of both African leadership in general and the Senegalese President Abdou Diouf more specifically. Awadi's critique turned personal, addressing Diouf directly in the second person (contrary to Wolof social norms of address of youth towards elders) and expressing impatience and frustration with the lack of progress. "It's been years already but tell me where are we now? / I was proud of you once, I saw justice / but unfortunately all of that's over and the bridges have been burned" (*Ça fait déjà des années mais dis moi où en est la suite / j'étais fier de toi en ce temps là, je voyais de la justice / Mais malheureusement on a tout stoppé et brouillé les pistes*). Cynicism and Afro-pessimism flooded the lyrics: "Democracy, democracy, what bullshit / In Africa we still live in a time of irony...I'm really bitter every time I talk about Africa / We are black sheep / being led to the slaughter and I'm so ashamed / the executioner is black" (*Démocratie, démocratie quelle belle connerie / En Afrique on vit toujours à l'heure de l'ironie...Je suis bien amer chaque fois que je parle de l'afrique/ Nous sommes des moutons noirs / Que l'on dirige à l'abattoir et moi j'ai tellement honte / Le bourreau est noir*).<sup>332</sup> Awadi's message was clear: the Senegalese people, and no one else, were responsible for their current situation; it was no longer acceptable to blame outsiders for allowing one of their own to lead them down the wrong path. In another song on the same album, "Djoko" (Unity), Awadi made his frustration with the political parties quite clear, offering rap (in the form of his own group) as an alternative "party": "We are not P.S. [the Socialist Party] or P.D.S. [the Democratic Party] /

---

<sup>332</sup> Positive Black Soul, "Le bourreau est noir," Hip Hop Franco, [http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108-positive\\_black\\_soul\\_le\\_bourreau\\_est\\_noir](http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108-positive_black_soul_le_bourreau_est_noir) (accessed April 17, 2014).

we're PBS [Positive Black Soul], a brand new party / no one will be left out...Remember what they promised in 1987? We haven't seen a thing" (Nous sommes pas le P.S. [Parti socialiste] ou le P.D.S. [Parti démocratique sénégalais] / nous sommes PBS [Positive Black Soul], un parti tout nouveau / personne sera négliger).<sup>333</sup> Given Awadi's critiques of Diouf, it is not surprising that he strongly supported Wade as the opposition candidate in the 2000 Presidential elections. By 2000, Awadi had become a huge star not just in Senegal but abroad as well, and he held considerable sway especially in Dakar's suburbs. He galvanized the disenfranchised—particularly the unemployed youth living in the banlieu and the students whose futures were uncertain due to numerous strikes and university closures. By this time these youth had begun forming their own, second generation hip hop groups which strongly emulated Awadi at first, but soon bore an increasingly independent edge. While the first generation of Senegalese hip hop artists tended to come from more privileged backgrounds, being the ones with the easiest access to American hip hop recordings, this second generation spoke more specifically about their own situation, particularly the dire living conditions of the ghettos and the dismal futures of its young inhabitants.

#### From Optimism to Pessimism: Hip Hop's Relationship with President Wade

Abdoulaye Wade knew only too well how much he owed his presidency to the Senegalese rap community. In 2000, after forty years of socialist rule under Presidents Senghor and Diouf, people were restless for a change. The largely unemployed and frustrated youth, constituting a strong majority of the city's demographic, spread the message of their desire for

---

<sup>333</sup> Daniel Künzler, "The 'Lost Generation': African Hip Hop Movements and the Protest of the Young (Male) Urban," In *Civil Society: Local and Regional Responses to Global Challenges*, Mark Herkenrath, ed., Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007), 98.

change around the country through the language of hip hop, and were able to boost Wade's lead to fifty-eight percent by the time the polls had closed. At the new President's inauguration, the 'Boule Falé,' as the hip hop generation is called in Senegal, were among the first people he thanked. By 2007, however, the honeymoon was over. The changes Wade had initiated at the beginning of his term had stagnated, and the country as a whole was doing the same. Frustration was mounting, and when Wade was up for re-election in 2007 numerous opposition candidates jumped at the chance to challenge the incumbent. With Awadi at the helm, the hip hop community once again canvassed neighborhoods to vote, but this time they were using their musical weapon against Wade rather than to support him. A particularly poignant subject of critique was the mounting number of Senegalese who were dying in the open seas by the hundreds trying to immigrate to Europe, an issue treated by numerous rappers including Xunan: "We are the ones in plain sight but who you do not see... /We believe that our day will come though we have lost all / faith in your promises. We are the outcasts ... It is us who / are dying in the boats headed for Spain...." Awadi and Positive Black Soul, too, publicized the plight of thousands of Senegalese who have died trying to cross the sea in flimsy pirogue fishing boats for lack of any alternative in their song, "Sunugaal" (Our Canoe). Now speaking to Wade, rather than Diouf, the themes are nevertheless familiar: broken promises and disillusionment, as echoed in their refrain: "All of your pretty speeches, all of your pretty promises, we're still waiting"(Toutes vos belles paroles / Toutes vos belles promesses / On les attend toujours). Like Xunan, Positive Black Soul outlines how the President's negligence has left people in conditions desperate enough that they are willing to risk their lives for a chance at a better future.<sup>334</sup> Awadi

---

<sup>334</sup> *Democracy in Dakar*. Note: "boule falé" means "don't worry" in Wolof, and was the title of one of Positive Black Soul's first tracks from 1994, later to be released internationally in 1995; Pee Froiss, aka Xuman, "Askan Wi" (Courtesy of Dabel records),

begins, “You promised me work / You promised me that I would go hungry anymore / You promised me real occupations and a future / But the truth is up to now I still don’t see anything / That’s why I decided to flee, that’s why I’m taking off in this canoe / I swear! I can’t stay here a second longer / It’s better to die than to live in these conditions, this hell” (Vous m’avez promis que j’aurais du boulot / Vous m’avez promis que je n’aurais plus jamais faim / Vous m’avez promis de vraies occupations et un avenir / En vérité jusqu’ici je ne vois toujours rien / Voilà pourquoi j’ai décidé de fuir, voilà pourquoi je me casse en pirogue / Je le jure! Je ne peux rester ici une seconde de plus / Mieux vaut mourir que de vivre dans de telles conditions, dans cet enfer). Further into the song, after the chorus “we are still waiting...,” Kirikou continues, “This is not at all what we had hoped / If things had worked out, we wouldn’t be leaving in these canoes / This is not at all what we had hoped / Our canoes are leaking and its our kids who are losing their lives (Ce n’est pas du tout ce que nous espérions / Si tout marchait bien, on ne s’embarquerait pas dans ces pirogues / tout ce chahut, / ce n’est pas ce que nous espérions / nos pirogues coulent et c’est nos gosses qui y laissent leur vie). Awadi and co-rapper Kirikou indict Wade more specifically as the rap continues in a catalogue of Presidential failures: “You promised us your university of the future / But we’re worried for the one we’ve got today /.../ Outrageous electricity cuts from SENELEC / Result? No one can work! / For water, it’s the same, they pass their time cutting it off for us / And despite all of these inconveniences they cut off your service if you don’t pay your bill.” Somewhat sarcastically, the duo adds, “Sure we accept your achievements and grand projects—roads, electrification, and bridges / But unfortunately people can’t eat tar... / When you’re elected, either do your job or hand it over”

---

In *Democracy in Dakar* (English translation of original Wolof subtitled in the documentary); Positive Black Soul, “Sunugaal,” Senlyrics, <http://www.senlyrics.com/awadi/lyrics/25/?id=842> (accessed April 17, 2014).

(Nous acceptons certes vos réalisations et grands projets: routes, électrifications et ponts / mais malheureusement l'homme ne se nourrit pas de goudron /.../ Quand on est élu, soit on bosse soit on passe la main).<sup>335</sup>

With even more momentum working against Wade in 2007 than for him in 2000, both musically and otherwise, optimism was palpable; people were beginning to feel empowered. It therefore came as a complete shock when the numbers came in the next day: Wade had been reelected with an unprecedented fifty-five percent win in the first round. In Senegal, a candidate must receive fifty percent of the votes to win straight away in the first round; if no candidate receives fifty percent, then the top two advance to a second round. With fifteen opposition candidates, the odds of anyone winning a complete majority in the first round seemed highly suspect to many. Never in the history of Senegalese elections had this happened before, even with considerably fewer opposition candidates in the mix. Even at Wade's first election, when his popularity was at its highest, he only saw thirty-five percent of the votes in the first round. His popularity over those seven years had plummeted, so for him to sweep the 2007 election in the first round stunned the populace. The day after elections, the streets of Dakar were eerily silent. Despite concerns that such a win would prompt riots, when it actually happened, people simply did not know how to react.<sup>336</sup>

While many are convinced the election was rigged, others consider the possibility that people ultimately voted for Wade out of a sense of resignation more likely. Feeling that none of the other candidates were any better, many voted for Wade because he was the safer bet: better a known problem than an unknown one. The ultimate consequence of these elections was that

---

<sup>335</sup> Ibid; "SENELEC" is Senegal's national electric company.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

many Senegalese simply lost their faith in the government. Hope for change was replaced with frustration and cynical resignation. The hip hop community, however, refused to simply walk away. The messages Awadi had begun to share with youth ever since the end of Diouf's presidency took on new significance and were taken up in refrain by a new generation of Senegalese hip hop artists: people have to take control of their own lives, because no politician will do much to help them, and regardless of who won, whoever is in power must be held accountable. Wade repaid the rappers with increased vigilance; several reported facing thinly veiled intimidation tactics by some of Wade's henchmen.<sup>337</sup>

As Wade's presidency entered its second term, the atmosphere of the country was growing increasingly unstable. Political polarization and distrust reigned. The opposition parties had boycotted parliamentary elections following the President's contested second victory and Wade had begun to crack down on the freedom of the press, jailing several notable opposition journalists. Even though President Wade had begun resuming plans for a reprise of FESMAN during the optimistic honeymoon of his early tenure, the Festival did not take place until late in his presidency, when the mood of the country had become considerably more cynical. Wade understood only too well the power of Dakar's hip hop community, and while under the surface he still kept a careful eye on the goings of the Boule Falé, he made overt gestures of respect and ensured that the "Culture Urbaine" would be a highly visible (and audible) presence at the festival. This was to be a festival "for our time," he promised.<sup>338</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> *Democracy in Dakar*.

<sup>338</sup> Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, "FESMAN III [Official Festival Program]," (Dakar: Government of the Republic of Senegal, 2010).

When it came time to designate a director to coordinate the activities of FESMAN's "Culture Urbaine" category, Didier Awadi was the most obvious choice. As previously mentioned, Awadi had started the first African rap group to gain major international recognition and had helped establish Dakar as one of the earliest and most important hip hop centers on the continent.<sup>339</sup> It was bound to cause a stir for some, however, when an artist with such a history of vocal political critiques decided to accept a well-paid presidential appointment. On a cab ride home from downtown I overheard part of a debate on the radio about the controversy of this appointment. The host was taking calls on what people thought about Awadi's acceptance of the job. Many felt betrayed by what they saw as his obvious hypocrisy and greed, and complained he was "selling-out." One person, however, retorted "It's easy to say you wouldn't take an appointment you've never been offered, but I'd like to see you turn down the opportunity if it was put in *your* lap." After all, another caller reasoned, someone has to do the job and it may as well be someone who has the connections, fame, and respect of Awadi.<sup>340</sup>

The most outspoken critic of Awadi's involvement with FESMAN was a younger, second-generation rapper from the poor suburb of Guedewaye. Fou Malade's ("Crazy Sick Guy"; aka Malal Talla) emotionally charged accusations speak as much to his admiration of Awadi as they do to any distaste of his accepting the FESMAN appointment, however. It was Awadi, after all, who had paved the way for Fou's generation; he had inspired a new wave of youth to become politically and socially active, to speak out against injustices and to make their voices be heard, and Fou was doing just that. The valorized role Awadi had played in their lives

---

<sup>339</sup> Charry, "A Capsule History," 9.

<sup>340</sup> Note: This was overheard informally on the radio inside a taxi cab; I do not know the station, nor the date, other than that it was sometime during the Festival (December 10-31, 2010).

made his about-face seem by Fou Malade and many others of his generation in the suburbs as nothing short of a betrayal of everything the rap legend had stood for. “Money is dangerous” (L’argent est dangereux), Fou said. “Awadi works for the government. I think this is the biggest contradiction in the hip hop movement” (Awadi travaille pour le gouvernement. Je pense que c’est la plus grande contradiction du mouvement Hip-hop). Awadi took these criticisms in stride and tried to clarify his position: “If I decided to work for FESMAN, it’s because historically we had a means of accelerating the process of development of cultural trades in this country” (Si j’ai décidé de travailler avec le Fesman, c’est parce qu’on a eu historiquement un moyen d’accélérer le processus de développement des métiers de la culture dans ce pays).<sup>341</sup> He did concede that peoples’ criticisms came from an understandable place, however. “I agree that there are serious problems in this country and that we need to fight to overcome them. ... I understand people’s position regarding FESMAN” (Je suis d’accord qu’il y a de sérieux problèmes dans ce pays et qu’il faut se battre pour les régler. ... Je comprends la position du peuple par rapport au Fesman). Nevertheless, he insisted he was not the sell-out Fou Malade would make him out to be. “Some people tell me, ‘Awadi, you’ve sold your soul!’” (Certains m’ont dit: ‘Awadi, tu as vendu ton âme!’) he complained. But Awadi had a ready response to these accusations. “I tell them, ‘You haven’t understood anything. Just because I’m working for FESMAN doesn’t mean I’m working for Wade or that I’m in his party... It’s my duty as a cultural actor who wants to develop the culture of his country’” (Je leur ai dit, ‘Vous n’avez rien compris. Ce n’est pas parce que je travaille dans le Fesman que je travaille pour Abdoulaye Wade ou que je suis dans son

---

<sup>341</sup> “Fou malade attaque: Awadi travaille pour le gouvernement,” Seneweb, December 1, 2010, [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/fou-malade-attaque-awadi-travaille-pour-le-gouvernement\\_n\\_38042.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/fou-malade-attaque-awadi-travaille-pour-le-gouvernement_n_38042.html) (accessed April 17, 2014); “Interview Kapaar-Didier Awadi: ‘La vérité sur Syndjély, le Fesman et moi,’” Kapaarnet, <http://kapaarnet.com/medias/musique/599-interview-kepaar-didier-awadi-lla-verite-sur-syndjely-le-fesman-et-moir.html> (accessed April 17, 2014).

parti...C'est mon devoir en tant qu'acteur culturel qui veut développer la culture de son pays).<sup>342</sup>

Ultimately, it would take a common cause to reconcile Fou Malade and Awadi, one which came in relatively short order after FESMAN. Before continuing with the story of Wade's hotbed of political turmoil in the aftermath of FESMAN III and the hip hop community's powerful response, however, a closer examination of the musical significance of the Festival is in order.

### *Music at FESMAN III*

The musical make-up of FESMAN changed drastically from 1966 to 2010.<sup>343</sup> In 1966, a total of 113 individual or groups performed at FESMAN, including those in unofficial, or "off" venues. With half of these at "off" venues, the total number of official FESMAN I performers was just fifty-six. A big number at the time, to be sure, but FESMAN III, by contrast, counted two-hundred-and-fifty-three official performers or groups even without "off" performances. This marks over a four-hundred-and-fifty percent increase from FESMAN I. A simple glance at the two programs (see appendices) immediately delineates clear differences in musical emphasis between the two festivals which reflect the dramatic sea-change in African consciousness from Africa's early days of independence to the dawn of the new millennium. In 1966, roughly one-quarter of all performances were given by national ensembles or folkloric troupes. In 2010, approximately the same percentage of performances were classified as "culture urbaine" or hip hop events. It is not difficult to understand why this would be the case. In 1966, FESMAN's participating nations were, by and large, relatively new entities struggling to define themselves against the legacy of colonialism and within the competing contexts of new national and pan-

---

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>343</sup> See appendices for more specific details.

African interests. National ensembles were one of the most tangible ways new governments could advertise a unifying cultural policy that would, at least in theory, celebrate ethnic diversity within an overarching umbrella of distinctly postcolonial pan-African nationalism which considered diasporic and continental claims of Africanity to be equally legitimate. Many national ensembles in the mid-1960s therefore faced considerable challenges in creating distinctly national cultural boundaries and as a result incorporated not only diverse ethnic groups, which often overlapped with those of neighboring countries, but popular diasporic musical genres such as rumba as well. Through gradual indigenization, these hybrid genres were becoming increasingly localized and therefore more legitimately a part of new sonic identities of nationhood. Only rarely did famous stars (either individuals or groups) contribute to the furthering of a specific national image, at least at FESMAN.<sup>344</sup> For the Festival's 2010 reprise, the number of national ensembles had dwindled to only eighteen, a mere seven percent of the event's total performances. Such a remarkable loss of distinctly nationalized cultural expressions highlights the extent to which African nationalisms, and nationalism more broadly, have ceased to be the defining characteristic of individual or collective cultural identities. At the same time, while diasporic vernacular musics have always been a significant force of cultural empowerment on the continent, the substance of that force has changed considerably from the 1960s to the present day. In the 1960s, diasporic musics such as rumba and jazz were considered, in a sense, cultural detours through which Africans could assert a confident black

---

<sup>344</sup> Exceptions being all of the U.S.'s performers, Trinidad's Gay Desperadoes and the Mighty Terror, the two Congo's O.K. Jazz and les Bantous du Capitale, Moune de Rivel of the Antilles, and Nigeria's I.K. Dairo (although most Senegalese press coverage of Dairo only referred to him anonymously as a part of "Nigerian Jazz." [other exceptions include up-and-coming performers but I don't include them here because they did not already have the established stardom that would allow an international audience to recognize them as being representative of a particular nationality].

identity which was considered safely removed from the trappings of any direct colonial legacy.<sup>345</sup> Africans could share a sense of collective origins with diasporic culture and a sense of vicarious sorrow over the wrenching of their brethren from their common homeland and into enslavement abroad. White oppression provided a common bond between Africans and their distant cousins across the Atlantic; any cultural imprints of colonialism in the new world seemed somehow less destructive to the diaspora's inherent Africanity than it had been to their own.

Hip hop bears certain correlations to these earlier diasporic genres. African hip hop artists are very much aware of the ghetto origins of American rap and, in urban settings such as the banlieues of Dakar, the desolate living conditions, marginalization, intense gap between rich and poor, and lack of hope for the future provide points of contact with the neglected residents of America's black ghettos. There is a certain continuity here with earlier genres such as Negro Spirituals, which to Africans represented more of a connection than a separation between the diaspora and the homeland – the wrenching apart of families and cultures can only be torturous if there is a strong bond to be severed. As popular as Negro Spirituals may have been outside of America for more than half a century prior to FESMAN I, their reach in Africa never took on the force of black diasporic popular music such as rumba, jazz, and soul, however. Unlike spirituals, these other genres were all musics of leisure, entertainment, or pleasure. The suffering underlying the separation between the continent and its diaspora may still have been there, but it was less visible (or audible) than in the spirituals. As one older gentleman fondly told me, “In the 1960s we listened to two kinds of music: rumba and soul. Rumba was for dancing, and soul

---

<sup>345</sup> This obviously disregards the colonial underpinnings of black diasporic musics—Spanish imperialism, the international slave trade, etc.—but regardless of its accuracy, this interpretation served a strong purpose for many Africans at the time.

was for romancing.”<sup>346</sup> Hip hop, on the other hand, quickly became a weapon of social and political activism across the continent in a way no other diasporic genre has. And Dakar, more than perhaps any other place in Africa, has been ground zero for this new wave of hip hop activism.

Another significant point of contrast between the first and third FESMANs is the number of African stars who performed at each edition. As I have said earlier, FESMAN I was a coming out party for new African cultural nationalisms and as such, a launching pad for new national ensembles more than any other kind of performing group. These anonymous groups (rarely were artists given individual recognition) represented a full quarter of all performances. Prominent stars with international reputations, and especially African stars, were few and far between. The majority of the celebrities associated with FESMAN I came from America, with a smaller number coming from France, the Caribbean, and South America. The biggest African celebrity of the time, Miriam Makeba, did not end up performing at the festival, as I have mentioned. By FESMAN III, however, the tables had turned. Not only had the number of African stars performing approximately tripled, but in 2010 they represented almost one hundred percent of all of the international world music stars present. In other words, by 2010 America no longer owned the stage. A whole new generation of African musicians had become part of the vast world music industry’s network, helping to spread a composite “African sound” around the globe. FESMAN III artists such as Cheikh Lo, Hassan Hakmoun, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Angélique Kidjo, Khaled, Youssou Ndour, Ismael Lo, Salif Keita, Seun Kuti and Habib Koite, among others, have become household names to a new generation of world-music consumers.

---

<sup>346</sup> This was a conversation that occurred in passing in December of 2010 at Just 4 U, a popular nightclub in Dakar. I reconstructed it into English from memory after I returned home. Unfortunately I was unable to catch the person’s name.

World music festivals have become incredibly lucrative stages from which ideas of “Africa” can be audibly transmitted. And while in 1966 the world music industry had not yet truly launched, FESMAN I could be considered one of the first Africa-focused “world music festivals,” in the sense that a large international audience came together to hear diverse expressions of cultural blackness from nations across the African continent and its diaspora.

The Renaissance Monument served as the primary venue for the Festival’s third-most represented music genre (outside of hip hop and pan-African pop music), jazz. Organizers knew the jazz performers would draw smaller crowds than the big name pop and hip hop stars headlining the Obelisque or the Biscuiterie, and the Renaissance Monument offered a more modest yet still elegant stage for some of the world’s most respected jazz artists. While FESMAN may not have had as many of the new jazz innovators who have emerged in recent years, they nevertheless presented a considerably more contemporary program than what was offered in 1966. Duke Ellington (live) and Louis Armstrong (his recording, *Hello, Dolly!*) were the sole representatives of American jazz at the first FESMAN, despite neither of these magnificent artists being the most current trends in 1960s jazz. FESMAN III, on the other hand, offered a terrific line-up of free performances by a much more diverse set of jazz musicians. The Renaissance Monument stage showcased five different bass virtuosos: Stanley Clarke, Marcus Miller, Richard Bona, Hervé Samb, and Étienne Mbapp, as well as old-guard legends like Manu Dibango, Randy Weston, and Ray Lema, a handful of Latin Jazz groups (Omar Sosa; New York Latin Jazz All Stars), a steel drum virtuoso (Andy Narrell), and several other notable combos (Squeeziband with Chico Freedman and Reto Weber, a Miles Davis Tribute Band, the Bill Jacobs Ensemble, and the African Jazz All Stars) rounded out the program.

Pan-African Stars: The Second Generation

*The Old Guard: “Manu Dibango 2.0”*

It was down below this Renaissance Monument that an elderly saxophonist transforms an old classic into “Soul Makossa 2.0,” performing his own “rebirth” of the 1972 classic for a new generation. “Soul Makossa” is probably the most internationally celebrated hit by the seventy-seven-year-old Cameroonian Manu Dibango, one of Africa’s most legendary saxophonists and an innovative presence on the world stage for over half a century. The song inspired much musical borrowing in the decades that followed its release, most notably Michael Jackson’s “Wanna Be Startin’ Somethin’” (Dibango sued for damages and won) and, more recently, Rihanna’s “Don’t Stop the Music.” Dibango had started out his career playing the popular club music of his day, Congolese rumba. Since then, he has collaborated with artists as diverse as Fela Kuti, Herbie Hancock, Eliades Ochoa, and Ladysmith Black Mambazo. “Soul Makossa 2.0,” spiced up with a quicker tempo and an infusion of hip hop, demonstrates the extent to which Manu Dibango continues to seek out new sources of musical inspiration well into his eighth decade. In an interview, Dibango reflected on the long time which had passed since he had performed at FESTAC in Lagos (1977): “I was young around all of the big names in African music, especially Fela who had disappeared—he would have been happy to be here this evening. I’m one of the ‘survivors’ of this epoch and I represent this generation that’s not here today” (J’étais jeune avec des ténors de la musique africaine, notamment Fela qui a disparu—il aurait été heureux d’être là ce soir. Je suis un des "survivants" de cette époque et je représente cette génération qui n’est pas là aujourd’hui). Dibango expressed optimism about passing the torch to a new generation, saying to the young reporter, “You are the future, the future organization, the future vision of Africa. When I look at you I tell myself that it’s on you to keep

this going” (Vous êtes le futur, la future organisation, la future vision de l’Afrique. Quand je vous regarde je me dis que c’est à vous de continuer cette affaire). He was glad that the Festival had finally been able to happen, considering such a festival a possible antidote to pervasive Afropessimism: “people only fixate on the negative side of Africa, but tonight the whole world can see the power of culture, the positive side of what Africa can be when there’s the will” (de l’Afrique l’on retient que le côté négatif, mais ce soir tout le monde se rend compte de la force de la culture, le côté positif de ce que peut être l’Afrique quand il y’a de la volonté. La culture peut être un élément majeur à l’avancée de l’Afrique). Dibango was not quite as optimistic by the end of the Festival, however. In the end, he blamed the organizational problems that plagued the Festival on President Wade’s ego, suggesting that the leader’s ambition surpassed his abilities to carry out such an enormous project.<sup>347</sup>

*Homage to “Mama Afrika”: the ghost of Miriam Makeba haunts FESMAN III*

Other references to a past era of musical icons pervaded FESMAN as well, particularly nods to Miriam Makeba and Fela Kuti, two of the first titans of African popular music on the global stage. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, Miriam Makeba did not make it to either of the Dakar FESMAN editions (she did perform at FESTAC in Lagos, 1977), but presence was nevertheless quite ubiquitous at both. In 1966 Makeba was at the height of her international fame, having brought new audiences to “world music” before it was even a category. With her alluring beauty and truly pan-African repertoire, Makeba held much crossover appeal and had become the first international African music sensation. As a woman without a country (she had

---

<sup>347</sup> Fidèle Guindou, “Manu Dibango: ‘Je suis un des survivants du FESMAN de 1977,’” Dakar Bondy Blog, December 11, 2010, <http://yahoo.dakar.bondyblog.fr/news/manu-dibango-je-suis-un-des-survivants-du-fesman-de-1977> (accessed April 17, 2014); Ndiaga Diouf, “FESMAN 3: Manu Dibango déçu de l’organisation,” Press Afrik, December 27, 2010, [http://www.pressafrik.com/Fesman-3-Manu-Dibango-decu-de-l-organisation\\_a46445.html](http://www.pressafrik.com/Fesman-3-Manu-Dibango-decu-de-l-organisation_a46445.html) (accessed April 17, 2014).

been exiled from South Africa), she was able to become a woman of the entire continent, representing a composite vision and sound of “Africa” and “Africanness” that many people, both black and white, found appealing in the 1960s. Makeba’s abrupt cancellation of her FESMAN I performances for unspecified reasons devastated organizers and promoters who had been advertising her participation as one of the most important draws of the festival. The fact that she cancelled less than two weeks before the opening means that for the years that the festival had been planned, organized and advertised (1964-66), Makeba was touted as one of the primary stars of the event, a reverent asset to the launching of such a historic event. As such, she was very much a symbol of Senghor’s negritude and an integral part of the festival imagination.

Forty-four years later, Miriam Makeba still loomed large over the festival, albeit in a different fashion. She had passed away just two years earlier (2008), and there is no question that she would have been invited to perform, were she still alive. As it was, her recent death still lingered in the hearts of many, and I was struck by the number of times (both at FESMAN and throughout my stay in Dakar) that I heard musical references or homages to Africa’s most beloved singer. The beautiful, haunting “Malaika” was a regular part of my repertoire with my duo partner, Tabou, who sang and played guitar. We performed the song often at our regular *Amitié III club, l’Endroit*.

FESMAN III devoted a whole night to Makeba’s honor with Angelique Kidjo and Rick Ross presenting the show, entitled “Homage à Miriam Makeba: Concert Black Hits.” Kidjo has acknowledged the deep debt she owes to Makeba for her own career: “Makeba taught me that you can be a woman, have a singing career, and be respectable” (Miriam Makeba a été la figure qui m’a appris qu’on peut être une femme, chanter et être respectable). “Malaika” was one of

the first songs that hooked Kidjo on singing as a young girl, and Kidjo's mother and her friends used Makeba's "The Retreat Song," with re-written lyrics in Fon, as an anthem for women's rights in Benin. Kidjo's own debut recording for Benin's national radio in 1976 featured another transformed Makeba hit: "The Three Z's," written when Makeba was in Zaire, was reworked by Kidjo into "The Three B's," for Benin. Musically, Kidjo credits the influence of South African harmonies in her own work. Because of the musical influence of Miriam Makeba, "When I write my songs today I treat the backing vocals as an instrumental part, building them up like South African choirs" (Quand j'écris des chansons, je monte toujours mes chœurs comme une partie d'instruments, à l'image des chœurs sud-africains), she explained in an interview for *RFI Musique*. Additionally, Makeba's incorporation of a diverse, international repertoire has inspired Kidjo to challenge others' expectations of what it means to be an African musician: "People have so many clichés about what African artists are supposed to do. No one's going to put me in a pigeonhole, ever." Both explored repertoire from across the diaspora, but Kidjo has ventured even further afield than Makeba with the inclusion of a Bollywood song she remembers from her first exposure to cinema as a young girl. In 1989, Kidjo came face to face with her idol in Paris, where she had been invited to open for Makeba in concert at the Olympia. The encounter was the beginning of what would become a very close friendship.<sup>348</sup> While Kidjo had not been officially exiled from her country like Makeba had, she had left Benin for Paris in 1983 to escape the communist military dictatorship of Mathieu Kérékou. She had become a well-known performer in Benin by this time, but Kérékou forbade radio play of music from any other country

---

<sup>348</sup> Eglantine Chabasseur, "Angélique Kidjo chante Makeba: Hommage à plusieurs voix," *RFI Music*, September 25, 2009, [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/117/article\\_17767.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/117/article_17767.asp) (accessed February 3, 2014); David Honigmann, "Angélique Kidjo's Platform for Advocacy," *Financial Times*, January 2, 2010. <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/36e61a80-f4cd-11de-9cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz2sHvzYMPm> (accessed February 3, 2014).

and required all Beninois musicians to pay homage to him and his party. Kidjo refused and left to study in Paris, but not without the heartbreak of knowing that she was putting her parents at risk for doing so. Authorities knew she had left, and continually badgered her parents as to her whereabouts. She didn't speak to her parents for six years for fear of the repercussions to their safety. Consequently, Kidjo felt a strong kinship with Makeba's exile. "She was gone for decades and was not able to bury her father. My father passed away last year. I can't imagine not being able to see my dad and to be able to say my goodbyes if it was still the military regime." Kidjo never felt it was safe to go home until 1991, when Kérékou's regime finally crumbled. Makeba's activism has also inspired Kidjo, a Unicef Goodwill Ambassador who has set up a number of foundations for education and women's rights. After Makeba's death, Kidjo organized a tribute concert in Paris which featured a whole new generation of women African stars who wished to pay homage to their role model, "Mama Africa." When asked why she chose to present the homage collectively rather than as a solo tribute, Kidjo replied, "I don't think one woman alone could ever take her place. ... We owe her so much. She opened a breach for us and we have to prove that her sacrifice was not in vain. Miriam Makeba was an incredible woman who touched everyone right across the generations... she made such an impact wherever she went."<sup>349</sup> Kidjo performed a more rock-infused version of "Pata Pata" for a large young crowd at FESMAN's concert in honor of Makeba at the Place de l'Obélisque (a venue reserved for especially popular groups, particularly those that would appeal to youth), making a gesture to the past while keeping it alive through re-interpretation.

---

<sup>349</sup> Honigman, "Angelique Kidjo's Platform."

*The Old Guard: Hugh Masakela 2.0*

Hugh Masakela, who briefly had been married to Makeba (1964-1966), represented the older, independence-era generation; his audiences responded most strongly to familiar older hits. In another Festival homage to Makeba, Masakela opened his set at the Renaissance Monument's jazz stage with "Khawuleza," Makeba's classic song about police raiding black speakeasies. After explaining the meaning of the song to the audience ("Khawuleza" means "Hurry up, Mama!" and was what kids would yell to warn their mothers the police were coming so they could have a chance to hide their illegal stashes of alcohol), Masakela encouraged the audience to try the word on for size. He gestured with his microphone. "Khawuleza!" screamed the crowd, and Masakela joked, "Are you sure you're not from Soweto?," flattering the largely non-South African crowd. Masakela also referenced another giant, Fela Kuti, in his program. He performed "Lady" with panache, and many in the audience sang along in pidgin English, "She go say, 'I be lady oh'". Each time the hit came and Masakela's voice came out of the silence, "If you call am woman / African woman no go 'gree," he would coyly swing his hips or fluff his non-existent hair flirtily. The crowd laughed and applauded enthusiastically.

At some point during the set, in the middle of Masakela's trumpet solo, an official-looking entourage suddenly shuffled toward the front row. Heads turned: President Wade had decided to make an appearance. With him were dozens of aids, body guards, and camera men. The diminutive Wade was beginning to show his age (he was 85). Masakela noticed the entrance, but continued his solo and ended the song in his own time. Once finished, he shouted, "Hello, Senegal!" The audience cheered loudly. Then he looked directly at President Wade, who had chosen the first row's center seat. Shading his eyes against the glare of the stage lights, Masakela paused for a moment, boldly staring at the President, before cooing, "Helloo,

Monsieur le President” in coy, flirtatiously feminine voice. An awkward trickle of a few cautious, isolated claps quickly evaporated into an even more awkward silence. “Now just because Monsieur le President est la,” he joked, “doesn’t mean you have to be shy.” People chuckled uncomfortably. “Because you know, we know you, we see the television, you’re very noisy people! So don’t try and be cool now. I *said*, “HELLOOOO SENEGAL!!!!” The crowd seemed somewhat relieved, responding with wild applause. The blatant demonstration of the public’s disdain for Wade could not be undone, however gracefully Masakela steered things back into comfortable territory.

At the end of the concert, over a loungy vamp, Masakela thanked the audience for coming and for having given him the honor of performing at the Festival. He lauded the country’s beauty and asked people not to take it for granted. He then announced that the last song was dedicated to those who had died in natural disasters around the world. “These days it seems to be happening more often,” he noted, adding, “perhaps because of the way we’ve been treating nature.” He continued, “We also see on television, all those people we see running from danger across fire, running away from mad men who are shooting at each other. And most of the time it’s the very people that they voted into office...,” he said, staring straight at the seat Wade had already vacated (he left after only a song or two) reminding everyone to appreciate their own good fortune this evening as they returned home after the concert. Then, emerging quietly from underneath the vamp, Hugh began to tell a story: “There’s a train that comes from Namibia and Malawi, there’s a train that comes from Zambia and Zimbabwe – there’s a train that comes from Angola and Mozambique, from Lesotho from Batswana, from Swaziland, from all the

hinterlands of southern and central Africa.”<sup>350</sup> The train, he explained, carried “young and old African men who are conscripted to come and work on contract in the gold and mineral mines of Johannesburg and the surrounding provinces...” The vamp’s increasing intensity mirrored the growing insistence in Masakela’s voice as he continued in a theatrical, melodic speaking style: “16 hours a day for almost no pay ... deep down in the belly of the earth when they’re digging and drilling for that shiny, mighty, evasive stone...” He described the abhorrent working conditions faced by the miners every day, “when they sit in their stinky, filthy, funky, flea-ridden barracks and hostels...” As he continued, Masakela’s depiction turned increasingly bleak, revealing the violence underlying the entire enterprise. “They think about the loved ones they may never see again,” he said, “because they might already have been forcibly removed, or perhaps wantonly murdered in the dead of night by marauding gangs of no particular origin, so we are told...” He went on, his voice expressing both sadness and anger: “They think about their lands and their herds that were taken away from them with the gun and the canon, with the collaborator and the dog and the tear gas and the... bomb ... and when they hear that choochoo train...” Here, Masakela evolved into a rhythmic, almost rapping chant of increasing speed to sound like a train gaining momentum, “...smoking and a-puffing and a-pushing and a-thumping and a-drumming and a-moaning and a-grumbling and a-pushing and a-grinding and ... a-laughing and a-smoking and a-waiting and a-crying and a-moaning and a-screaming and a-screeching...” Then he cried in a high-pitched wail, “Whaa Wahh!,” mimicking a train whistle, and the audience responded with resounding applause. Encouraged, he continued, “they almost

---

<sup>350</sup> Hugh Masakela, 2010. Transcription of lyrics and dialogue from live FESMAN concert at the Renaissance Monument in Dakar, Senegal. December 29, 2010.

curse and they curse the gold trade, the gold trade that brought them to Johannesburg...<sup>351</sup> He whistled again, and then began beating a cowbell, now mimicking the acceleration of the train. Gradually, keyboards, drums, bongos and guitar folded in, mirroring the cowbell. The electric guitar player offered a mournful solo to the crowd as the rest of the band continued the vamp. Masakela began a flugel horn solo, reminiscent of Miles Davis, on top of the vamp, as the stage lighting shifts among a cool color scheme – blues, violets – echoing the bright blue of his shirt. He started to pepper the solo with repetitive rhythms on same note, maintaining this for a long time, until the audience broke into applause. The solo returned to a more blues-infused feel, and Masakela gradually explored a wider and wider range of the horn. He added texture, a buzzing, and then shifted to an almost beboppy riff. Finally he wound down, puts the trumpet away, and started to sing in Zulu, making sound effects that recalled the beginning of the song to add a storytelling flavor to the music (high screams, whispers in high and low registers, vocal growls, train whistle sounds). Low, suave background vocals accompanied the same grooving vamp. The tempo was winding down, and it seemed as if the song was ending. But suddenly, fast train sounds and high-pitched whistles returned to surprise the audience, followed by a gradual ebbing of the train once again, slowing and shrinking down into almost silence. As the audience begins to applaud, Masakela finished the end of the train motif with a quiet “shhhhhhh” and then one last, high, loud whistle. The audience broke into wild and unrestrained applause.

*Salif Keita*

The firecrackers biting at our feet made us jump in a bizarre, involuntary dance whose choreography didn't seem entirely out of place amidst the writhing crowds gathered at Dakar's Obélisque stage. The city wouldn't ring in 2011 for another night, but the atmosphere seemed as

---

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

lively and festive as if it were already January 31st and the countdown descending well into the single digits. The anticipation was building toward the last act of the evening and one of the final concerts of the Festival. Salif Keita, one of the leading African superstars on the world-music touring circuit today, was closing the high-profile Obélisque stage's penultimate night.<sup>352</sup> Lacking a taste for the body-numbing decibel assault and mosh-pit atmosphere near the stage, my husband and I selected a spot considerably further removed from the insanity. Salif Keita himself looked miniscule as he moved about the stage, but we still got perfectly clear close-ups of him thanks to the stadium-sized video screens projecting his image out to those of us on the periphery. Keita, in a regal red-orange boubou and matching kufi cap, shared the stage with a diversely dressed group of accompanists (some in casual street wear, others in traditional West African garb) on calabash drum, djembe, kora, guitar, bass, drums, synthesizer, and back-up vocals and dance. Keita's cascading vocal lines, along with the calabash, djembe, and silky kora accompanying him, blended with synth riffs and gilded guitar solos to create a pleasing, composite aural image which, along with the works of a handful of other elite African touring stars (many of whom also performed at FESMAN), has come to represent, for some, at least, the very sound of Africa itself.

Keita is not exactly an African "everyman" – his background sets him apart from most of his fellow African stars. Perhaps most readily visible is the fact that Keita's skin is not actually black. Inadvertently, Keita's albinism metaphorically reflects the inherent contradictions and paradoxes associated with an arts festival grounded in racial distinction. That FESMAN is hosted on the African continent implies an emphasis on only a particular strand of the world's

---

<sup>352</sup> The closing evening at Dakar's largest-drawing venue (the Obélisque) would feature only Senegalese performers and ensembles, while a second second stage in the former colonial capital of St. Louis (8 hours away by bus) simultaneously closed with a series of performances from FESMAN's "country of honor," Brazil.

diverse darker-skinned populations: namely, Africans and those across the diaspora who can claim African ancestry. Nobody seemed concerned, for instance, that Australian Aborigines were not represented at the Festival. Classical Indian dance troupes, however, performed in 1966 and 2010, making the Festival's criteria for racial and cultural inclusiveness or exclusiveness rather murky. While Keita's albinism is obviously a genetic anomaly rather than an indication of race, it points to the fragility of cultural distinctions based on differences of color. Besides his unusual skin pigmentation, however, Keita's lineage also sets him apart from most other African world music stars on the stage today. A direct descendant of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Malian emperor Sundiata Keita, Salif Keita's royal bloodline meant that a career as a professional singer violated traditional caste distinctions. His family considered musical occupations beneath their noble birth, something suitable only to the artisan class. Shamed since birth with the stigma of albinism, however, Keita was already considered an unsuitable representative of his noble lineage; he therefore had little to lose by making a foray into the musical world. The regality associated with Keita's famous ancestry sets him at the opposite extreme from Africa's anonymous national ensembles or the relatively obscure and humble origins of many other African stars. Keita's unique situation enabled him to defy caste restrictions but, more importantly, his very name offered direct proof against the myth that Africa has no history prior to colonialism. Knowledge of African history beyond its connection to the slave trade is sparse at best even among the well-educated; the fact that Africa had powerful empires which flourished during Europe's Dark Ages challenges auditors to re-envision Africa's historic, and by consequence current, relationship with the rest of the world.

*Youssou N'Dour's Presidential Bid*

Senegalese superstar Youssou Ndour's origins are considerably humbler than those of Salif Keita. While Keita was born to a royal family, Ndour's father was a common laborer, and his mother a *griotte* from the very cast which historically worked as praise singers for nobility like Keita's ancestors. Ndour was born in Dakar's urban ghetto of Medina, which held the greatest concentration of Dakar's poor until the *banlieues* took over this distinction. The neighborhood was specifically set aside in 1914 by French colonial administrators as a "native sector," due to concerns over outbreaks of diseases such as yellow fever. The French rationalized that it was impossible to maintain adequately sanitary conditions among local populations because of cultural differences such as the locals' tendency to live in close proximity to their domestic animals.<sup>353</sup> In reality, it was nothing short of a segregated ghetto and to this day remains one of the most impoverished neighborhoods of Dakar. From his rough-and-tumble beginning singing at neighborhood gatherings in Medina, Ndour managed to become a Senegalese star by his late teens when he first joined the country's most popular band in the mid-1970s, the Star Band. From here it was a short step to forming his own, band, the Etoile de Dakar in 1979, which became known in 1981 as the Super Etoile, with revamped personnel and Ndour at the helm. Over the course of just a few years, Ndour had become an astute businessman who ran his own nightclub and managed other musicians in addition to pursuing his own artistic endeavors. His career quickly escalated with European tours and then jumped into a new level of global stardom after he met Peter Gabriel in 1984. The two artists quickly became friends and eventually performed together, along with Tracy Chapman, on a world-wide Amnesty International fundraising tour in 1988. With the exponential growth of the world music

---

<sup>353</sup> Raymond Betts, "The Establishment of the Medina in Senegal, 1914," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute* 41, 2 (1971): 143.

industry in the 1980s, Ndour profited from the international exposure of his collaboration with Gabriel and released his first international album the following year. Since his emergence on the world stage, Ndour has become one of the most visible and vocal representatives of African culture since Miriam Makeba.<sup>354</sup> While his repertoire is decidedly less diverse than Makeba's – N'dour performs primarily *mbalax* music, a genre he popularized which has strong connections to Congolese and Cuban rumba as well as traditional Wolof music. Due to N'dour's ubiquity on the world music circuit, his internationally tailored brand of *mbalax* has come to represent a prominent piece of what has become an increasingly composite "African sound" at world music festivals. This sound, perhaps due to the symbolic pull of the griot figure in recent years, now leans much more strongly on West African styles than in the past, when South African influences were the most prevalent. *Rolling Stone* summarized this aptly when they said Ndour was "a singer with a voice so extraordinary that the history of Africa seems locked inside it."<sup>355</sup>

N'dour's rags-to-riches story has been an inspiring one to many Senegalese, and his dedication to giving back to his community and his country has, along with the popularity of his music, put the artist in a respected position of leadership. Possessing his own television station, recording studio, and record label, N'Dour also has a strong, well-established reputation for activism. When N'Dour announced that he would be a candidate for the 2012 presidential elections, few were surprised. According to N'dour, the Senegalese people had "in various

---

<sup>354</sup> "Youssou N'Dour – Biography," *Let'sSingIt.com*, June 5, 2011, <http://artists.letssingit.com/youssou-ndour-7w783/biography> (accessed 3 February 2014); "Biography – Youssou N'Dour," *RFI Musique*, September, 2010, [http://rfimusique.com/siteen/biographie/biographie\\_6045.asp](http://rfimusique.com/siteen/biographie/biographie_6045.asp) (accessed February 3, 2014); Matt Pascarella, "A Voice from Senegal: Youssou N'Dour," *The Progressive*, February, 2010, [https://www.progressive.org/youssou\\_n\\_dour.html](https://www.progressive.org/youssou_n_dour.html) (accessed February 3, 2014). Note: N'Dour still releases some *mbalax* recordings only nationally; intended strictly for Senegalese listeners, these tend to have faster rhythms and a less international pop-oriented sound.

<sup>355</sup> Pascarella, "A Voice from Senegal." Note: The *Rolling Stone* quote was incorporated into Pascarella's article without date or reference].

ways, called for my candidacy in the February Presidential race. I listened. I heard.” His bid wasn’t unprecedented in the global music community; only a few months before FESMAN III, Haitian artist Wyclef Jean had announced his intent to run for President of Haiti. In both cases the candidacies were stillborn. Jean, who had not lived in Haiti since childhood, was rejected for not meeting the country’s residential requirements for President.<sup>356</sup> N’Dour’s candidacy was rejected for more politically suspect reasons; while he had garnered almost three thousand more signatures in support of his candidacy than the law required, Senegal’s supreme court—whose five justices were personal appointments of the incumbent President Wade—ruled that only eight thousand nine-hundred-and-eleven of the signatures were valid, leaving N’Dour short of the requisite ten thousand needed for candidacy.<sup>357</sup> Particularly in N’Dour’s case, Wade knew very well that if N’Dour were allowed to run, his popularity, in contrast to the President’s own stale reputation, would almost certainly guarantee a win for the pop star. That either Jean or N’Dour could seriously consider such a political office, however, speaks to just how much power and influence stars from Africa and the Diaspora have gained since FESMAN’s premiere in 1966.

### Hip Hop at FESMAN III

The primary venue for FESMAN’s “Culture Urbaine” performers was a former cookie factory in central Dakar that had been completely refurbished into a contemporary warehouse arts space for the Festival. The contemporary art exhibition was held here, as were literary events and lectures on various aspects of black/African history and culture. The lecture room, a

---

<sup>356</sup> “Youssou N’Dour to Run for President of Senegal,” *Rolling Stone*, January 3, 2012, <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/youssou-ndour-to-run-for-president-of-senegal-20120103> (accessed 3 February 2014); “Senegal: Youssou N’Dour’s Candidacy for President Rejected,” *Africa Research Online*, January 29, 2012, <http://africaresearchonline.wordpress.com/2012/01/29/senegal-youssou-ndours-candidacy-for-presidency-rejected/> (accessed 3 February 2014).

<sup>357</sup> “Senegal: Youssou N’Dour’s Candidacy.”

vast open space with tall ceilings, whitewashed walls, and a multi-colored, multi-tiered bookshelf covering an entire wall with books by pan-Africanist authors. The Biscuiterie has a decidedly artsy, industrial-loft atmosphere that lent itself well to the “culture urbaine” crowd it catered to.<sup>358</sup> The majority of these concerts took place on the open-air stage that sits at the center of the multi-building space (the Biscuiterie consists of a series of buildings that surround an open stage and café-restaurant). The majority of those attending these concerts were local Senegalese youth (those fortunate enough not to be infringed by transportation costs or logistics), and the space quickly filled to capacity the nights some of the most popular hip hop groups performed. Hip hop has a wide following among the youth of the country; while it is in the *banlieues* that hip hop most directly speaks to the difficult situations of its disenfranchised young people, the art form crosses boundaries of class and appeals to rich and poor alike.

As Director of Urban Culture Programming, Awadi made sure that Senegal was well-represented in the Culture Urbaine category; Senegalese hip hop artists constituted a full quarter of all performers.<sup>359</sup> The two countries with the highest number of performers outside of Senegal were the U.S. and France, which reflects the extent to which American hip hop, a diasporic import, has truly become entrenched and indigenized in France and Senegal. Reggae artists were also incorporated into the Culture Urbaine performances, but their numbers were considerably smaller. Nevertheless, FESMAN drew some big name reggae artists, including two of the Ivory Coast’s finest: Alpha Blondy and Tiken Jah Fakoly.

---

<sup>358</sup> The Buiscuiterie was the primary venue for the *Culture Urbaine* category of FESMAN performances, which included hip hop and, to a lesser extent, reggae acts.

<sup>359</sup> See appendices for a list of performers.

*Didier Awadi's Présidents d'Afrique*

One of the most poignant hip hop performances of the Festival was “Natty Dread Night” on December 17 at the Biscuiterie. The line-up featured a combination of reggae, hip hop, and reggae-hip hop-fusion artists including “Rappin’hood,” a Brazilian group that fuses reggae and samba, and “Tiwony,” a Guadeloupian group that incorporates reggae and other Caribbean styles into a hip hop framework. Didier Awadi’s rendition of several excerpts from his most recent album, *Présidents de l’Afrique*, however, was the most anticipated of the evening’s performances. The concert drew numerous celebrities, most notably Angelique Kidjo, whose guitarist was performing with Awadi on stage.<sup>360</sup> Premiered in its final form at the unveiling of the Renaissance Monument in Dakar on April 10, 2010, *Présidents d’Afrique* was intended to coincide with continent-wide celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of many African nations. Through the fusion of Awadi’s own rap with recorded speeches of famous black leaders, video projections, and contributions from guest rappers from across the continent and the diaspora, *Présidents d’Afrique* performs a revisionist history of the continent for the 21<sup>st</sup> century through the increasingly pan-African language of hip hop. One of the primary inspirations behind *Présidents d’Afrique* was the young generation of African youth who, Awadi realized, have little understanding of pan-African history. “Right now, young Africans don’t care about history: their role models are 50 Cent and Lil’Wayne. ... I want to rebuild the reasons we can be proud to be African” (Pour l’instant, les jeunes Africains se

---

<sup>360</sup> M. Ba, “Didier Awadi s’attaquant au regime: ‘Dans une république démocratique bananière, on coupe le courant à Biscuiterie pour alimenter Dieuppeul,’” *Seneweb*, December 20, 2010, [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/didier-awadi-s-attaquant-au-regime-laquo-dans-une-republique-democratique-bananiere-on-coupe-le-courant-a-biscuiterie-pour-alimenter-dieuppeul-raquo\\_n\\_38849.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/didier-awadi-s-attaquant-au-regime-laquo-dans-une-republique-democratique-bananiere-on-coupe-le-courant-a-biscuiterie-pour-alimenter-dieuppeul-raquo_n_38849.html) (accessed April 17, 2014); Khamié, “Concert de Didier Awadi à la Biscuiterie: une pensée pour la Côte d’Ivoire,” *Dakarmusique.com*, December 19, 2010, <http://www.dakarmusique.com/actu-musique/fesman-2011/798-concert-de-didier-awadi-a-la-biscuiterie-une-pensee-pour-la-cote-divoire.html> (accessed April 17, 2014).

foulent de l’histoire: leurs modèles, c’est 50 Cent ou Lil’Wayne. . . . Je veux reconstruire ces raisons d’être fier d’être Africain).<sup>361</sup> He further explained his mission in an interview with *RFI Musique* several years before the official album release, promoting an avant-première of the project in Paris in 2007: “From the fun side of hip hop, I would like Africans to reappropriate their history. In school books, one perceives a determination not to present these presidents in their true light. Even dead, their paths and their lives disturb current leaders. We are attempting, as musicians rather than as historians, to re-write the past” (Par le côté ludique du hip hop, j’aimerais que les Africains se réapproprient leur histoire. Dans les manuels scolaires, se perçoit une volonté manifeste de ne pas présenter ces présidents sous leur vrai jour. Même morts, leur parcours et leur vie dérangent les dirigeants en place. Nous tentons, en tant que musiciens et non en tant qu’historiens, de réécrire ce passé).<sup>362</sup> Despite Awadi’s insistence that he was coming to the project as a musician rather than a historian, the artist nevertheless prepared for the work with the true dedication of a scholar. Spending over four years conducting research all across the continent before putting anything to music, Awadi visited over forty countries, scouring national radio archives and private recording collections, speaking with historians, intellectuals, politicians and those close to them, and interviewing children of leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Sékou Touré. “Little by little, I reconstructed the puzzle of African history” (Peu à peu, je reconstruis le puzzle de l’histoire africaine), Awadi explained. The roster of speakers on *Présidents d’Afrique* is a virtual who’s-who of pan-African history: Nelson Mandela, Martin

---

<sup>361</sup> “Didier Awadi: *Présidents d’Afrique*,” RFI Musique, July 7, 2007, [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/127/article\\_18027.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/127/article_18027.asp) (accessed April 17, 2014).

<sup>362</sup> Anne Laure Lemancel, “*Présidents d’Afrique* de D. Awadi: Travail de mémoire et hip hop,” RFI Musique, October 12, 2007, [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/094/article\\_17015.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/094/article_17015.asp) (accessed April 17, 2014).

Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Barack Obama, Aimé Césaire, Jama Kenyatta, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Samora Machel, Modibo Keita, Cheikh Anta Diop, Julius Nyerere, Patrice Lumumba, Sékou Touré, Amilcar Cabral, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Franz Fanon, and Norbert Zongo. In live performances, Awadi also incorporates photographs and videos to help tell the story of the speakers in each song. He even uses what he calls a “black box” on stage as a metaphor:

“Africa is an airplane that has crashed, and we have found the black box which contains all of the information from the flight. We are going to set off again, but under better conditions and avoiding the errors committed in the past” (L’Afrique est un avion qui s’est crashé, et nous avons retrouvé la boîte noire, qui contient toutes les informations du vol. Nous allons repartir, mais pour voyager dans de meilleures conditions, et éviter les erreurs commises par le passé).<sup>363</sup>

The set begins with “L’Esclave” (“The Slave”) and an excerpt from a speech by Thomas Sankara, the assassinated President of Burkina Faso (1983-1987) affectionately referred to by some as the African “Che Guevara”. The speech was originally given by Sankara to the United Nations on October 4, 1984, and from it Awadi selected a poignant excerpt which serves as an introduction to the whole work: “The slave who is not capable of undertaking his own revolt doesn’t deserve to be pitied. The only way this slave responds to his misfortune is through the misreading of a suspiciously condescending master who poses as his liberator. Only struggle liberates” (L’esclave qui n’est pas capable d’assumer sa révolte ne mérite pas que l’on s’apitoie sur son sort. Cet esclave répondra seul de son malheur s’il se fait des illusions sur la

---

<sup>363</sup> “*Présidents d’Afrique: un album de Dider Awadi*,” *Thomas Sankara Website*, <http://www.thomassankara.net/spip.php?article947&rubrique48&lang=fr> (accessed April 17, 2014); Marie-Laure Josselin, “Les Etats-Unis d’Afrique”, un documentaire sur le rappeur Didier Awadi,” *RFI Musique*, November 14, 2011, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20111114-etats-unis-afrique-documentaire-le-rappeur-didier-awadi> (accessed April 17, 2014); Lemancel, “*Présidents d’Afrique* de Didier Awadi.”

condescendance suspecte d'un maître qui prétend l'affranchir. Seule la lutte libère).<sup>364</sup> Other highlights from the album include "In my Dream" ("Dans mon rêve"), which includes excerpts of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech and Barack Obama's "Yes We Can" speech after he lost the New Hampshire primary on January 8, 2008. Musically, Senegal's most famous and legendary sabar drummer, Doudou N'Diaye Rose, accompanies King and Obama. In "Amandla," the South African hip hop group Skwatta Kamp joins Awadi alongside excerpts from a speech by Nelson Mandela. Malcolm X is featured in "The Roots," with musical collaborations by Dead Prez and Senegal's Bouda Kirikou. In "Unuru," Awadi invited the Kenyan rap artist Maji Maji (née Julius Owino), named after the violent Maji Maji rebellion from 1905-1907 in what was then German East Africa, to contribute alongside an excerpt of a speech by Kenya's founding father, Jomo Kenyatta.<sup>365</sup> "What Binds Us" ("Ce qui nous lie") includes recordings of Senegal's own President Senghor as well as Senghor's personal griotte, or praise singer, Yandé Codou Sène. Almost every song coordinates a national leader's speech with hip hop artists from the same country. Mali's hip hop group Tata Pound raps to the words of Modibo Keita, Patrice Lumumba is brought to life in musical dialogue with the Congolese rappers such as Lexxus Legal, Fredy Massamba, and Thaïss, and the Tanzanian rappers Sugu Mister 2, Afande Sele, and K-Lynn join forces with Julius Nyerere. In all, Awadi's *Présidents d'Afrique* is truly pan-African in scope, covering the stories of leading black figures from the United States, Egypt, South Africa, Martinique, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal,

---

<sup>364</sup> "Présidents d'Afrique: un album de Dider Awadi."

<sup>365</sup> Didier Awadi, *Présidents d'Afrique*, P.riph.ria 2754672. CD. 2010; Didier Awadi, Liner notes to *Présidents d'Afrique*, P.riph.ria 2754672. CD. 2010.

Tanzania, present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly the Belgian Congo), Mozambique, Guinea, Algeria, and Guinea-Bissau/Cape Verde.<sup>366</sup>

Some critics challenged Awadi's choice in including Sékou Touré, who, while a heroic anticolonialist in the 1960s, eventually became an oppressive dictator known for "disappearing" those would speak against his government. Awadi acknowledged the conflict: "I understand very well and am very conscious of the horror of Camp Mamadou Boiro and its derivatives from Sékou Touré's regime" (Je suis conscient de l'horreur du camp Boiro et des dérives du régime de Sékou Touré). While acknowledging and respecting the memory of the disappeared, Awadi nonetheless defended Touré's early role in the fight against colonialism. "[The President] had the courage to say "no" to France at a time when many trembled in front of de Gaulle" ([Le président] a eu le courage de dire non à la France au moment où beaucoup tremblaient devant de Gaulle), he explained. "If he became a monster," Awadi reflected, "it's partially the fault of France, who fed his paranoia. A little like Robert Mugabe today." (S'il est devenu le monstre qu'on dit, c'est en partie à cause de la France, qui a alimenté sa paranoia. Un peu comme pour Robert Mugabe aujourd'hui).<sup>367</sup>

Ironically, Awadi was not so forgiving of his own President, despite being on his payroll. At FESMAN III's Natty Dread concert (December 17), Awadi minced no words when laying out his critique of just how far he felt President Wade had fallen. He revived the ongoing theme of power cuts, saying "In a democratic banana republic, they cut the electricity in the Biscuiterie to

---

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Camp Mamadou Boiro was a concentration camp for political prisoners in operation for almost the entire duration of Sékou Touré's regime, from 1960-1984; Cécile Sow, "Présidents musicalement élus," *Jeune Afrique*, April 16, 2010, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2570p089.xml0/> (accessed April 18, 2014).

feed Dieuppeul” (Dans une république démocratique bananière, on coupe le courant à Biscuiterie pour alimenter Dieuppeul). Speaking directly of Wade with no hint at subtlety, Awadi declared, “This leader knows that his people need a space to play and he builds them a casino. This leader also knows that his people need a beach and he brings them floods” (C’est ce dirigeant qui sait que son peuple a besoin d’un espace pour jouer et leur construit un casino. C’est aussi le dirigeant qui sait que son peuple a besoin de plage et leur amène les inondations). Awadi added the warning that anyone wishing to run for office in the future should listen just as closely.<sup>368</sup>

*Y’en a Marre’s Faux! Pas Forcer!*

Less than three weeks after the showy New Year’s Eve closure of the Third World

Festival of Black Arts, the rumbling discontent with Wade’s Presidency finally erupted with the formation of an opposition movement called “Y’en a Marre” (Enough’s Enough) on January 16, 2011. The same young rappers who had helped elect Wade in 2000 and had tried to sack him in 2007 were now once again, along with a newer generation of hip hop artists who had sprung up in the interim, voicing the frustrations of the country’s disenfranchised. In the ironically named *banlieu* of Parcelles Assainies, on yet another night without power, a group of rappers and journalists finally decided: “Enough’s enough!” Fadel Barro, a journalist for *La Gazette* who has uncovered multiple scandals of the Wade presidency including many relating to the financial mismanagement of FESMAN remembers, “We said to each other: ‘it’s not possible. Something needs to be done. People are losing their jobs because of these power cuts; babies are dying in hospitals. We have to act” (On s’est dit: c’est pas possible, il faut faire quelque chose. Des gens

---

<sup>368</sup> The Biscuiterie is one of the poorer arrondissements in central Dakar as well as the name of the refurbished factory art-space that is housed there. Dieuppeul is a more well-to-do neighborhood than the Biscuiterie; Ba, “Didier Awadi s’attaquant au regime.”

perdent leur emploi à cause de ces délestages. Des bébés meurent dans les hôpitaux. Il faut agir).<sup>369</sup>

Along with Kilifeu (“Head of the House”) and Thiat (“The Cadet”) of the rap group “Keur gi de Kaolack” (House of Kaolack<sup>370</sup>), Fou Malade (“Crazy Sick Guy,” aka Malal Talla), and two other journalists, Aliou Sane and Denise Sow, the group that would call itself “Y’en a marre” sent their first mobilizing email that very same night, as soon as the power came back on. They gave their first press conference just two days later, profiting from the extra media presence still in town to cover the World Social Forum, which Dakar hosted one week after FESMAN.<sup>371</sup> At the press conference, the newly formed group called on people to become a “New Type of Senegalese” (Nouveau type de sénégalais) one prepared to act. “The NTS... doesn’t, for example, litter plastic bags, piss on the street, get onto a car-rapide that’s already too crowded, or burn tires when he’s frustrated... he promotes the comportment of a citizen. He’s not a fatalist and takes on his responsibilities” (Le NTS...ne laisse pas traîner par exemple les sachets plastiques, n’urine pas dans la rue, ne monte pas dans un car rapide surchargé, ne brûle pas des pneus quand il est mécontent...il fait la promotion d’un comportement citoyen. Il n’est pas fataliste et prend ses responsabilités), explained Barro. Through the music and their message,

---

<sup>369</sup> “Y’en a mar” could be translated as “We’re Fed Up!”, “Enough’s Enough!”, or “We’ve had enough!” Parcelles Assainies literally means “cleaned up plot,” but sanitary infrastructure is even more unreliable in the suburbs than in the city and the neighborhood of Parcelles Assainies is far from pristine; Rémi Carayol, “Banlieues Sénégalaises: Y’en a marre!,” *Jeune Afrique*, April 19, 2011. <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2622p032-034.xml/0/> (accessed January 29, 2014).

<sup>370</sup> Kaolack is another *banlieu* of Dakar.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid; Kola (Bukola Jejeloye), “The New Type of Senegalese,” *Africasacountry.com*, April 2, 2012, <http://africasacountry.com/the-new-type-of-senegalese/> (accessed January 29, 2014); Stéphanie Binet, “Le mouvement Y’en a marre, révolution née d’une coupure d’électricité,” *Le Monde*, December 12, 2011, [http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2011/12/12/le-mouvement-y-en-a-marre-revolution-nee-d-une-coupure-d-electricite\\_1617480\\_3246.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2011/12/12/le-mouvement-y-en-a-marre-revolution-nee-d-une-coupure-d-electricite_1617480_3246.html) (accessed January 29, 2014).

Y'en a marre quickly recruited disenfranchised banlieu youth who, unemployed, had nothing better to do and who felt the affects of malgovernance more than anyone. The group organized “cells” to more efficiently spread the message, calling each group of approximately twenty-five members the *esprits* (spirits) of Y'en a marre. By the end of 2012, Y'en a marre counted three hundred and eighty-nine *esprits* cells across the country, including twenty-seven in Dakar alone.<sup>372</sup>

On March 19, 2011, the anniversary of Wade’s 2000 electoral victory, Y'en a marre stole the thunder away from the regime’s downtown celebrations and into the streets of the banlieu, where ten to fifteen thousand people had mobilized to show their frustration at Wade’s betrayal of the suburbs, where no less than twenty percent of the entire country’s population reside. While he avidly courted their votes, once elected Wade did nothing to alieve the daily suffering of the nation’s poor and instead spent money on vanity projects like the Renaissance Monument or (to some) FESMAN, or else on infrastructure improvements that bypassed the suburbs entirely.<sup>373</sup> Two months later, on June 23, 2011, Y'en a marre joined forces with an amalgamation of other opposition groups to protest Wade’s most recent attempt to hold on to power: a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the number of votes required for a presidential victory from 50 percent down to twenty-five. What had begun as a day of mass mobilization outside of the National Assembly in downtown Dakar -- where government leaders were preparing to vote on Wade’s, amendment as well as a bid to create a new Vice Presidential post primed especially for his son Karim – had become a movement: “le mouvement du 23 juin”

---

<sup>372</sup> The “New Senegalese type” is abbreviated as NTS for *nouveau type sénégalais*; Car-rapides are colorful buses which work as a part of an informal transportation system in Dakar; car-rapide offers cheaper fares than official city buses; Binet, “Le mouvement Y'en a marre.”

<sup>373</sup> Carayol, “Banlieues Sénégalaises.”

(the Movement of June 23<sup>rd</sup>). The more Wade dug in his heels, the louder the protests became. The last straw came when, in September of 2009, Wade announced that he would be running for a third term. Despite having helped to enact the two-term limit when he first came into office, Wade reasoned that since the constitutional amendment had been put in place *after* his own election, it only applied to future candidates and not to himself. Naturally, this infuriated a public already angry with Wade's increasingly audacious attempts to widen his grip on power. The constitutional court's judges (all appointed by Wade) ruled in his favor, surprising no one; as a third term began to look more and more like a real possibility, a new wave of protests erupted.<sup>374</sup>

The musical result of Wade's announcement came in the form of a single, "Faux! Pas Forcer," released by Y'en a marre on December 21, 2011. The title is a pun which ties the words "fake" and "mistake" (*faux* and *faux pas*, respectively) into a warning that the President not "force" a third term run, which if he won would make him a "fake," (*faux*) and would be a "mistake" (*faux pas*) for the country. In a press conference coincided with the release of the single, Y'en a marre spokesperson and *La Gazette* critic Fadel Barro announced that the work was "a contribution to the Senegalese people's fight against Abdoulaye Wade's [third-term] candidature."<sup>375</sup> Composed by two of Y'en a marre's founding members, the rappers Kilifeu and Simon, "Faux! Pas Forcer" addresses Wade directly in a confrontational and informal tone that defies conventional Wolof rules of respectful address by youth toward their elders. Over the

---

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>375</sup> "Faux" can translate as wrong, false, sham, counterfeit, or deceitful; "faux pas" literally means a "false step"; and "pas forcer" means, "don't force it"; "Sénégal: 'Y'en a marre' sort une chanson contre la candidature de Wade," *Jeune Afrique*, December 21, 2011, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/actu/20111221T150355Z20111221T150333Z/> (accessed April 18, 2014).

course of the roughly three-minute song, the rappers engage in an argument with the President, addressing point by point various comments he had made around that time to the press about rappers in general and *Y'en a marre* in particular. According to Gueye, who has recently published an enlightening study of *Y'en a marre* and the role of hip-hop in socio-political activism, “The song presents a counter discourse that discredits Wade’s attempts at re-instating the old stereotype that rap artists were mad and irresponsible youth.” In an effort to de-emphasize the powerful influence of *Y'en a marre*, Wade had written off the rappers as drug addicts who wish to incite youth to violence. Their response: “Take a good look at us. / We are not drunk. We didn’t smoke weed on June 23<sup>rd</sup>. It was us outside the National Assembly on June 23<sup>rd</sup>!”<sup>376</sup>

Despite these protests, Wade’s self-appointed Supreme Court justices pushed through his third-term candidacy. It seemed increasingly possible that a President so desperate to hold on to power that he would try to retract his very own constitutional amendment would be open to employing other unsavory tactics as well. The persistent, high-profile media protests by *Y'en a marre* and the *Mouvement du 23 juin* likely played a crucial role in Wade’s eventual retreat. Eventually the President awakened to the fact that such actions would almost certainly backfire and cause more intense waves of violence than had already occurred. With so much unrest in the wake of the Arab Spring, the world seemed to breathe a sigh of relief when Senegal finally announced that Wade had conceded the election to Macky Sall. Senegal’s young generation of hip hop activists had directly influenced the course of their country’s history, and they knew it. They continue to use their musically persuasive, youth-galvanizing social activism as a form of

---

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.; Marame Gueye, “Urban Guerrilla Poetry: The Movement *Y'en a Marre* and the Socio-Political Influences of Hip Hop in Senegal,” *The Journal of Pan-African Studies* 6, 3 (2013): 28-29.

checks-and-balances on the new President Macky Sall's administration, and it looks like they will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

## CONCLUSION

In her study of pan-African “stereomodernism,” Tsitsi Jaji concludes with a wish: “I want to hear one sound turn into an infinity of sound effects,” she writes. Imagining sound waves in a constant dance, sometimes well-coordinated and sometimes out of sync with each other, Jaji strongly identifies with this “unison diffracted into countless intervals,” and sees such layers of sound as a powerful frame of reference: “I want to locate myself among these sounds,” she continues, “I want to relate to this acoustic.”<sup>377</sup> Jaji’s wish perfectly encapsulates what I see as the complex, underlying desires which fuel pan-African cultural festivals such as FESMAN. It is what I would like to call, somewhat provocatively, perhaps, a desire to echolocate. As we well know, the use of sound waves to provide locational cues constitutes the primary survival mechanism of a number of animal species. Humans, too, have mastered the art of sonar and, beyond its familiar use in maritime navigation, echolocation is now being increasingly embraced by the blind community as an effective way to “see” in and negotiate through the world. A bio-sonar technique called “Flash Sonar,” in which a visually impaired person sends out a series of sonar calls “in a directed, intentional fashion,” has helped numerous blind people to live productive lives without the encumbrance of any other visual aid. Similar to Jaji’s description above, sounds emitted from a single source interact with the environment, “diffract[ing] into countless intervals.” As the sonar calls bounce off of objects into countless echoes, they send back new information which help situate the navigator within his or her surroundings. The Flash Sonar experts consider this process interactive, as the sounds received by the individual are different than those he or she emitted. “Therefore,” explains the president of World Access for

---

<sup>377</sup> Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 248.

the Blind, “we prefer the term ‘conversing.’” He elaborates, “echolocators converse with their environment. Each call essentially makes two inquiries, ‘where are you’ and ‘what are you.’”<sup>378</sup>

When Dakar hosted the inaugural World Festival of Negro Arts in 1966, it emitted the “Flash Sonar” calls of a continent desiring to echolocate itself within a new and unfamiliar postcolonial terrain. Of course, FESMAN’s metaphorical echolocation could never provide anything more than an infinity of subjective mappings; for one, the “calls” of a continent and its diaspora cannot be tracked to a single source, as much as people may have wished or implied otherwise. Instead, a multitude of conflicting voices sounded out a cacophony of competing calls which interacted with each other much as Jaji imagined “sound waves coming in and out of phase with each other, interfering, amplifying and canceling each other out as they slip in and out of sync.”<sup>379</sup> Add to this the specificity of the original Festival’s historic juncture as a beacon of the new postcolonial era, or its later manifestation’s relatively close proximity to the birth of the new millennium, and it becomes clear that if anything, the sounds of FESMAN could only serve to echodislocate. Nevertheless, the ideal of a unified vision, and aurality, of “Africa” as a monolithic symbolic entity cut strongly through the Festival chaos like fragments of a theme surfacing in a free improvisation. Even as audiences continue to sing age-old refrains of black musical tropes, the rich multiplicity of FESMAN’s audible conversations -- their past and present echoes – have provided the inhabitants of a continent and its diaspora with an increasingly complex and conflicting musical vocabulary from which to identify.

---

<sup>378</sup> Daniel Kish, “Flash Sonar Program: Learning a New Way to See,” *World Access for the Blind* (Placentia, CA: World Access for the Blind, 2013), <http://www.worldaccessfortheblind.org/sites/default/files/snr-pgm-rv1113.htm> (accessed March 22, 2014).

<sup>379</sup> Jaji, *Africa in Stereo*, 248.

From the streets of Paris, audible cues of musical blackness helped orient a new generation of émigré students who flocked to the colonial capital in between the world wars and the sounds of negrophilia reverberated in the messages of a new movement: negritude. For one of its central founders, Léopold Sédar Senghor, the unifying power of black music's symbolism helped propel his argument for a *civilisation de l'universel*, a global village whose salvation could only come through the glory of Africa's cultural participation. Once in power as the leader of a newly freed and independent African nation, Senghor understood that the moment had come to activate his philosophy of negritude into a nationally unifying cultural policy. The First World Festival of Black Arts served as the headlining act of this transformation, performing notions of blackness from within a new and distinctly unique framework of African postcoloniality.

FESMAN unearthed the conflicting motivations of new nationalisms, shifting neocolonial power structures, and the growing pains of early independence. Behind the banner of pan-African solidarity, tense threads of Cold War politics and competing postcolonial black ideologies loomed. While Senghor worked to transform negritude into an active cultural policy, artists and intellectuals continued to sound out their own thoughts on the nature of black culture and questioned the role of philosophies like negritude after independence. Given a unique opportunity, the inhabitants of Dakar, and Gorée more specifically, performed their own revisionist historical narrative of Africa's transformation. Familiar and comforting symbols of cultural blackness helped to orient a new generation searching for ground to stand on following the end of the colonial system. In the case of the *Spectacle féerique de Gorée*, old tropes took on new functions as they now served to situate the African continent at the center, rather than the periphery, of pan-Africanist dialogue.

Musically, FESMAN's overlapping and interwoven waves of sound phased in and out of sync with each other, just as Jaji imagined, and in the process, helped to echolocate a new Africanity for the postcolonial era. Jazz, rumba, and spirituals all hovered around a central pitch of black idealism while clashing and harmonizing with each other in simultaneous live Festival performances. New African nations such as Senegal found such musical confluences and intermarriages useful to the formation of postcolonial nationalisms. Around the continent, national ensembles of all creeds emerged with conflicting notions of what constituted authenticity, and struggled to balance such claims with the projection of a forward-looking, cosmopolitan image many new leaders considered to be equally important for cultural and national legitimacy. Popular music stars with international appeal also flooded the Festival's soundscape, injecting accents of the diaspora into new, continental translations of musical pan-Africanism.

The efforts to echolocate a new African framework that would suit the needs of a postcolonial world continued long after FESMAN concluded. FESMAN's reverberations did not simply orient the continent unidirectionally around the centrality of "blackness"; rather, it mapped out countless routes through a maze of black cultural signifiers. "As the environment responds, the echolocator may adjust his queries to broaden his search," said World Access for the Blind president, Daniel Kish. Indeed, the First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers was the first such response, broadening the queries about the role of black culture in an ever-changing world. Free jazz rebounded and echoed alongside divergent pan-Africanisms, texturing the postcolonial terrain with new interpretations of musical blackness. Nigeria's FESTAC moved

the “conversation” of auditory mapping into an increasingly profit-driven direction on the eve of the following decade’s world music industry boom.

Sound waves continue to reverberate long after ears cease to hear them. In the same way, one could argue that the forty-four years between FESMAN I and III were not silent; the musical imprint of the inaugural Festival continued to echo in the collective consciousness of the Senegalese. The turn of the twenty-first century once again marked an ideal moment to echolocate the state of pan-Africanity for a new generation. In this spirit, Senegal provided its second sounding board for black musical signifiers to help map the future of the continent. Through the convergence of sounds past and present, amplified waves of diasporic music echoed and phased in and out of new African sonorities, continuing the dialogue and the dance. Hip hop held particular sway at FESMAN III, a new manifestation of a generations-old need to musically connect the continent and the diaspora through the audible language of the great empire to the West. An “African invasion” of the diaspora and the world at large has also occurred alongside the vigorous growth of the world music industry. With stars such as Salif Keita and Youssou N’Dour now representing the sounds of “Africa” to audiences around the world, the echolocational conversation continues to grow.

\*       \*       \*

It seems unlikely that this dialogue should stop anytime soon; everyone needs a frame of reference from which to navigate his or her place in the world, and for so many metropolitan and postcolonial youth, they find their landmarks through popular music. And so, I must ask: where do I fit into all of this? I have not been, after all, an invisible narrator, but an active participant in this story. It seems fitting, then, to end on a more personal musical note. I have long relied on

playing music to help understand who I am and where I am going. It was never a question, then, of whether or not to take my saxophone with me when I moved to Dakar in the fall of 2010. I had simply to decide which of my horns would be the most practical travel companion (my soprano, for its airplane-compartment-friendly size). The sounds of my own echolocation, the music I played on my saxophone while I lived in Dakar, must therefore be considered here as well. Looking back, I can say without hesitation that playing music in Senegal constructed the very map for this entire narrative and unintentionally came to be the central core of my ethnographic procedure.

I certainly had not planned it this way. I had envisioned a more or less conventional trajectory of meetings and interviews with Festival organizers, participants, and visitors. I soon learned, however, that this is not the way things work in Dakar. Making dozens of cold calls was getting me nowhere; nobody seemed at all interested in calling a random stranger back or setting up a blind meeting. Meanwhile, I had assumed that my saxophone would serve as nothing more than a therapeutic outlet and certainly had not anticipated that Senegalese *teranga* (the national slogan, which means “hospitality”) would extend to the stage. As I related in the introduction, simply seeing my instrument case on my back or finding out through casual conversation that I was a saxophonist was enough to prompt many musicians to invite me to perform with them. I wasn't exactly sure how to take these invitations; they couldn't possibly know if I was any good or not, having never heard me, so was I simply a curiosity? Probably, but I soon learned that Senegalese music culture seemed to embrace an open-door policy not just with white females, but with any and all musicians. In fact, if someone in a band knew a musician to be present in the audience, it was considered rude *not* to invite him or her on stage. In a country where casual

greetings to neighbors can take a half hour or more, and where failing to acknowledging someone's passing presence with a salutation, regardless of whether or not you know them, is considered to be profoundly disrespectful, invitations onto the stage seemed to me the musical equivalent of such social exchanges. Like spontaneous encounters with passerby on the street, these musical conversations helped maintain and strengthen social ties.

As a musician, I was made to feel part of an international community; practically every musician I ever met told me the same thing: "*on est ensemble!*" ("We're together!"), implying that we were members of the same club or players on the same team. In this way I found that relating to people as a musician always served me better than when I attempted to present myself as a researcher. I suspect that this is exactly what appealed to Steven Feld when he dropped everything to pursue a serendipitous music project in Accra, Ghana. In his newest book, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra*, Feld relates a series of personal stories about his musical encounters with jazz artists in Ghana over the span of five years.<sup>380</sup> The entire project had been an unplanned detour. Reading through his work, I noticed familiar themes from my own experiences, particularly the way in which musical participation and exchange seemed to drive personal connections and steer the course of the entire project. Similar to Feld, each of my performances propelled me forward and seemed to place the next step of my journey right at my feet. Concerts and intermissions invariably led to lengthy conversations with people eager to introduce me to others whom they felt would aid my project. These musical and social reverberations helped direct the course of my field studies every step of the way.

---

<sup>380</sup> Steven Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

My introduction to Senegalese-style fieldwork actually began even before I moved to Dakar in November, 2010. In April of the same year, I had decided to travel to Dakar without outside funding, aware that I needed to do fieldwork and archival research in Senegal for my dissertation and not at all certain that any of my grant applications would come to fruition. I had first traveled to Paris in March to do archival work there (primarily at UNESCO and the Musée du Quai Branly), and then moved on to Dakar. My initial impression of Dakar was not a favorable one. I had trouble navigating Dakar's public transportation system, did not understand the routes of the colorful *car-rapides* at all, had difficulty understanding Dakarois-French, was overwhelmed by the blistering heat and the vast distances I had to walk in it every day, and troubled by the garbage and open sewage I encountered across the city. I spent the majority of this early visit inside the National Archives, combing the FESMAN files at now-or-never speed, unsure if or when I might be back. Exhausted at the end of the day, I had little energy, did not care to socialize, and had not brought my magical saxophone along. My work at the archives was incredibly fruitful, but by the end of my stay, I realized that I needed to take a break. Always strongly empathetic to the cause of animal sanctuaries, I had learned of a turtle sanctuary outside of town and decided to visit. The director, Lamine, kindly took me on a tour of the facility and inquired about what had brought me to Senegal. By the time the tour was over, not only had my name been given to a newly hatched turtle, but I had been promised a meeting with none other than the saxophonist from Orchestra Baobab, Issa Cissokho, who happened to be a longtime friend of a friend. Thus I was inaugurated into the Senegalese method of ethnographic fieldwork.

To end, I will return to the story I began in my introduction, about my first musical encounter in Dakar, this time not to emphasize the pan-Africaneity of Senegalese music, but instead to underline the relationship between my musical and ethnographic lives. Meeting Milim and its manager, Papa “Bambi” Diop, was one of the most serendipitous moments of my entire stay in Dakar. I had no idea on the night that I met Bambi that this bubbly man would become such a valued friend and tireless advocate on my behalf. A businessman jack-of-all trades, Bambi balanced a broad worldliness (he lived and worked in South Africa and in Australia for over a decade) with a very strong grounding as a Wolof in his home country of Senegal. As such, he often served as a bridge between two worlds for me, keenly understanding the ways in which Dakar could confound an outsider. More importantly, he seemed to believe in what I was doing from the very beginning and did everything in his power to help me make the connections necessary to get my work done. Without Bambi’s persuasive and flattering introduction, I certainly would never have been able to meet and interview the incredibly busy director of FESMAN’s music programming, Aziz Dieng, just a week before the Festival began. Bambi also helped open the door for me to meet the Senegalese Minister of Culture, whom I had been trying to reach for weeks to no avail.

Through my association with the band Milim more generally, which of course had been facilitated first by the sound engineer Papis and then by Bambi, I made many other connections which themselves led to many others. For instance, I had not known at the time that I joined the band that two of its members, the guitarist Jeannot and the bassist Abdou, were both internationally touring musicians with Youssou N’Dour’s ex-sister-in-law, Vivienne N’Dour. Both had prestige in the Dakar music community of which I knew nothing when I first met them;

by proxy, when people learned that I played with Jeannot and Abdou, they seemed to take me more seriously. During performance breaks I also met several avid followers of Milim, musicians in their own right who enjoyed hearing the band at *l'Endroit*. Among them, drummer Saliou Top introduced me to friends of his in the Senegalese National Ensemble. Through these introductions I met the Ensemble director, who, in typical *teranga* fashion, invited me to perform with the ensemble and graciously gave me an interview about his involvement with FESMAN. Saliou also connected me with wittily critical Serge Huchard, a percussionist and Saliou's musical mentor. Through my friendship with Huchard, I was introduced to the world of Senegalese *variété* and five-star hotels. Huchard was also responsible for introducing me to the music producer Robert Lahoud, who in turn arranged my interview with Ablaaye Thiossane, the composer of FESMAN I's hymn. These personal connections were all fueled by music-making, and seem to mirror in miniature the same kinds of step-by-step path-making that musical encounters like FESMAN can prompt on a larger scale.

I often felt disoriented living in a place so geographically and culturally removed from home, and performing and interacting with musicians in Dakar created a familiar environment from which to navigate my way through the months abroad. I am grateful, then, to have been able to contribute my own "sonar calls" to the conversation. I am not sure to what extent they helped map anyone else's way, but for me they were indispensable not only to my ethnographic fieldwork but to maintaining a sense of groundedness and belonging while abroad. In the process of these musical encounters, it was not just the trajectory of my overall research project that came into clearer focus, but my own understanding of who I am as a musician. Over the course of my time in Dakar, my playing transformed from a timid debut playing Cape Verdean

*morna* to an increasingly broad collection of musical styles in which I felt comfortable expressing myself. I learned to jump into a song much as I would attempt my elementary Wolof conversations; once I stopped worrying about the mistakes I was making, the more clearly and effectively I was able to communicate. Life in Dakar, itself a daily exercise in improvisation, helped me to become increasingly open to what was musically less familiar to my practice. The encouraging and warm *teranga* of Dakar's musical community provided me with a safe environment in which to make mistakes without fear of any professional repercussions. As a result, I left Senegal with increased confidence in my improvisation skills and a more complete sense of who and where I am through the calls of my saxophone.

## APPENDIX I

“FESTIVAL EXPRESS” DAILY FESTIVAL CALENDAR UPDATES IN *DAKAR MATIN*

APRIL 1-24, 1966

April 1 (Friday)

Sorano: Nigeria  
 Stade/Stadium: Mali  
 Brottier: Chad, Burundi  
*Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, p. 1

April 2 (Saturday)

Sorano: OK Jazz\*  
 Stade/Stadium: Nigeria  
 Brottier: Zambia, Burundi  
*Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, p. 1

April 3 (Sunday)

Sorano: Mali  
 Stade/Stadium: Congo Leo  
 Brottier: Nigeria  
 Cathédrale: Nigeria  
*Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, p. 1

April 4 (Monday)

Sorano: Duke Ellington, Ballet du Sénégal,  
 Togo  
 Stade: La nuit du Sénégal  
 Brottier: Chad  
*Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, p. 1

April 5 (Tuesday)

Sorano: Nigeria, Zambia  
 Stade: Duke Ellington  
 Brottier: Togo  
*Dakar Matin*, April 5, 1966, p. 1

April 6 (Wednesday)

Sorano: Duke Ellington  
 Stade: Zambia  
 Brottier: Niger  
*Dakar Matin*, April 6, 1966, p. 1

April 7 (Thursday)

Sorano: la nuit de la poésie  
 Stade: Togo  
 Brottier: Congo-Brazza Orch “Les Bantous”  
*Dakar Matin*, April 7, 1966, p. 1

April 8 (Friday)

Sorano: R.A.U.  
 Stadium: Sénégal  
 Brottier: Congo-Brazza Orch “Les Bantous”  
*Dakar Matin*, April 8, 1966, p. 1

April 9 (Saturday)

Sorano: Ivory Coast\*  
 Stade: R.A.U.  
 Brottier: Bachir Touré  
 Cathédrale: Les disciples noirs  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 1

April 10 (Sunday)

Sorano: Mali, Liberia  
 Stade: de Paur Choir, Ivory Coast  
 Cathédrale: Messe Sénégalaise  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 1

April 11 (Monday)

Sorano: Congo-Leo\*, Leonard de Paur  
 Choir  
 Stadium: Liberia  
 Brottier: Rwanda, Gabon  
 Cathédrale: Les disciples noirs  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 1

\*: Supplementary matinée performances offered at Sorano theatre, due to popular demand (Ticket prices: Balcony: 1000F; Orchestra: 500F and 300F) (*Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, p. 4)

April 12 (Tuesday)

Sorano: Haiti\*, Sierra Leone  
 Stadium: Leonard de Paur Choir  
 Brottier: R.A.U.  
 Cathédrale: Armenta Adams  
*Dakar Matin*, April 11-12, 1966, p. 1

April 13 (Wednesday)

Sorano: Gabon, Soirée Haïtienne  
 Stadium: Negro Theatre Workshop and the  
 Pan African Players  
 Brottier: Sierra Leone  
 Cathédrale: Armenta Adams  
*Dakar Matin*, April 13, 1966, p. 1

April 14 (Thursday)

Sorano: UK, Pan African Players  
 Stade: Haiti, Gabon  
 Brottier: Cameroon  
 Cathédrale: Martina Arroyo  
*Dakar Matin*, April 14, 1966, p. 5

April 15 (Friday)

Sorano: Soirée de Gala Ethiopie, "Hannibal"  
 Stade: Ghana  
 Cathédrale: Cameroon religious chant  
*Dakar Matin*, April 15, 1966, p. 1

April 16 (Saturday)

Sorano: Gala de France, "La Tragédie du  
 Roi Christophe" de Aimé Césaire\*  
 Stadium: Ethiopia folklore and "Hannibal"  
 Brottier: Trinidad and Tobago  
 Cathédrale: Marion Williams  
*Dakar Matin*, April 16, 1966, p. 1

April 17 (Sunday)

Sorano: Recital Victorious (opéra, opéra  
 comique); Trinidad and Tobago\*;  
 Morocco, "Islane"  
 Stadium: "La Tragédie du Roi Christophe"  
 Brottier: Ethiopia, folklore and "Hannibal"  
 Cathédrale: Marion Williams  
*Dakar Matin*, April 16, 1966, p. 1

April 18 (Monday)

Sorano: "La Tragédie du Roi Christophe";  
 Gambia, "The Savant" (Comédie  
 anglais de Lady Diawara)  
 Stade: Morocco, "Islane"  
 Brottier: Trinidad and Tobago; Ghana  
*Dakar Matin*, April 18, 1966, p. 1

April 19 (Tuesday)

Sorano: La nuit du Brésil\*  
 Stadium: Gambia, "The Savant"  
*Dakar Matin*, April 19, 1966, p. 1

April 20 (Wednesday)

Sorano: Troupe nationale de Dahomey  
 Stade: La nuit du Brésil  
*Dakar Matin*, April 20, 1966, p. 1

April 21 (Thursday)

Sorano: "Chants et danses d'Afriques et des  
 Antilles"\* présenté par Josephine  
 Baker avec Moune de Rivel,  
 Marpessa Dawn, Taos Amrouche,  
 Lydia Ewandi, Joseph Zobei and  
 Djibril Ba  
 Stadium: Dahomey  
*Dakar Matin*, April 21, 1966, p. 1

April 22 (Friday)

Sorano: Ensemble national de Cameroun  
 Stadium: Trinidad and Tobago  
*Dakar Matin*, April 22, 1966, p. 1

April 23 (Saturday)

Sorano: Danse moderne d'amérique  
 Stade: Cameroun  
*Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, p. 1

April 24 (Sunday)

Sorano: Gala de clôture  
 Stadium: Danse modern d'amérique  
 Brottier: Chorale sénégalais  
 Cathédrale: Grande messe chantée  
 sénégalaise  
*Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, p. 1

## APPENDIX II

## FESMAN I: PERFORMANCES BY COUNTRY

- ANTILLES: "Antilles Night", Variety Show presented by Josephine Baker (Thursday, April 21)
- BRAZIL: "Brazil Night": The Central Group of the Celebrated Manguera Samba School (Tuesday, April 19)
- BRAZIL: "Brazil Night" – popular and folkloric Brazilian music (Wednesday, April 20)
- BURUNDI: Dances and drummers (Saturday, April 2)
- CAMEROON: National Ensemble, ethnographic dance (Friday, April 22) CAMEROON: National Ensemble of Cameroon (Saturday, April 23)
- CAMEROON: Catholic and Protestant Religious Choir (Friday, April 15)
- CONGO-BRAZZA: National Ensemble (Thursday, April 7)
- CONGO-LEO: O.K. Jazz and Folklore (Saturday, April 2)
- CONGO-LEO: O.K. Jazz and Folklore (Sunday, April 3)
- DAHOMEY (BENIN): National Theatre Troupe, folklore (Wednesday, April 20)
- DAHOMEY (BENIN): National Theatre Troupe of Dahomey, Folklore (Thursday, April 21)
- ETHIOPIA: "Hannibal", Tragedy in 5 Acts by Kebede (Friday, April 15)
- ETHIOPIA: "Hannibal," Tragedy in 5 acts, by Kebede (Saturday, April 16)
- FRANCE: Gala, "La tragédie du Roi Christophe", by Aimé Césaire (Saturday, April 16)
- FRANCE: "La tragédie du Roi Christophe," by Aimé Césaire (Sunday, April 17)
- GABON: "La mort du Guikafi", Tragedy by Vincent de Paul Nyanda (Wednesday, April 13)
- GABON: Music and Dance by the groups Medzang Bwiti and Ilombo (Thursday, April 14)
- GAMBIA: "The Savant", comedy in English by Lady Diawara (Monday, April 18)
- GAMBIA: "The Savant" with the Gambian Ballet (Tuesday, April 19)
- GHANA: "African Dances" (Tuesday, April 12)
- GHANA: African Dances (Wednesday, April 13)
- HAITI: National Ensemble (Monday, April 11)
- IVORY COAST: National Ensemble – Traditional songs and dances (Saturday, April 9)
- IVORY COAST: National Ensemble (Sunday, April 10)
- JAMAICA: (Sunday, April 24)
- LIBERIA: "An Evening in Liberia" (Sunday, April 10)
- LIBERIA: "An Evening in Liberia" (Monday, April 11)
- LIBYA: National Ensemble (Saturday, April 9)
- MALI: National Ensemble (Sunday, April 3)
- MALI: National Ensemble (Friday, April 1)
- MOROCCO: "Islane", popular ballet (Sunday, April 17)
- MOROCCO: "Islane", popular ballet (Monday, April 18)
- NIGER: Folkloric song and dance (Tuesday, April 5)
- NIGER: Folkloric songs and dance (Wednesday, April 6)
- NIGERIA (Country of Honor): Inaugural Gala, Popular Opera (Friday, April 1)
- NIGERIA (Country of Honor): Popular Opera (Saturday, April 2)
- NIGERIA: Religious Choir (Sunday, April 3)
- SENEGAL: National Ballet Ensemble (Monday, April 4)

SENEGAL: Closing Gala, “Senegalese Music Night” (Sunday, April 24)  
 SENEGAL: “Les derniers jours du Lat Dior”, Tragedy in 4 acts (Monday, April 4)  
 SENEGAL: Senegalese choral mass (Sunday, April 10)  
 TOGO: “Visage du Togo”, ou “La légende de Gbletti” (Thursday, April 7)  
 TOGO: “Visage du Togo”, ou “Le légende de Gbletti” (Tuesday, April 5)  
 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: (Saturday, April 23) Mighty Terror, Gay Desperadoes  
 UGANDA: National Ensemble (Tuesday, April 12)  
 UK: The Pan-African Players (Thursday, April 14)  
 UK: The Pan-African Players (Friday, April 15) UK: “The Passion Play” (Saturday, April 9)  
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT): National Popular Troupe (Friday, April 8)  
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT): National Popular Troupe (Saturday, April 9)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): Ethnographic Dance and Instrumental Ensemble  
 (Friday, April 22)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): Ethnographic Dance and Instrumental Ensemble  
 (Wednesday, April 20)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): “Chorale” (Thursday, April 21)  
 US: Leonard de Paur Choir (Monday, April 11)  
 US: Jazz – Duke Ellington (Monday, April 4)  
 US: Alvin Ailey’s American Negro Dance Company, Modern Dance Show (Saturday, April 23)  
 US: Duke Ellington – Jazz (Tuesday, April 5)  
 US: “Sunrise Service,” – Leonard de Paur Choir (Sunday, April 10)  
 US: Leonard de Paul Choir (Tuesday, April 12)  
 US: Alvin Ailey’s American Negro Dance Company, Modern Dance (Sunday, April 24)  
 US: Recital of African-American Greats (Thursday, April 14)  
 US: Leonard de Paur Choir (Tuesday, April 12)  
 US: Marion Williams and her Gospel Troupe, Negro Spirituals (Saturday, April 16; Sunday  
 April 17)  
 ZAMBIA: Folkloric song and dance (Tuesday, April 5)  
 ZAMBIA: Folkloric Song and Dance (Wednesday, April 6)

## APPENDIX III

## FESMAN I: PERFORMANCES BY VENUE

*Daniel Sorano National Theatre:*

- NIGERIA (Country of Honor): Inaugural Gala, Popular Opera (Friday, April 1)  
 CONGO-LEO: O.K. Jazz and Folklore (Saturday, April 2)  
 MALI: National Ensemble (Sunday, April 3)  
 SENEGAL: National Ballet Ensemble (Monday, April 4)  
 US: Jazz – Duke Ellington (Monday, April 4)  
 NIGER: Folkloric song and dance (Tuesday, April 5)  
 ZAMBIA: Folkloric song and dance (Tuesday, April 5)  
*Recital*: Miriam Makeba (Wednesday, April 6): CANCELLED  
*Grand Awards Gala*: “Poetry Night” (Thursday, April 7)  
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT): National Popular Troupe (Friday, April 8)  
 IVORY COAST: National Ensemble – Traditional songs and dances (Saturday, April 9)  
 LIBERIA: “An Evening in Liberia” (Sunday, April 10)  
 US: Leonard de Paur Choir (Monday, April 11)  
 GHANA: “African Dances” (Tuesday, April 12)  
 GABON: “La mort du Guikafi”, Tragedy by Vincent de Paul Nyanda  
 (Wednesday, April 13)  
 UK: The Pan-African Players (Thursday, April 14)  
 ETHIOPIA: “Hannibal”, Tragedy in 5 Acts by Kebede (Friday, April 15)  
 FRANCE: Gala, “La tragédie du Roi Christophe”, by Aimé Césaire (Saturday, April 16)  
 MOROCCO: “Islane”, popular ballet (Sunday, April 17)  
 GAMBIA: “The Savant”, comedy in English by Lady Diawara (Monday, April 18)  
 BRAZIL: “Brazil Night”: The Central Group of the Celebrated Mangureira Samba  
 School (Tuesday, April 19)  
 DAHOMEY (BENIN): National Theatre Troupe, folklore (Wednesday, April 20)  
 ANTILLES: “Antilles Night”, Variety Show presented by Josephine Baker (Thursday,  
 April 21)  
 CAMEROON: National Ensemble, ethnographic dance (Friday, April 22)  
 US: Alvin Ailey’s American Negro Dance Company, Modern Dance Show  
 (Saturday, April 23)  
 SENEGAL: Closing Gala, “Senegalese Music Night” (Sunday, April 24)

*Stade d’Amité:*

- MALI: National Ensemble (Friday, April 1)  
 NIGERIA (Country of Honor): Popular Opera (Saturday, April 2)  
 CONGO-LEO: O.K. Jazz and Folklore (Sunday, April 3)  
 SENEGAL: “Les derniers jours du Lat Dior”, Tragedy in 4 acts (Monday, April 4)  
 US: Duke Ellington – Jazz (Tuesday, April 5)  
 ZAMBIA: Folkloric Song and Dance (Wednesday, April 6)  
 TOGO: “Visage du Togo”, ou “La légende de Gbletti” (Thursday, April 7)

*Recital:* Miriam Makeba (Friday, April 8): CANCELLED  
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT): National Popular Troupe (Saturday, April 9)  
 US: "Sunrise Service," – Leonard de Paur Choir (Sunday, April 10)  
 IVORY COAST: National Ensemble (Sunday, April 10)  
 LIBERIA: "An Evening in Liberia" (Monday, April 11)  
 US: Leonard de Paul Choir (Tuesday, April 12)  
 GHANA: African Dances (Wednesday, April 13)  
 GABON: Music and Dance by the groups Medzang Bwiti and Ilombo  
 (Thursday, April 14)  
 UK: The Pan-African Players (Friday, April 15)  
 ETHIOPIA: "Hannibal," Tragedy in 5 acts, by Kebede (Saturday, April 16)  
 FRANCE: "La tragédie du Roi Christophe," by Aimé Césaire (Sunday, April 17)  
 MOROCCO: "Islane", popular ballet (Monday, April 18)  
 GAMBIA: "The Savant" with the Gambian Ballet (Tuesday, April 19)  
 BRAZIL: "Brazil Night" – popular and folkloric Brazilian music (Wednesday, April 20)  
 DAHOMEY (BENIN): National Theatre Troupe of Dahomey, Folklore  
 (Thursday, April 21)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): Ethnographic Dance and Instrumental Ensemble  
 (Friday, April 22)  
 CAMEROON: National Ensemble of Cameroon (Saturday, April 23)  
 US: Alvin Ailey's American Negro Dance Company, Modern Dance (Sunday, April 24)

*Daniel Brottier Theatre:*

BURUNDI: Dances and drummers (Saturday, April 2)  
 TOGO: "Visage du Togo", ou "Le légende de Gbletti" (Tuesday, April 5)  
 NIGER: Folkloric songs and dance (Wednesday, April 6)  
 CONGO-BRAZZA: National Ensemble (Thursday, April 7)  
 LIBYA: National Ensemble (Saturday, April 9)  
 HAITI: National Ensemble (Monday, April 11)  
 UGANDA: National Ensemble (Tuesday, April 12)  
 US: Recital of African-American Greats (Thursday, April 14)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): Ethnographic Dance and Instrumental Ensemble  
 (Wednesday, April 20)  
 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: (Saturday, April 23)  
 JAMAICA: (Sunday, April 24)

*National Cathedral:*

NIGERIA: Religious Choir (Sunday, April 3)  
 UK: "The Passion Play" (Saturday, April 9)  
 SENEGAL: Senegalese choral mass (Sunday, April 10)  
 US: Leonard de Paur Choir (Tuesday, April 12)  
 CAMEROON: Catholic and Protestant Religious Choir (Friday, April 15)  
 US: Marion Williams and her Gospel Troupe, Negro Spirituals (Saturday, April 16;  
 Sunday, April 17)  
*Recital "Victorius"* (Tuesday, April 19)  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): "Chorale" (Thursday, April 21)

## APPENDIX IV

## FESMAN I: NATIONAL ENSEMBLES

ANTILLES: Variety show hosted by Josephine Baker  
 BRAZIL: Brazil Night (popular and folkloric music / Mangureira Samba school)  
 BURUNDI: dancers and drummers  
 CAMEROON: National Ensemble, ethnographic dance  
 CHAD  
 CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE: National Ensemble  
 CONGO-LÉOPOLDVILLE: Folklore and OK Jazz  
 DAHOMEY (BENIN): National Theatre Troupe, folklore  
 GABON: Music and dance by groups Medzang Bwiti and Ilombo  
 GAMBIA: Gambian Ballet, "The Savant"  
 GHANA: African Dances  
 HAITI: National Ensemble  
 IVIORY COAST: National Ensemble – traditional songs and dances  
 JAMAICA  
 LIBERIA: An evening in Liberia  
 LIBYA: National Ensemble  
 MALI: National Ensemble  
 NIGER: folksong and dance  
 SENEGAL: senegalese music night; National Ballet Ensemble  
 TOGO: Visage du Togo (theatre)  
 TRINIDAD-TOBAGO  
 UGANDA: National Ensemble  
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT): National Popular Troupe  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): Ethnographic dance and instrument ensemble  
 ZAMBIA: folk song and dance

*Religious Performances*

CAMEROON: Catholic and Protestant Religious Choir  
 NIGERIA: religious choir  
 SENEGAL: Choral mass  
 UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO): chorale  
 US: Leonard DePaur Choir; "Les disciples noirs"  
 US: Marion Williams; gospel mass

## APPENDIX V

## L'ANIMATION DU DAKAR DANS LE CADRE DU FESTIVAL

(PERFORMANCES BY LOCAL AND REGIONAL ACTS)

IN *DAKAR MATIN*, APRIL 1-24, 1966April 9 (Saturday)

Place de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de Jeunesse Cordiale  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de Casamance  
 Place de Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique de Groupe Yéwou  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique de la Région de Diourbel  
 Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique tam-tam  
 Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique de l'Union des Amicales Sérères  
 Allées du Centenaire Angle r. 25: Bal populaire animé par l'Orchestre Le Galayabé  
 Arènes des H.L.M.: M'Bapatte séance de lutte nocturne  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 3

April 10 (Sunday)

Centre Hospitalier de Fann: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association des artistes du Sénégal  
 Hospital Principal: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéla  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance et du Botaille Sérère  
 Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique des Associations Sérères  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 3

April 11 (Monday)

Place de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association des artistes du Sénégal  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique Belle Etoile du Sine  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique de l'Association des Casamançais de Tendinane  
 Place de Sfax: Troupes folklorique du Groupe Yéla  
 Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique de la Région de Diourbel  
 Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique de l'Union des Amicales Sérères  
*Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, p. 3

April 13 (Wednesday)

Place de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association des artistes du Sénégal  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique de Aye Diakhna  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique des filles des îles du Nord  
 Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupes folkloriques Téranga de la Région du Cap-Vert  
 Parking Printania S.I.C.A.P.: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Cordiale (photo: April 14, p. 3)  
 Gouye Senghor Niary Taly: Troupe folklorique de la Région du Sine-Saloum  
*Dakar Matin*, April 13, 1966, p. 6

April 14 (Thursday)

Hôtel de Ville: Troupe folklorique du Nigeria et Groupe Yéwou du Sénégal

Place de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale du Groupe Yéla

Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance

Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique des Ressortissants Balantes

Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique de la Région du Sine-Saloum

Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: l'Ensemble instrumental du Sine Méridional

Arène des H.L.M.: Séance de Tam-Tam

*Dakar Matin*, April 14, 1966, p. 6

April 15 (Friday)

Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique de la Région du Sine-Saloum et du Foyer des Jeunes de Yoff

Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéwou

Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique du Réveil de Dougar

Place de Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance

Place de l'Indépendance: Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association de la Jeunesse de Bainouk

*Dakar Matin*, April 15, 1966, p. 6

April 16 (Saturday)

Place de l'Indépendance: L'Ensemble instrumental de Botaille Sérère de la Petite Côte

Gouye Senghor Niary Taly: Troupe folklorique de la Région du Sine-Saloum

Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Cordiale

Place de Cinéma Al Akbar: Séance de Ndaw(r/n)abine Safe Nieuppe

Place de Soumbédioune: Séance de Tam-Tam

Place de Repos Mandel: Séance de Tam-Tam

Place de Sfax: Séance de Tam-Tam

Place du cinéma El Mansour: Bal populaire avec le célèbre orchestre, "Harlem Jazz"

*Dakar Matin*, April 16, 1966, p. 6

April 17 (Sunday)

Place de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de la Région du Fleuve

Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique de l'Association des artistes du Sénégal

Place de Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique Belle Etoile de Fasna

Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance

Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Cordiale

Hôpital à la Dantec: l'Ensemble instrumentale du Groupe Yéla

Place de Cinéma Al Akbar: Séance de Tam Tam

Monument de l'Indépendance: Séance de Ndaw(r/n)abine avec la troupe Aye Diakhna

Arène des H.L.M.: (can't read)

Rufisque: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Rufisquoise

Bargpy: Séance de Tam-Tam

Yoff: Séance de Tam-Tam

Pikine: Séance de Ndaw(r/n)abine avec la troupe Safe Nieuppe

*Dakar Matin*, April 16, 1966, p. 6

April 18 (Monday)

Place de l'Indépendance: L'Ensemble instrumentale des Frères Unis de la Casamance  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique des Ressorsants Balantes  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique des Ballets Sérères de la Petite Côte  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique de l'Association des Artistes du Sénégal  
 Place de Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique de la Région du Fleuve  
*Dakar Matin*, April 18, 1966, p. 6

April 19 (Tuesday)

Monument de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de la Région du S(?) (can't read)  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéwou  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéla  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique Aye Diakhna  
 Place de Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique Entente du Progrès de Bargpy  
 Parc à Bouteille: Troupe folklorique de l'Association des Artistes du Sénégal  
*Dakar Matin*, April 19, 1966, p. 6

April 20 (Wednesday)

Monument de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association des Artistes du Sénégal  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéla  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique Belle Etoiles de (Fasna?) (can't read)  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique du Foyer des Jeunes de Yoff  
 Place Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique du Sénégal Orientale (photo 41/2, April 22, 1966, p. 2)  
 Parc à Bouteille: Troupe folklorique des Mancagnes de la Casamance  
*Dakar Matin*, April 20, 1966, p. 8

April 21 (Thursday)

Monument de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale du Sénégal Oriental  
 Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique de l'Association des Casamançais de Tendinane  
 Place du Repos Mandel: Troupe folklorique Téranga de la Région du Cap-Vert  
 Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique du Groupe Yéwou  
 Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique des Frères Unis de la Casamance  
 Arène des H.L.M.: Troupe folklorique des Ballets Sérères de la Petite Côte  
 Parc à Bouteilles: Séance de tam-tam  
 Hôpital de Fann: Troupe folklorique de l'Association de la Jeunesse de Bainouk  
*Dakar Matin*, April 21, 1966, p. 6

April 23 (Saturday)

Monument de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association Casamançaise de Tindimane

Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique de la Région de Casamance

Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique Entente du Sine Méridional

Place du Repos Mandel: (Deux programmes): Troupe folklorique Réveil de Dougar; Séance de tam-tam

Place de Sfax: (Deux programmes): Troupe folklorique des Ballets Sérères de la Petite Côte; Séance de tam-tam

Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: (Deux programmes) Troupe folkloriques des Ballets de l'Ouest Africain; Séance de tam-tam

Place de Casablanca: Bal populaire animé par l'orchestre "Le Khalam Jazz"

Arènes des H.L.M.: Séance de lutte M'Bapatte

Yoff: Troupe folklorique de la Région de la Casamance

Rufisque: Troupe folklorique de l'Union des Artistes de Rufisque et Bargny

Pikine: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Cordiale

Parc à bouteille: Séance de Dawrabine par la troupe "Aye Diakhna"

*Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, p. 8

April 24 (Sunday)

Monument de l'Indépendance: l'Ensemble instrumentale de l'Association des Artistes du Sénégal

Place de Soumbédioune: Troupe folklorique de l'Entente du Sine Méridional

Place de Sfax: Troupe folklorique Réveil de Dougar

Place du Cinéma Al Akbar: Troupe folklorique de la Région de la Casamance

Ile de Gorée: Troupe folklorique Belle Etoile de Fasna

Parc à bouteille: Troupe folklorique Jeunesse Diobassoise

Place du Repos Mandel: Séance de tam-tam

Place du Cinéma El Mansour: Séance de tam-tam

Boulevard de la Geule Tapée x Rue 6: Séance de tam-tam

Arène des H.L.M.: Séance de tam-tam

Yoff: Séance de tam-tam

Pikine: Séance de tam-tam

Rufisque: Séance de tam-tam

Bargny: Séance de tam-tam

Sébikotane: Séance de tam-tam

*Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, p. 8

## APPENDIX VI

## FESMAN I: ALL PERFORMERS, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Alvin Ailey's American Negro Dance Company  
 Armenta Adams  
 [l'Association des artistes du Sénégal, l'Ensemble instrumentale de] (off)  
 [l'Association des Artistes du Sénégal, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 [l'Association Casamançaise de Tindimane, l'Ensemble instrumental de] (off)  
 [l'Association des Casamançais de Tendimane, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 [l'Association de la Jeunesse de Bainouk, Ensemble instrumentale de] (off)  
 [l'Association de la Jeunesse de Bainouk, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 [Associations Sérères, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 Ataulfo Alves  
 [Aye Diakhna, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 Bachir Touré  
 [Ballets de l'Ouest Africain, Troupe folkloriques des] (off)  
 [Ballets Sérères de la Petite Côte, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 Les Bantous de la Capitale  
 [Belle Etoile de Fasna, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Belle Etoile du Sine, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Botaille Sérère de la Petite Côte, L'Ensemble instrumental de] (off)  
 [Botaille Sérère, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 Burundi – dancers and drummers  
 Cameroon – Catholic and Protestant Religious Choir  
 Cameroon – National Ensemble, ethnographic dance  
 [Casamance, Troupe folklorique de la Région de] (off)  
 Celia  
 Chad – national troupe  
 Congo-B - National Ensemble  
 Congo-L – Folklore  
 Dahomey (Benin) – National Theatre Troupe, folklore  
 [Diourbel, Troupe folklorique de la Région de] (off)  
 Djibril Ba  
 Duke Ellington  
 [Entente du Progrès de Bargpy, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Entente du Sine Méridional, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Evgeni Dolmatovski] (off; week after, but promoted during Festival and guest of Festival)  
 [Evgeny Yevtuchenko] (off; week after, but promoted during Festival and guest of Festival)  
 [Filles des îles du Nord, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 [Fleuve, l'Ensemble instrumentale de la Région du] (off)  
 [Fleuve, Troupe folklorique de la Région du] (off)  
 [Formula Group] (off)  
 [Foyer des Jeunes de Yoff, Troupe folklorique du] (off)

les frères Kété  
 [Frères Unis du Botaille Sérère, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 [Frères Unis de Casamance, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 [Frères Unis de la Casamance, L'Ensemble instrumentale des] (off)  
 Gabon – Music and dance by groups Medzang Bwiti and Ilombo  
 Gambia – Gambian Ballet, “The Savant”  
 The Gay Desperadoes  
 Georgette Bellow  
 Ghana – African Dances  
 Ghislaine Victorious  
 [Groupe Yéla, Troupe folklorique du] (off)  
 [Groupe Yéla, l'Ensemble instrumentale du] (off)  
 [Groupe Yéwou, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 Haiti – National Ensemble  
 Harlem Jazz  
 I.K. Dairo  
 [Ilombo] (ethnic group in Gabon ensemble?)  
 Ivory Coast – National Ensemble – traditional songs and dances  
 Jamaica – national troupe  
 [Jeunesse Cordiale, l'Ensemble instrumentale de] (off)  
 [Jeunesse Cordiale, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Jeunesse Diobassoise, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 [Jeunesse Rufisquoise, Troupe folklorique] (off)  
 Josephine Baker  
 Joseph Zobei  
 [Josianne Bonnat] (off)  
 [Le Khalam Jazz] (off)  
 Langston Hughes  
 Leonard de Paur Choir  
 Liberia – An evening in Liberia  
 Libya – National Ensemble  
 Lydia Ewandi  
 [Mada Thiam] (off)  
 Mali – National Ensemble  
 [Mancagnes de la Casamance, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 The Mangueira Samba School  
 Marguerite Taos Amrouche  
 Marion Williams  
 Marpessa Dawn  
 Martina Arroyo  
 [Medzang Bwiti] (ethnic group in Gabon ensemble?)  
 The Mighty Terror  
 Moune de Rivel  
 Niger – folksong and dance  
 Nigeria – religious choir  
 O.K. Jazz

[l'Orchestre Le Galayabé] (off)  
 [Orchestra Hot-Jazz] (off)  
 [Orchestre de Keur-Samba] (off)  
 [Orchestre Madison de Bira Gueye] (off)  
 [Orchestra René Messina and Fantaisiste René Rocher] (off)  
 [Orchestra Saloum Jazz] (off)  
 The Pan-African Players  
 [Ressortissants Balantes, Troupe folklorique des] (off)  
 [Réveil de Dougar, Troupe folklorique du] (off)  
 [Sabbah] (off; before FESMAN, but concerts were fundraisers for FESMAN)  
 [Safe Nieuppe, Séance de Ndaw(r/n)abine avec] (off)  
 Senegal – Choral mass  
 [Sénégal Oriental, l'Ensemble instrumentale du] (off)  
 [Sénégal Orientale, Troupe folklorique du] (off)  
 Senegal – Senegalese music night; National Ballet Ensemble  
 [Sine Méridional, l'Ensemble instrumental du] (off)  
 [Sine-Saloum, Troupe folklorique de la Région du] (off)  
 [Téranga de la Région du Cap-Vert, Troupes folkloriques] (off)  
 Togo – Visage du Togo (theatre)  
 [Troupe folklorique tam-tam] (off)  
 Uganda – National Ensemble  
 [l'Union des Amicales Sérères, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 [l'Union des Artistes de Rufisque et Bargny, Troupe folklorique de] (off)  
 United Arab Republic (Egypt) – National Popular Troupe  
 Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) – chorale  
 Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) – Ethnographic dance and instrument ensemble  
 Zambia – folk song and dance

## APPENDIX VII

## DAKAR MATIN FESMAN I COVERAGE INDEX

April 1 (Friday), 1966*p. 1:*

- En présence de M. André Malraux, le Président de la République a inauguré le Musée Dynamique (incl. photo)
- Inauguration de l'Exposition du Nigeria
- Le premier ministre Gambien à Dakar

*p. 3:*

- A cette occasion toute une série de films inédits que vous pourrez voir...
- Radiodiffusion national, chaîne national
- Radiodiffusion national, chaîne international
- L'Association Antilles Guyanne prie ses membres sympathisants et amis de retenir leur table pour le Grand Bal du Printemps du Samedi 2 Avril de 21h30 à l'aube, Orchestre Hot-Jazz

*p. 4:*

- "L'art nègre dans la vie du peuple": ce que vous ne reverrez jamais nulle part: l'Exposition du Musée Dynamique une perfection dans le monde artistique (by André Térissé)
- L'exposition du Prestige nigérien a été inauguré hier
- Le colloque a ouvert hier ses travaux à l'Assemblée Nationale
- Don de l'Allemagne fédérale au Sénégal: Les cinq cars Mercedes ont été remis hier par le Dr Gerstenmaier à M. Mady Cissoko
- Photo: "Président Senghor prononçant son allocution"
- Photo: "Le Ministre André Malraux au cours de son discours"
- Photo: "M. Alioune Diop, président du Comité du Festival et M. Machado, représentant M. Maheu de l'UNESCO, avaient inauguré la séance de mercredi."

*p. 5:*

- Photo: "Gorée: l'esclavage au 18e siècle"
- A Daniel Brottier le Tchad et le Burundi présideront un riche spectacle folklorique
- Lundi, au Stade de l'Amitié, Présentation de "Lat Dior" (by Ebongué Soellé)
- L'ensemble du Mali au Stade de l'Amitié et au théâtre Sorano
- Ce soir et pendant le durée du Festival...! Le Bodega vous propose de 21h à l'aube "Cabaret - Dancing - Snack-Bar" animé par l'orchestre René Messina et le Grand Fantaisiste imitateur René Rocher
- La troupe togolaise se produira lundi, mardi et jeudi

*p. 8:*

- Exposition de l'école de peinture Bieth-Perret à Maginot pour la durée du Festival
- 300 touristes soviétiques à Dakar pendant 3 jours (Photo of ship, "L'Arménia")

April 5 (Tuesday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Création d'une maison internationale des Arts Nègres, propose le Colloque du Premier Festival Mondial
- "L'Afrique a une richesse inestimable dans tous les domaines de l'art," a déclaré M. André Malraux qui s'était longuement penché sur les trésors du Musée Dynamique (incl. photo)

*p. 4:*

- "Le Musée Dynamique, vrai centre du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres," a souligné le Président Léopold Senghor (incl. photo)
- M. André Malraux et le Président Senghor a "l'artisanat vivant" (incl. photo)
- Un tableau de Picasso sera le 1er prix de la Tombola
- Un des plus grands artistes de jazz du monde est dans nos murs: Le public dakarois attendait Duke Ellington avec l'impatience (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Photo: "L'arrivée du Président Senghor à l'exposition du Nigéria, tandis qu'une troupe nigérienne exécute une danse antique"
- "Le Nigéria est Notre Grèce Noire," déclare le Président de la République en inaugurant l'exposition du Nigéria
- Photo: "La grande artiste Marpessa Dawn, à sa soirée du Musée Dynamique qui lui a fait grande impression"
- Photo: "Le Président de la République a inauguré l'exposition d'art contemporaine organisé au Palais de Justice..."
- Voici les heures d'ouverture et tarifs des visites des expositions

*p. 5:*

- Photo: "Lat-Dior" au Stade de l'Amitié
- Dans le Cadre du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres: L'exposition internationale philatélique a ouvert ses portes
- La délégation de la R.A.U. est arrivée à Dakar (by BA)
- Première liste des journalistes étrangers venus à Dakar pour assister au Festival
- Photo: "Hall de la presse pratique et de bon goût"
- Ce soir et pendant la durée du Festival...!, Le Bodega vous propose de 21h à l'aube: "Cabaret – Dancing – Snack-Bar" animé par René Messina et le Grand Fantaisiste Imitateur René Rocher

*p. 7:*

- L'intervention de M. André Malraux à la séance d'ouverture du Colloque

*p. 8:*

- La location des places pour Sorano va-t-elle s'améliorer?
- Une exposition au Mexique de statuettes négroides de 1ère précolumbienne
- Un message du Président italien Gronchi à M. Léopold Senghor
- Un poème dramatique du Président Senghor présenté ce soir aux téléspectateurs français
- Le programme des travaux du Colloque
- "Les fêtes commémoratives de l'Indépendance: Hier une foule énorme a assisté au défilé des troupes et de la jeunesse sénégalaise" (incl chefs des délégations de pays participants au Premier Festival des Arts Nègres, etc...)
- Le Chef de l'Etat a assisté à la prière de la Tabaski
- Le Prince Moulay Abdallah présidera la délégation marocaine

April 6 (Wednesday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Le Président Senghor a tenu hier matin une conférence de presse devant une centaine de journalistes: “l’Unité africaine doit avoir pour fondement les valeurs culturelle de l’Afrique,” a souligné le chef de l’Etat
- Photo: “Le Président de la République répond a une question posé par un journaliste étranger.”
- Photo: “Hier, à l’issue du concert du grand maître du jazz: Le Président de la République félicité Duke Ellington”
- Arrivée des personnalités soviétiques

*p. 3:*

- La conférence de presse du Président Senghor (suite de la page 1)
- M. Pierre Dupuy, commissaire générale de l’Exposition Internationale de Montréal est attendu aujourd’hui à Dakar
- L’aide technique de la France à l’Afrique

*p. 6:*

- Une trompette qui brise les barrières sociales: De triomphe en triomphe: Duke Ellington (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Le don d’un des plus grands maîtres contemporains: un tableau de Pablo Picasso 1er prix de la tombola du Festival
- Demain on connaîtra le Grand Prix du disque
- Les travaux du Colloque
- L’ensemble artistique du Niger présente ce soir à Brottier un spectacle de danses ancestrales
- M. Davis, co-président du comité américain pour le Festival est un défenseur de la culture africaine
- Photo: L’ensemble national du Mali (“Les célèbres dogon de Bandiagara dans une danse rituelle”)
- Ce soir et pendant la durée du Festival...!, Le Bodega vous propose de 21h à l’aube: “Cabaret – Dancing – Snack-Bar” animé par René Messina et le Grand Fantaisiste Imitateur René Rocher

April 7 (Thursday), 1966*p. 1:*

- S.M. Haïlé Sélassié empereur d’Ethiopie hôte de M. Senghor du 14 au 18 avril
- Le colloque termine ses travaux cet après-midi
- M. Jean Charbonnel à Dakar le 16 avril
- Arrivée ce matin d’une délégation italienne

*p. 3:*

- Brillante conférence de presse du ministre de l’Education National du Cameroun: “Au premier rendez-vous historique de la Négritude, le Cameroun répond en qualité et en quantité” (by Ebongué Soellé)

*p. 6:*

- Le Professeur Dmitri Oldéroggé éminent africaniste Soviétique a présenté au Colloque un rapport sur “Le roi forgeron et la culture ancienne africaine” (incl. photo)
- Un disque sur la musique africaine réalisé par “Philips” à l’occasion du Festival des Arts Nègres (by BA)
- La participation éthiopienne au Festival des Arts Nègres
- 50 artistes de la troupe folklorique de la R.A.U. sont arrivé mardi
- Nos hôtes, Chefs de délégations ou leurs adjoints

April 8 (Friday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Les grands prix du cinéma du Festival décernés hier
- Numéro Special “Dakar-Matin” mise en vente aujourd’hui
- Prix littéraire francophone
- ”Le Colloque de Dakar aura permis de considérer l’art nègre sous ses formes les plus diverses qui sont des formes humaines” nous a déclaré M. Lamine Diakhaté à l’issue des travaux
- Le Festival a l’ordre du jour du Conseil de Cabinet
- ”L’Afrique est entrée définitivement dans l’aura de la civilisation occidentale” a déclaré M. Aimé Césaire au Colloque
- Photo: “M. Aimé Césaire durant son discours”
- Des touristes belges sont arrivés pour assister au Festival Mondial: Le “Flandres” fait escale à Dakar avec 756 passagers à bord (by Edou Correa)
- Les relations économique et culturelle entre le Sénégal et l’Italie se renforcent chaque jour, déclare M. Mario Zagari

*p. 3:*

- L’intervention de M. Aimé Césaire au Colloque (suite à la page 1)
- Pour dîner ou déjeuner: Restaurants(...) et Pour passer une agréable soirée: Cabarets: Miami; Niani (discothèque, dîner spécialités africaines); Le Pigalle (Attractions); Le Safari (Tous les soirs “Hi-Fi Stéreo”; Salinas Club (Hi-Fi Stéreo)
- Radiodiffusion national, chaîne nationale
- Radiodiffusion national, chaîne internationale

*p. 6:*

- La troupe nationale de la République Arabe Unie présente ce soir à Sorano son spectacle de danses populaires (inc. photo: La danse du “Hayala” au cours de laquelle la jeune fille choisit son mari parmi les prétendants qui tapent les mains”) (by BA)
- Le Brésilien Agnaldo dos Santos: Prix de sculpture du Premier Festival des Arts Nègres (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Georgette Bellow: Jeune vedette togolaise (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Photo: “Le ballet des petits cireurs (shoe-shiners) Bata”: Une troupe bien sympathique participe modestement mais très activement au Premier Festival des Arts Nègres: c’est l’équipe des petits cireurs que Bata a généreusement doté, à l’occasion du Festival, de tenues et de matériel flambant neufs. Initiative heureuse qui contribue à donner à Dakar l’aspect pimpant des jours de fêtes”)
- La loterie du Festival
- Amerigo Petrucci, maire de Rome, a envoyé au Grand Jury du Cinéma une “Louve de Rome” qui sera attribuée à la meilleure réalisation autonome...”

April 9 (Saturday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Une équipe de techniciens italiens a réalisé avec succès l'organisation du concours
- Le Président Senghor félicite Bachir Touré à la Nuit de la Poésie (Photo)
- La liste des prix du Festival
- Photo: "Marpessa Dawn: détente sur la plage de Soumbédioune"
- Un sénateur américain fait l'éloge du Sénégal
- La célèbre danseuse et chorégraphe américaine Katérin Dunham vient d'être nommée pour une période de six mois conseiller technique près de la présidence du Sénégal. Elle est chargée de mettre sur pied une académie nationale de danse

*p. 3:*

- L'animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival
- Dakar sera le siège pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest de la plus grande maison d'édition arabe ("Notons que M. El Zein, qui fait partie du Comité libanais pour le Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres a contribué personnellement à la réussite de cette grande manifestation culturelle et artistique en offrant au Comité d'Organisation pour 10,000 livres libanaises de brochures et d'imprimés." M. El Zein = "le plus grand éditeur du monde arabe", part of Lebanese festival delegation)
- Radiodiffusion nationale, chaîne nationale; chaîne internationale

*p. 4:*

- Fin du Colloque sur la "Fonction et la Signification de l'Art nègre dans la vie du peuple et pour le peuple" (incl. list of colloquium committee)
- Photo: "Les membres du Colloque dans l'hémicycle de l'Assemblée Nationale"
- Les messages du Colloque Aux Chefs d'Etats Africaines; ...aux chefs spirituels; ... aux familles; ... à la jeunesse; ...Remerciements

*p. 5:*

- Aujourd'hui et lundi, "Les disciples noirs" présentent le Mystère de la Passion en la Cathédrale de Dakar (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Demain au Théâtre Sorano: "Dans le Forêt" avec les Libériens (incl. photo: "Un pas de danse rapidement esquissé"); "La troupe libérienne" (by Bass)
- Demain à 7 heures: La célèbre chorale de Paur au Stade de l'Amitié (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Deux avions de l'armée de l'Air amènent à Dakar décors, objets d'art, artistes et délégués éthiopiens
- Une grande soirée de gala aura lieu ce soir au Relais, kilomètre 5, rue de Ouakam, animée par l'orchestre O.K. Jazz, chants et danses du folklore du Congo-Léo; et le célèbre orchestre de Keur-Samba, de Paris
- En marge du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, une brillante soirée dansante a eu lieu jeudi soir au Camp Mangin. Elle a été animée par les orchestres Saloum Jazz et Nigérien Jazz de Lagos
- La "Messe Sénégalaise" de Paques: Un essai dans le cadre de la réforme liturgique (by Edou Correa)
- A partir du lundi de paques, pour quelques jours seulement, le sensationnel "Formula Group" Pop Music au Pigalle Night Club directement de Liverpool; Ce soir, la chanteuse Josianne Bonnat, vedette de la chanson française

*p. 6:*

- Voix africaines d'hier et d'aujourd'hui: Négritude...Qu'est-ce donc? A propos d'une conférence...
- "Notre contribution à la Civilisation de l'Universel" par S. Exc. M. Alioune Sene, Ambassadeur du Sénégal en R.A.U. (extrait d'une conférence prononcée à l'Ecole supérieure des lettres de Bayrouth)

*p. 8:*

- L'exposition-vente des oeuvres d'écrivains négro-africains et d'Africanistes du monde entier à l'Assemblée Nationale (incl. photo); (Bass)
- Dans nos régions: Sous l'égide de l'Alliance Française: Mercredi 13 avril à Rufisque conférence de M. Armand Guibert: Léopold Sédar Senghor, poète de la négritude
- Le numéro special "Dakar-Matin" est maintenant en vente

April 11 (Monday) and April 12 (Tuesday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Des tables rondes entres écrivains et artistes succéderont au Colloque, a déclaré M. Alioune Diop dans une conférence de presse
- Photo: "Les derniers jours de Lat Dior" ont remporté un nouveau succès
- "Je ne milite dans aucune parti je milite à travars mon oeuvre" nous affirme Ousmane Sembene (by Bass) (incl. photo: "Ousmane Sembene, un ami de Wright")
- M. Zagari: "L'Afrique possède des valeurs culturelles valables pour le monde entier"
- Ce soir à 21h à Sorano La Sierra-Léone présente un spectacle folklorique inédit
- Attention!! Les 13.14.15.16 et 17 avril au Cinéma "Club" rue de Grammont à 21h, Grandes Soirées de Film Soviétique

*p. 3:*

- L'exposition du Musée Dynamique met un lumière une quinzaine d'oeuvres qui appartiennent au trésor de l'humanité
- La sonorisation du Théâtre Sorano à l'occasion du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres (incl. photo)
- La poésie de L.S. Senghor traduit en poésie arabe (incl. photo)

*p. 6:*

- Photo: "Le Mystère de la Passion par l'Atelier Dramatique Nègre de Londres" (photo caption: "Sur la tête de celui qui est sans pêché, une couronne d'épines")
- Armenta Adams ce soir à la Cathédrale (incl. photo)
- voici les heures d'ouverture et tarifs des visites des expositions
- La troupe folklorique de la République de l'Haïti au Festival
- Janheinz Jahn a publié en douze ans une quarantaine de traductions d'auteurs africains et afro-américains
- special edition of Dakar-Matin (more of a description under this picture)
- Avez-vous votre billet de la loterie du Festival – 1er prix: un tableau du Picasso; Oeuvres de Grand Valeur d'art nègre
- L'exposition "Léo Frobenius" à la Bibliothèque allemande
- Un message a été adressé au Comité d'Organisation du Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres par les participants du premier festival estudiantin de la musique, des chansons, et de la poésie des peuples d'Afrique qui se tient à Moscou

April 13 (Wednesday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Deux célèbres poètes soviétiques séjournent à Dakar à l'occasion du Festival: Dolmatovski et Evtouchenko (by BA) (incl photo: "Les deux poètes russes Domatovski (à gauche) et Evtouchenko observent les activités au port de Dakar à bord du bateau-hôtel soviétique")
- Réflexions sur le 1er Festival des Arts Nègres par Charles-Henri Gallenca, Président de la Chambre de Commerce
- S.M. Haïlé Sélassié, empereur d'Éthiopie sera l'hôte du Président Léopold Senghor de demain de 14 heures au lundi 18 à 9 heures du matin
- Arrivée à Dakar de M. Veronese, président du comité italien de soutien au Festival
- Les cours n'ont pas repris à l'Université de Dakar (on strike)

*p. 2:*

- Dakar et sa banlieue: Leonard de Paur donne la note universelle à la musique négro-africaine (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Au débarcadère de Gorée: Un festivalier et un gardien de la Paix tombe à l'eau
- Tous les soirs Le Bodega vous propose ses diners et soupes (en?) dansants Orchestre René Messina, Imitateur Fantaisiste René Rocher, Formule Snack-Bar
- Radiodiffusion national; chaîne nationale; chaîne internationale

*p. 6:*

- "L'Égypte, trait d'une union entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde, a foi en la coopération avec les peuples africains" – a déclaré M. Sawy, chef de la délégation de la R.A.U. au Festival (incl. photo: "La danse du baptême, qui allie charme et harmonie, a été vivement applaudi par le public à Sorano et au Stade")
- L'ensemble national d'art folklorique a remporté un vif succès (by Abdoulaye BA)
- Frank Bowling: Grand Prix de peinture du Festival (incl photo)
- Réflexions sur le Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres (suite de la page 1) (by Charles-Henri Gallenca)
- Au Stadium à 21 heures l'Atelier Dramatique Nègre et les Pan African Players
- Avez-vous votre billet de la loterie du Festival...
- Les billets de la loterie du Festival sont en vente à la chambre du commerce
- L'animation de Dakar dans le cadre du Festival
- Des sculptures de la période précolombienne prouvent la présence noirs en Amérique bien avant la "découverte"

April 14 (Thursday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Bienvenue à sa majeste Haïlé Sélassié 1er empereur d'Éthiopie

*p. 3:*

- L'Animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival: Parmi les nombreuses troupes qui se produisent la "Cordiale de Casamance" a eu un vif succès à la SICAP (Photo: "La troupe Cordiale de la Casamance, que l'on voit ici au village artisanal de Soumbédioune, s'est produite hier après-midi au parking Printania à la S.I.C.A.P., où elle a obtenu un vif succès")

*p. 5:*

- La troupe folklorique du Ghana arrive aujourd'hui
- M. Jean Charbonnel arrive demain à Dakar

*p. 6:*

- Récital Martina Arroyo en la Cathédrale à 16h (incl photo: Mme. Martina Arroyo, une des plus grandes soprani du monde)
- En marge de la gala de la France: la participation française au Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres affirme les liens fraternelle qui unissent la France et le Sénégal
- Prix du meilleur film sur l'Art nègre, "Un homme comme les autres" a remporté l'Antilope d'or et ses interprètes l'Antilope d'argent
- Quarante cinq persons dans la chorale du Cameroun qui se produira demain à la Cathédrale su Souvenir Africain (APS)
- Diagne Costa étudiant guinéen à Moscou a réalisé le meilleur film sur l'Art nègre
- L'animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival
- Vif succès, très mérité, pour la troupe de la Sierra Léone
- Photo: Agnaldo dos Santos prix de sculpture du Premier Festival (caption: "Nous avons annoncé dans notre numéro du 8 avril l'attribution du Prix de Sculpture du Premier Festival à l'artiste brésilien Agnaldo dos Santos. Rappelons qu'Agaldo dos Santos qui débuta dans son art en 1958 devait en 9 ans atteindre la grande célébrité")

#### April 15 (Friday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- S.M. Haïlé Sélassié est arrivé hier à Dakar: Accueilli par M. Senghor l'Empereur d'Éthiopie a été l'objet de chaleureuses ovations de la foule; Le programme d'aujourd'hui (of Selassie)
- Photo: "Accompagné par le Président de la République, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Ethiopie passe en revue un détachement de l'Armée sénégalaise venue lui rendre les honneurs à l'Aéroport de Dakar-Yoff"
- pour la première fois à Dakar Pop Music avec le Formula Group aujourd'hui Matinée à 18h30, Cinéma Palace

*p. 2:*

- Tous les soirs le Bodega...
- "Que chaque nègre ait conscience de la nécessité de revivication de son patrimoine culturel" conclusion de la brillante conférence faite par M. Jacques Rabemananjara
- Le Pigalle Night Club: Le sensationel Formula Group Directement de Liverpool

*p. 3:*

- Le peintre éthiopien Afewerk Téklé fait Commandeur dans l'Ordre du Mérite (photo)
- Un ethnologue des Iles Bermude et sa Famille entreprennent depuis sept ans – a pied – un voyage de recherches a travers le monde (Hakim Gordon and wife Kunne)
- Radiodiffusion national; chaine nationale; chaine internationale
- L'animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival (photo: Chaque après-midi, des troupes de Cap-Vert se produisent en divers endroits de la capitale, apportant ainsi une sympathique animation forte appréciée des touristes comme de toute la population. On voit ici que les spectateurs sont nombreux chaque jour place de l'Indépendance, où les amateurs de folklore, pour mieux voir, grimpent jusque sur le Monument aux Morts

*p. 6:*

- l'Ensemble folklorique du Ghana: 10 musiciens – 30 danseurs et danseuses
- Les troupes du Gabon et de Haïti sur la scène du Théâtre D. Sorano (APS)
- Après leur grand succès hier, les chorales religieuses du Cameroun vous donnent rendez-vous ce soir en la Cathédrale du Souvenir Africain (Ebongué Soellé)
- Demain à Daniel Sorano, Gala de la France avec "La Tragédie du Roi Christophe" d'Aimé Césaire par la Compagnie du Toucan (w/ photo)
- A 21h au théâtre Daniel Sorano, Soirée éthiopienne en présence de S.M. Hailé Sélassié 1er et du Président Senghor (w/ photo)
- Le récital de Miss Armenta Adams à la Cathédrale
- Contribution du Comité National Autrichien au Premier Festival (photo)
- La célèbre chanteuse de Gospels: Marion Williams

#### April 16 (Saturday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Chef de la délégation du Maroc au Festival: Le Prince Moulay Abdallah est arrivé hier à Dakar – Il est porteur d'un message du Roi au Président Senghor (incl photo: Le ministre Doudou Thiam accueille à Dakar-Yoff le Prince Moulay Abdallah à sa descente d'avion.)
- Ce soir, on danse sur le bateau italien "Surriente" (soirée danseuse qui sera animée par le grand orchestre du Congo-Brazzaville, "Les Bantous" (1000F pp, Italian diner compris) (by APS)
- Sa Majesté Hailé Sélassié a admiré hier les trésors du Musée Dynamique: "A l'heure de l'Unité Africaine l'Ethiopie plus que nul autre pays témoigne d'Africainité" a déclaré le Président Senghor à l'issue du déjeuner officiel du Palais de la République (incl photo: "Les deux chefs d'état admirent les trésors prêtés par l'Ethiopie au Musée Dynamique")

*p. 3:*

- M. Charbonnel est arrivé à Dakar
- Une brillante réception a été offerte jeudi soir au palais en l'honneur de sa majesté H. Sélassié Empereur d'Ethiopie (2 photos); La programme du visite officiel
- Avant de quitter hier le sol sénégalais M. Jacques Foccart a souligné l'influence qu'aura le Festival sur la culture en Afrique (Foccart = French secretary general)
- Radiodiffusion national; chaîne nationale; chaîne internationale

*p. 5:*

- Le peintre espagnol Damaso expose à Dakar à l'occasion du Festival mondial (incl photo, "Damaso et son tableau "Kakilambe". Ce nom est celui d'un personnage d des Ballet de l'Ouest Africain.") (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Le toast du Président Senghor au déjeuner en l'honneur de sa majesté l'empereur d'ethiopie
- Evtouchenko le 26 avril à Sorano (photo and poem, "Sourires") (French translations will be read by Bachir Touré)
- Roger Kahane et son équipe de la T.V. française tournent actuellement des scènes de la vie dakaroise pendant le Festival (by Abdoulaye BA)

*p. 6:*

- Sur “La Tragédie du Roi Christophe” (by Aimé Césaire) (incl photo)
- “Izlane” évocation poétique sera présentée dimanche et lundi par la troupe folklorique marocaine (by Abdoulaye BA)
- Marion Williams aujourd’hui et demain à 16 heures à la Cathédrale du Souvenir Africain (photo w/ caption: “Marion Williams, la chanteuses de Gospels célèbre et son groupe se produiront aujourd’hui et demain à 16 heures à la Cathédrale du Souvenir Africain. Cette artiste exceptionnelle ne chantera que deux fois à l’occasion du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres”)
- Cette après-midi à Daniel Sorano: “Limbo” avec les artistes de Trinidad et Tobago (by BASS)
- L’animation de Dakar dans le cadre du Festival
- Les secrets de la danse découverte avec les Haïtiens (by BASS)
- Visite des Musée et Expositions
- Hannibal, une tragédie en 5 actes de Mikael Kebede (incl photo: “Tesfaye Tessema, dans le rôle d’Hannibal”)
- Arrivées de délégations
- Le récital de Martina Arroyo
- Deux disques “Souvenir du Festival” présentés au Chef de l’Etat

April 18 (Monday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Hailé Sélassié quitte Dakar ce matin: L’Ethiopie et le Sénégal soutiendront à l’O.U.A. l’idée d’une conférence économique du tiers-monde, précise le communiqué sénégal-éthiopien (incl photo)
- “Une cité des arts va être prochainement bâtie à Dakar” annonce le Président Léopold Senghor

*p. 2:*

- “Une cité des arts sera bâtie prochainement à Dakar” déclare le Président Senghor (suite de la page 1, APS)
- Brillante réception de Mme Innes-Brown en l’honneur des artistes américains
- Radiodiffusion national; chaîne nationale; chaîne internationale

*p. 3:*

- “Nos deux pays ont donné le meilleur d’eux-mêmes pour faire naître l’unité des peuples de ce continent” a déclaré sa majesté l’empereur d’Ethiopiie répondant au toast porté par le Président Léopold Senghor (incl photo)
- L’ethiopiie a consacré 11 millions de dollars en cinq ans pour développer l’enseignement (N.A.P.)

*p. 6:*

- Mardi soir à Sorano, La nuit du Brésil (incl photo: “Ataulfo Alves et ses bergères (jeunes filles qui font choeur et qui dansent)” (by Abdoulaye BA)
- photo: “Bahia à l’honneur” (picture of Bahian woman, wearing trad dress of Yoruba origin)
- M. Vittorino Veronese, président exécutif du Comité italien du soutien au Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres et ancien président de l’U.N.E.S.C.O. a tenu vendredi après-midi à l’Assemblée nationale une conférence au cours de laquelle il a parlé de son expérience culturelle et internationale. / M. Alioune Diop, de la Direction Culturelle du Festival, l’Ambassadeur d’Italie au Sénégal notamment ont assisté parmi un auditoire attentif à cette conférence”
- Tonnere d’applaudissements au Stadium pour l’ensemble national du Ghana
- photo: Un artisan du succès: “M. Gabus, professeur d’ethnologie à l’institute de Neufchatel a reçu recemment des mains du Président de la République les insignes de Commandeur de l’Ordre national. Doit-on rappeler le rôle considerable tenu par le professeur Gabus dans la réalisation du Mysée Dynamique dont le succès grandit chaque jour”
- Gambie ce soir à Sorano: où nous nous retrouverons en voisins et parents (by BA)
- Ghislaine Victorious: une grande cantatrice” (photo: “Premier prix du conservatoire national supérieur de musique de Paris, Ghislaine Victorious, la célèbre cantatrice antillaise a conquis avec son récital, consacré aux airs d’opéra et d’opéra-comique, le public venu l’applaudir nombreux. / Dotée d’une voix magnifique et très étendue – trois octaves – elle a remporté en 1964 le premier prix de chant de l’Opera de Paris avec la fameuse “Costa Diva” de la Norma de Bellini. Elle peut aussi bien chanter “Porgy and Bess” qu’une mélodie de Fauré et c’est un plaisir que de pouvoir l’auditioner”
- L’animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival
- Visite des musée et expositions
- Programme des cinémas dans le cadre du Festival

#### April 19 (Tuesday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Josephine Baker ce matin à Dakar (incl photo)
- En quittant hier matin le Sénégal l’empereur d’Ethiopie adresse un message de remerciement au Président de la République
- Trois cents touristes soviétiques arrivent aujourd’hui
- Au cours de sa visite hier, accompagné par M. Habib Thaim, M. Jean Charbonnel a admiré les efforts accomplis par le SICAP
- La commision mixte sénégal-marocaine

*p. 5:*

- Les poètes allemands Gunther Eich et Ilse Aichinger ont rendu visite au Président Senghor (“Un groupe de participants allemands au Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres fut récemment reçu par M. le Président de la République. Il y avait parmi eux des poètes les plus importants de l’Allemagne aujourd’hui: Gunther Eich et Ilse Aichinger, dont le roman “Le plus grand espoir” a paru en traduction française aux éditions du Seuil, ainsi que le compositeur Carl Orff, connu par sa cantate “Carmina Beurana” qui a fait le tour du monde.”)
- La réception de Mme. Inness-Brown en l’honneur des trois artistes américains venues au Festival (photo: from left to right, Mme. Mercer Cook, épouse de l’ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Dakar, Milles Martina Arroyo, soprano; Armenta Adams, pianiste; l’ambassadeur Mercer Cook, Mme. Inness-Brown, présidente de la délégation américaine au Festival et Mme. Cynthia Courtney, chef de la division Ouest-Africaine du Corps de la Paix.)
- L’empereur Haïlé Sélassié, le Président et Mme. Senghor, M. et Mme. Charbonnel au Gala de la France (photo)

*p. 6:*

- Lydia Ewandé (incl. photo)
- La samba brésilienne ce soir à théâtre Sorano (incl. photo: “La troupe artistique du Brésil est arrivée dimanche à Dakar venant de Rio par le vol d’Alitalia. Conduite par le Professeur Mozart Aronto, directeur du secteur musicale de la Division Culturelle du Ministère de l’Extérieur du Brésil, elle comprend 30 personnes hommes et femmes”) (by Abdoulaye FALL)
- Salle comble dimanche à Sorano pour applaudir la troupe théâtrale du Maroc (APS)
- Les cinéastes sénégalais ont présenté la “Louve Romaine” au Ministre de l’Information (incl. photo)
- L’animation de Dakar dans le cadre du Festival
- L’exposition philatélique attire la foule à la Chambre du Commerce
- Ce soir au Stade, la troupe de Gambie présente un “Mariage Mandingue Tragique” d’après une nouvelle de Madame Diawara (by BA)
- A propos du spectacle de Gorée
- Le récital de Ghislaine Victorius
- Trinidad et Tobago (by Ebongué Soellé)

April 20 (Wednesday), 1966*p. 1:*

- "L'aide de la France aux Républiques africaines amies ne sera pas diminuée" a déclaré M. Jean Charbonnel avant de regagner Paris
- M. Charbonnel: "Le Festival est un réussite"
- photo: Ces touristes russes découvrent Dakar ("Premier découverte pour les touristes russes arrivé hier à bord de l'"Arménia", les étalages d'objets en bois qui semblent susciter l'intérêt de nos visiteurs"); "Les dakarois sont invités à visiter demain l'"Arménia"
- Ouverture du Colloque sur la conservation des objets en bois dans les musées
- Au conseil de Cabinet qui s'est réuni hier matin, M. Daniel Cabou a rendu compte des négociations maroco-sénégalaises qui renforcent l'amitié et le développement des deux Etats; Le Prince M. Abdallah remet au Président Senghor un message du Roi du Maroc
- Photo: La fantasia au Stade, spectacle éniyant ("La fantasia du troupe folklorique marocaine a été ovationné lundi soir au Stade de l'Amitié; il est vrai que de voir quatre cavaliers s'élançant à bride abattue en l'air des coups de fusil est un spectacle insolite sur la piste d'un stade; cette magnifique démonstration a subjugué la foule"

*p. 2:*

- A propos du spectacle de Gorée
- Radiodiffusion national; chaîne nationale; chaîne internationale

*p. 3:*

- Les arts nègres en Belgique (par Pierre Houart, Secretary General of the Belgo-Africaine press association and author of "L'afrique aux trois visages"
- Peintre sud-africaine qui réside à Paris, Gérard Sekoto est venu renouveler ses sources d'inspiration à Dakar (by Ebongué Soellé)

*p. 8:*

- Josephine Baker chantera demain à Sorano (APS)
- L'envolée de la fantasia marocaine au Stade de l'Amitié a enthousiasmé une foule conquise (by BA)
- "Chants Berberes" par Marguerite Taos Amrouche ce soir au théâtre Sorano (by Abdoulaye FALL; incl. photo and interview)
- Le Ghana très applaudi (APS)
- La Côte d'Ivoire a émis quatre timbres à l'occasion du Festival (photo: les sujets d'art traditionnel sélectionnés pour figurer sur les nouveaux timbres ivoiriens)
- L'ensemble national camerounais qui comprend 85 personnes se produira vendredi à Sorano
- La chorale oecuménique camerounaise, qui a quitté Dakar fera certainement école (by Ebongué Soellé)
- L'animation de Dakar dans le Cadre du Festival
- Affluence Samedi soir au bord du "Surriento" (...ont organisée une soirée dansante animée par l'excellence formation congolaise "Les Bantous"
- Revue de la presse africaine:
  - "L'Asie et l'Afrique d'Aujourd'hui": Le Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres a suscité un vit intérêt en URSS et attiré l'attention de la presse soviétique" (something about negro art, published in a soviet journal)
  - "Le Togo est fier de sa participation" (*Togo-Presse*)
  - "Tous les Gabonais aimeraient être présents à Dakar" (*Le Gabon d'Aujourd'hui*)
  - "Le Colloque: Une événement unique" (Ebongué Soellé)

April 21 (Thursday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Le Président de la République a reçu hier Josephine Baker qui présente ce soir le spectacle de Sorano (incl. photo: Le Président et Mme. Léopold Senghor accueillent Josephine Baker")
- "Notre Josephine Baker" (by Guy Etcheverry)
- M. Charbonnel de retour à Paris: "Il est opportun de développer encore davantage nos liens culturels"

*p. 3:*

- Le peintre éthiopien A. Téklé fait don au président Senghor de "Notre héritage" une de ses dernières oeuvres (photo)
- Radiodiffusion national; chaine nationale; chaine internationale

*p. 6:*

- A ne pas manquer demain au Stadium: Trinidad – Tobago (photo caption: "Demain à 21 heures, au Stadium et pour la dernière fois, Trinidad-Tobago vous enchantera. Rappelons que cet ensemble remarquable a tenu la scène du Théâtre Sorano dimanche et lundi la salle Brottier (...?) des 21 heures.")
- Chants et danses de l'Afrique et des Antilles au Théâtre Daniel Sorano – avec: Josephine Baker, Marguerite Taos Amrouche, Marpessa Dawn, Lydia Ewande, Moune de Rivel, Joseph Zobel
- Josephine Baker nous dit: (suite de la page 1)
- Le Harlem Jazz a brillamment animé le bal populaire à Grand-Dakar (by BA)
- "Nous avons sommeillé, mais n'avons pas dormi" (by Ebongué Soellé)
- Pete Meyers de la B.B.C. à Dakar
- L'"Alvin Ailey American dance Théâtre" (incl. photo)
- La nuit du Brésil
- l'animation de Dakar dans le cadre du festival
- les billets de la loterie du Festival sont en vente à la Chambre du Commerce

April 22 (Friday), 1966*p. 1:*

- Demain sur les ondes de Radio-Sénégal avec le concours de personnalités artistique et littéraires: l'Afrique francophone s'unira pour interroger Dakar sur le bilan du Festival
- Magnifique succès du Musée Dynamique: 20.000 visiteurs enregistré depuis le 20 avril
- "La coopération entre la France et l'Afrique est une nécessité" déclare à Paris M. Jean Charbonnel
- Nouvelles représentations de "La Tragédie du Roi Christophe"
- Dakar-Matin special edition advertisement/photo, with description
- Vif succès des "Bassari" dans les rues dakaroises (photo caption: "L'animation à Dakar dans le cadre du Festival a connu un nouveau succès populaire: cette fois c'est l'ensemble instrumental du Sénégal Orientale "Les Bassari" qui a été vivement applaudi hier après-midi sur la Place du Cinéma "Al Akbar" et hier soir à la Maison des Jeunes")

*p. 3:*

- Le tirage au sorte de la loterie du Festival des Arts Nègres aura lieu lors du gala de clôture (incl. photo: “Ces deux magnifiques statuettes de bois, don de l’IFAN, seront, avec le tableau de Picasso “Tête d’homme barbu,” les principaux lots de la loterie du Festival”)
- La fête nationale sénégalaise a été célébrée en U.R.R.S. (incl. photo)
- Radiodiffusion national; chaine nationale; chaine internationale

*p. 4:*

- Disques: Deux talents. Deux couleurs: Joan Baez, Marion Williams
- Jazz: “Bakule-Bakule” Les Ry-Co-Jazz; Thelonius Monk, Armstrong; Guy Boyer

#### April 23 (Saturday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Haut-lieu de la négritude artistique et littéraire: Le Premier Festival Mondial se termine demain: la qualité de ses manifestations marque une date dans l’histoire de la culture
- Photo: “Bravo le Dahomey!: L’ensemble national du Dahomey, avec sa deuxième représentation de jeudi soir, a encore été chaleureusement accueilli par le public: follement applaudi fut cet acrobat sur un bambou de près de 20 mètres de haut, oscillant comme la règle d’un métronome: un véritable défi aux règles de l’équilibre...”
- Les programmes des deux derniers jours
- Photo: “Josephine Baker a démontré au Théâtre Sorano, dans le spectacle “Chants et danses de l’Afrique et des Antilles” qu’elle était toujours la vedette; la voici chantant son grand succès, ‘Mes deux amours’”

*p. 6:*

- Documents: En marge et au coeur du problème noir américain: l’évolution noire aux U.S.A. est un problème urbain mais voici qu’un Noir a pris la tête l’un nouveau ministère chargé justement de résoudre le problème des villes! (“Dans la lente conquête sociale des Noirs aux Etats-Unis, une importante étape a été franchie récemment, avec l’entrée de Robert Clifton Weaver dans le Gouvernement américain.”); “En marge: il y a cent ans naissait le K.K.K. la plus scaldaleuse et la plus puissante organisation raciste du monde”

*p. 8:*

- Merci Josephine pour cette soirée “Chants et danses d’Afrique et des Antilles”
- L’ensemble instrumental du Sénégal: les frères Kété et la musique des armées animeront la gala de clôture du Festival (incl. photo) (Ebongué Soellé)
- Photo: L’ensemble national de Dahomey à Sorano: Le ballet des princesses de la Cour du Prince Agoli Agbo
- Le théâtre africain est né
- L’animation de Dakar
- ”La Russie apprécie énormément la peinture négro-africaine” déclare un critique d’art soviétique (APS)
- ”Je reviendrai à Dakar pour présenter une série de spectacles en ce théâtre qui porte le nom de mon mari” nous déclare Mme. Sorano (Ebongué Soellé)
- Venez nombreux encourager nos jeunes poètes
- Grand Nuit de clôture: Des soirées dansantes auront lieu ce soir de 22 heures à l’aube à bord du S/S “Surriento” et à le “Caféteria” du Centre Mangin, animées par les orchestres Trinidad et Tobago, Bantou, et l’ensemble sénégalais. (Prix d’entrée, 1000F pp, italien diner inclus; Mangin: 300F seule; 500F couple)
- La représentation de “Carrefour” avec Bachir Touré
- Un message du Prince Albert frère du Roi des Belges (“Nous avons brièvement signalé le message de félicitations du Prince Albert de Liège adressé au Président Senghor au premier jour de ce mois”)

April 25 (Monday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Les délégués du Conseil National de l’U.P.S. félicitent le Président Senghor pour le grand succès du Festival qui a atteint son objectif; Le rapport du Président Senghor (photo incl)
- M. Souleymane Sidibé établissant le premier bilan du Festival mondial: “Le monde entier retentira encore longtemps des échos de cette rencontre de la négritude”
- Le tirage de la loterie au gala de clôture
- Photo: L’extraordinaire folklore du Cameroun: L’ensemble national de Cameroun a connu le triomphe par son cachet d’authenticité. Voici une des scènes de ballet qui révèle un aspect du folklore africain.
- Ce soir nouvelle représentation de “La Tragédie du Roi Christophe”
- Une conférence-récital de Marguerite Taos Amrouche
- La soirée Evtouchenko-Dolmatovski: location aujourd’hui et demain au théâtre Daniel Sorano

*p. 3:*

- Les leçons du Festival, la réforme des Etablissements Publics et la campagne agricole 1966: principaux thèmes du rapport introductif de M. Léopold Senghor au Conseil National de l’U.P.S.

*p. 6:*

- Interview Express: La parole est aux visiteurs des expositions et aux spectateurs des divers manifestations théâtrales du premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres
- La participation du Cameroun: triomphe! (by George Larché)
- La presse africaine et le Festival
- La presse française et le Festival
- Le fameux ‘orchestre miracle’ de Trinidad et Tobago a remporté un immense succès (Abdoulaye BA)

April 26 (Tuesday), 1966

*p. 1:*

- Le Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres s’est terminé en apothéose populaire au Parc des Sports de Dakar
- Le spectacle féérique de Gorée: bilan-record, 23.500 spectateurs
- Ce soir au Théâtre Sorano récital poétique Evtouchentko-Dolmatovski
- Photo: “Le Roi Christophe” continue à attirer la foule

*p. 6:*

- Photo: L’ensemble Trinidad et Tobago a connu vendredi soir au Stadium une dernière apothéose: Nous avons dit le succès remporté par le spectacle de l’Ensemble instrumental de Trinidad et Tobago. Outre l’extrême habileté des exécutants (jointe?) a un savoir consommé, danseurs et danseuses également charmèrent la toute des spectateurs. Vendredi, la grande tribune du Stade de l’Amitié n’offrait plus une seule place.
- ”La Tragédie du Roi Christophe” mercredi et jeudi au Théâtre Sorano
- Interview express: La parole est aux visiteurs des expositions et aux spectateurs des divers manifestations théâtrales du premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres
- La chorale du Petit Séminaire du Ziguinchor à la Cathédrale
- The Alvin Ailey American Dance Théâtre: une inoubliable révélation
- Photo: Celia, une jeune chanteuse d’origine antillaise: Celia, la charmante vedette qui a conquis le public au cours de la soirée des “variétés” au Théâtre Sorano. L’une des artistes noires les plus connues en France, Celia est également présidente de la FANEF (Fédération des Artistes Noires d’Expression Française).
- Brillante soirée folklorique samedi dans les jardins de l’Hôtel de Ville (avec la troupe Yéla, les Frères Unis, l’Amicale Sérère, Jeunesse Cordiale et le groupe Téranga)
- La Tombola assure au Festival une recette supplémentaire de plus de quatre millions
- La représentation de “Carrefour” avec Bachir Touré
- Manifestations folklorique de la quatrième sous-section aux H.L.M. II (animée par l’orchestre “Madison” de Bira Gueye et de la chanteuse à la voix d’or Mada Thiam sous à présidence de MM. Alioune Badara M’Bengue, Abdoulaye Fofana, Samba Gueye, Amadou Racine N’Diaye, El Hadj M’Baye Ly, Djibril Fall et Doudou Coulibaly – un programme sensationnel est prévu au cours de cette soirée notamment: concours de tam-tam, l’élection de Miss H.L.M., ballets et N’Dawraguine)

## APPENDIX VIII

## FESMAN I: FINANCIALS

## (SENEGALESE NATIONAL ARCHIVES) FM 031: FINAL FINANCIAL REPORT

Results of the Budget for the First World Festival of Black Arts, Ending July 31, 1966

This note concerns the purely administrative account of revenues and expenses of the First World Festival of Black Arts, ending July 31, 1966, three months after the closure of the festival.

To date, there are some outstanding operations for both revenues and expenses, but one can say that, except for a reserve concerning the expenses of Category E: hotel equipment for tourists, these final numbers are indicative of the final features of receipts and expenses undertaken. The reserve in question concerns payment of the last portion of the price of chartering the ship "Rossia," an operation already settled but which was directly recorded to the account of the African Cultural Fund (Fonds Culturel Africain) in the amount of 36,094,406 Francs; additionally, in the same category, because of transferring too much of the price of chartering the ship "Surriento," a sum of 5,126, 100 Francs is owed to the African Cultural Fund by the Italian ship-owner (letter No. 4654 DEGF from the Minister of Fiances to the Ambassador of Senegal in Rome, dated June 23, 1966).

In the following four tables, in which revenues are on one side and expenses on the other, the results are compared to predictions of revenues and expenses, profits earned and payments made, in terms of total monetary value on one side and percentage on the other.

(p. 2)

REVENUECompared by Monetary Value

This version shows that out of 10 categories, 7 resulted in revenues clearly inferior to projections; as surplus, the most valuable recorded of the 3 other chapters did not alleviate the gross capital loss by more than 9.5%, so that on the level of totals, the general account of revenues translates to a loss of 110,509,000F (rounded), or a loss of 45.9% compared to projections (this is shown in Table 111 comparing percentages, 100%-54.1%).

### Compared by Percentage

The 7 categories in question below are markedly affected by this loss, but if one considers importance based on monetary value of operations, one notices that the two categories the most affected are:

- event revenues
- hotel services

A detailed study of the first of these categories divides it into three structural categories:

- stage performances and film projections
- exhibitions
- allocation of entrance tickets

The receipts of each of these sub-categories represent, respectively, 80.4%, 117.6%, and 9.2%, compared to predictions.

The point of weakness lies in the allocation of entrance tickets, a markedly insufficient amount of sales compared to the predicted 40,000,000F / 45.4% of the whole category.

(p. 3) As for the modest hotel revenues (18.9% compared to predictions), it seems that the chartering of two ship-hotels was based upon overly optimistic calculations. The chartering of a sole boat limited our working budget in this category, but it amounted to a risk justifiably taken deliberately by the responsible authorities. The less than encouraging results of this experience should not be forgotten in the future.

Regarding the matter of these revenues, it is necessary to emphasize the interesting results acquired from Category Z: financial contributions, in which the amount received (as much for the Festival Organization directly as for the intermediary African Cultural Fund) resulted in a surplus of 29.2% compared to predictions, which were set at 36,000,000F. This could be regarded as optimistic.

Along the same lines, attention should be drawn to the sub-category "Publicity Operations" in which the amount received attained 107.6% of predictions, thus marking the interest in the festival shown by the commercial and industrial sectors.

Finally Category J "Diverse Products" ("Miscellaneous") amounted to a significant loss of 76% compared to predictions. But one must remember first of all that the article titled "Sale of painting offered by PICASSO" resulted in revenue representing 140% compared to predictions. Additionally, in this category (article 4) an advance of 3,000,000F remains to be recovered, agreed upon by the Senegalese Artisanal Office. Finally, the most important sub-category in this group, budgeted 68% of the category according to predictions, concern the return of material and equipment bought or undertaken for the festival. If these remunerations don't amount to much more than 300,000 F, it remains that the quasi-totality of these materials and equipment will be given away to ministerial departments for free. Therefore, regarding monetary value, it amounts to: 76,876,216F and represents, regardless of the cause, an action to be given credit to the Festival. Note that this amount doesn't take into account any free donations (star Adrien

SENGHOR, German buses, technical and electrical material, and a portion of the costumes for the Gorée “Sound and Light” show, etc...).

(p. 4)  
EXPENSES

As of July 31, 1966 these amount to 339,618,110F, representing 76.8% of predictions and leaving 102,146,890F remaining. This numbers call for certain corrections which will be discussed later.

Of the 7 categories of expenses, 2 exceeded a total amount of 6,808, 512F. They are:  
 --Category C: administration, propaganda and publicity (+401,178F) where the payments exceded predictions by 100.8% and  
 --Category G: liquidation of the First Festival (+6,407,334F) win which the number is 228.1% higher than predicted.

This last category (G) seems the most important: it is due to the very character of the category, which was destinted to take on expenses unforeseen at the beginning. In particular this category supported expenses pertaining to transportation, lodging and subsistance of Government guests (around 9 million F).

As for the other category (C), the recorded excess over budget is lighter (at the ensemble level) because it was only allotted 0.8% of total predictions. But if one looks more closely one notes that this source is found exclusively in article 3, “Publicity and Propaganda,” resulting in a prediction totalling 21,900,000 F (around 48.9% of the category) as well as expenses which were elevated to 27,928,047 F. On can go further again into the analysis and see that these included the cost of publishing the Festival album, the Gorée brochure, the catalog of modern art and Festival programs, which were initially clearly underestimated considering the final expenses amounted to 172.6% of predictions, or 17,260,555F as opposed to 10,000,000F.

In the 5 other categories, the expenses exceeded predictions by between 66% and 81%.

(p. 5)  
GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Only one level concerning this present note remains, that is to say that of the Organisation Committee, and as a result without taking into account certain infrastructure expenses such as those accrued in the construction of the Daniel SORANO Theatre and the Musée Dynamique, to have a more complete picture on the one hand of expenses undertaken for the First Festival and on the other hand of revenues, one must add together the numbers from the following appendixed tables:

In expenses:

--the 3<sup>rd</sup> portion of the payment for chartering the ship "ROSSIA", reduced by the amount still to be recuperated for the "SURRIENTO"  
 (36,094,406F – 5,126,100F) ..... 30,968,306F

--and the rest to be payed as of July 31, 1966 (appendix V) ..... 3,744,188F

In revenues:

--the rest to be recuperated as of July 31, 1966 (appendix VI) ..... 7,480,092F

Which is summarized as follows:

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Revenues</u>
339,618,110	
30,968,306	130,546,321
<u>3,744,188</u>	<u>7,480,092</u>
374,330,604 F	138,026,413 F

Which comes to a defecit of: **236,304,191 Francs.**  
 some 200,710,000 Francs higher than predicted.

If one takes into account the remaining equipment (teams? equipements) active in the country and which are, as indicated on page 3, a value of 76,876,216 F, one could say that the real defecit is closer to: **159,427,975 Francs.**

(p. 6) From the point of view of financing the expenses of the First Festival that have been covered:

--on the one hand, by the proper revenues of the organization (comprising those held directly in the account of the African Cultural Fund and the rest still to be recovered): 135,026,413 F

--on the other hand, by the treasury's predictions: 283,287,537F

**TOTAL: 421,313,950F**

One must keep in mind that the sum that will be refunded to the African Cultural Fund purely and simply clear the difference between this coverage by the treasury and actual expenses. In effect, certain revenues (donations in particular) and certain expenses (last portion of payment to charter the ship "ROSSIA") have been accounted for directly in the African Cultural Fund's ledgers. It is not until the operation of merging the general treasury's logs with that of the Festival Treasury, currently underway, is complete that we will be able to determine the amount of money to be transferred.

Add to this, finally, that the preceding numbers should not be considered definitive, certain corrections, undoubtedly superficial in any case, being susceptible of being included.

**NOTA:** After July 31, 1966 we have subsequently been informed by the General Treasury of a payment of 500,000 Francs made by the CCAM for participation in the Organization of the First Festival of Negro Arts, to be paid directly to the General Treasury of Senegal. This sum comes to inflate the sub-category “remaining to be recuperated” as much as to diminish concurrently the expenses remaining to be paid.

## APPENDIX IX

## FESMAN I: FINANCIAL STATISTICS

(SENEGALESE NATIONAL ARCHIVES) FM 045: BUDGET

**Fonds Culturel Africain – situation as of April 27, 1966**

<u>Imputation Budgetaire</u>	<u>Nature des Recettes</u>	<u>Montant</u>
Chapter B, Article 10	cartes des légitimation	2.000.000
Chapter F, Article 2	produits des exclusivités: Télé	1.956.153
Chapter F, Article 5	concessions de points de vente	308.000
Chapter G, Article 6	produits d'hotelleries: diverse	132.000
Chapter H, Article 2	dons de soutien comités nationaux (1)	9.207.600
Chapter H, Article 3	dons particulieres (2)	10.000
Diverses imputations	Notamment chapitre B: recettes des manifestations du festival, Articles 1-9 (3)	45.135.965
	TOTAL:	58.749.718
To deduct: 3 <sup>rd</sup> tranche du prix de l'affretement du Navirre "Rossia":		25.000.000
	Reste à verser:	33.749.718

Leaving a present state of the sum to be: 33.749.718F

H.R. Winford, Treasurer of the Festival Association

(1): Liban (Chanteuse SABAH) 3.222.600 – Maroc: 5.000.000 – CEE: 985.000

(2) Association des Etudiants (UPS)

(3) La ventilation en sera donnée ultérieurement

(SENEGALESE NATIONAL ARCHIVES) FM 031: EXPENSES

## EXPENSES:

- special trip to US cost 2,674,667F (to promote festival, work w/ US festival committee) (predicted 1,300,000F)
- total for holding events (chair rental, welcome hall, welcome documentation, assurances d'ensemble, reimbursement of army, other expenses): 11,012,999F
- son et lumiere Gorée = 9,169,089F
- 482,850F = Grand prix du disque, expenses, + 289,500F for organizing reception for awardees
- nat'l troupes** = 38,015,609F: total subsistence for artists = 14,849,548F; droits d'auteur: 3,000,000F
- propaganda and publicity: 43,457,668F
- contribution to colloquium: 2,287,929F

## REVENUES:

- merch in stock (unsold) = 8,438,291F (Prestige Album and Packet from Goree, Traditional Art Catalog, antilope heads, etc.)
- merch sold: 6,327,699F
- discs sold: 1,448,000F (highest category – more than prestige album, goree packet, traditional art catalog, caleographie, postcards, and diverse)
- TV spots: earned 1,956,153F
- Picasso painting/picture donated: sold for 4,200,000F (predicted 3,000,000F)
- Daniel Sorano: 9,511,200F (predicted: 12,000,000F)
- Stade de l' Amité: 1,845,800F (predicted 2,250,000F)
- Cathedral and Salle Daniel Brottier: 9.843,900F (predicted: 12,000,000F)
- Gorée spectacle: 8,391,600F (predicted: 4,800,000F)**
- Traditional Art Exhibit: 2,915,000F (predicted: 2,250,000F)
- Modern Art Exhibit: 1,921,800F (predicted: 2,250,000F)
- Soumbédioune Artisanal Village: 2,101,690F (predicted: 1,000,000F)**
- Nigerian Exhibition: 706,200F (predicted: 1,000,000F)
- Legitimation Cards: 4,903,820F (predicted: 40,000,000F)**
- Film showings: 382,320F (predicted 4,000,000F)
- TOTAL Event Revenues: 45,681,330F (predicted 88,050,000F)**
- Discs sold: 1,448,000F (predicted 4,000,000F)
- GRAND TOTAL, FESMAN REVENUE: 136,647,621F (predicted 241,055,000F)**

## EXPENSES:

- Grand Prize, disc: 1,056,091F (projected 1,250,000F) (not sure why different numbers here)
- Reception for prizes: 289,500F (projected 1,500,000F)
- Organization expenses, general: 17,198,109F (predicted 21,500,000F)
- Goree spectacle: 6,690,878F (8,215,000F predicted)
- Fonction Vedette américain (?): 1,939,154F (projected 3,000,000F)
- Spectacles folkloriques, KAYAR, JOAL Contribution à la confection costum: 0 (predicted 500,000F)**
- Nat'l ensembles subsistance and other artist charges: 14,894,458F (projected 34,000,000F)**
- Lodging for certain troupes: 2,132,827F (projected 750,000F)**

**Statutes of the World Festival of Negro Arts Association:**

Part 4: Financial Resources, Article 24:

The Association's financial resources shall consist of:

1. Subscriptions;
2. State subsidies, and subsidies officially accepted from public bodies, public institutions and other legally recognized corporate bodies, and where applicable, from international institutions, other States or various foundations;
3. A proportion of all such income as may be raised in connection with activities organized within the framework of the Festival in accordance with the conditions of the agreement between the government of Senegal and the present Association;
4. Receipts from the Association's ancillary activities and publications;
5. Officially accepted gifts and bequests.

## APPENDIX X

## FESMAN I: GRAND PRIZES IN MUSIC

(SENEGALESE NATIONAL ARCHIVES) FM 045: GRAND PRIZES AWARDED

**Category 1: Musique et chants traditionnel d'Afrique noire**

Grand Prize: "Musique centrafricaine" recueillié par: Charles DUVELLE avec le concours de Jean Pierre MARTIN et Jacques M'BILO, No OCR 12, Collection Radiodiffusion Outre Mer

Premier Prix: NIGER, "Musique des Griots", recueillié par: Tolla Nikiprowetzki, No OCR 20, Collection Radiodiffusion Outre-Mer

**Category 2: Musique africaine d'inspiration chrétienne:**

Grand Prix: "Les Martyres de l'Ouganda", oratorio africaine de Joseph KYAGAMBIDOWA, No PM20112 M, Collection ferveur du monde

Premier Prix: "Messe EWONDO", par les maîtrises des chanteurs à la Croix d'ébène de la cathédrale de Yaoundé, sous la direction de l'abbé Pie-Claude NGUMU, No CAM02, Ministère de l'Education, de la Jeunesse, et de la Culture, République Fédérale du Cameroun

**Category 3: Musique négro-américaine d'inspiration chrétienne:**

Grand Prix: "Greatest Hits", Mahalia Jackson, No CL2004, Columbia

**Category 4: Musique de Jazz:**

Grand Prix: "Hello Dolly", Louis Armstrong, no. KL1364, KAPP

Mention: "First Time", Duke Ellington and Count Basie, No 1715, Columbia

## APPENDIX XI

## FESMAN III: OFFICIAL FESTIVAL PROGRAM

12.10.10:

Hotel Meridien: Festival opening conference: "The African Diaspora – Geography, People, History, Situations, Politics" (Conference)

Grand Stadium: Cérémonie d'ouverture: grand spectacle avec percussions, vidéos, danse, film et concert avec: Angélique Kidjo, Youssou Ndour, Doudou Ndiaye Rose, Mahotella Queens, Minyeshu, Ismaël Lô, Baba Maal, Manu Dibango et la participation exceptionnelle de Samba Diabarré Samb, Khar Mbaye Madiaga, Samba Alioune Guissé. (Music)

12.11.10:

Hotel Meridien: Festival conference: Roundtable on African Renaissance (Conference)

Renaissance Monument: Haiti Night w/ Wyclef Jean, Bwakoré, Adjabel (Culture Urbaine / Music)

French Institute: Nouvelle scène w/ Kamaldine (Guinée) , Amazigh Kateb (Algérie) , Pape Diouf (Music)

Théâtre Sorano: Danse contemporaine / Compagnies Desmond Richardson (USA) "Moonlight" et "Lament"; SeràQ (Brésil) "Queu' isse" (Dance)

12.12.10:

Renaissance Monument: DIASPORA: Squeeziband (Chico Freedman, Reto Weber), MANU DIBANGO (Cameroun), ARCHIE SHEPP (Usa) / (Music)

Obelisque: Grand concert de Diams (Culture urbaine); Soirée femme avec Mahotella Queens (Afrique du Sud) (Music)

French Institute: Soirée femme avec Minyeshu, Somi (Rwanda/ Usa), Adjabel (Music)

Saint Louis: Soirée femme avec Mc Coy Mrubata (Af du sud), Refugee all Stars (Music) Saint Louis Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines / Compagnies Urban Bush Women-Jant bi (USASénégal) "Les Ecailles de la Mémoire" ; Pamodzi Dance Troupe "Life and Living: a Zambia Danscape" (Dance)

12.13.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum, conférence structurante 2: "Les anciens égyptiens étaient t'ils oui ou non des noirs? Les peuples noirs inventeurs de civilisations". (Conference)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée TRADI MODERNE avec Abayazid (DJIBOUTI), Etran Finatawa (Niger), un groupe de Lybie, Malouma, un groupe de Tunisie (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée FREE AFRICA avec Les Bantous de la Capitale (Congo Brazzaville), Bembeya Jazz, Xalam (Sen) , Angélique Kidjo (Bénin) , Wyclef Jean (Haïti) (Music)

Institut Français: Soirée CLASSISSIMO avec Manu Dibango (Cameroun), Abdoulaye Diabate (Sénégal), Andy Narrell (usa), Les Frères KETE ( Sen) , Amadou Dabo (Sénégal), Jean Pierre Senghor, Ray Lema (Music)

12.14.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum, conférence structurante 3: « Permanence de la résistance des peuples noirs ». (Conférence)

Institut français: Conférence de Alain Guédé sur le Chevalier de Saint George (Conférence / Music)

Village des arts: Podium musical avec un groupe de rappeurs (Music)

Biscuiterie: Soirée Made in Africa: Black Diamonds (Sénégal), Moona (Bénin-Sénégal), Abass Abass (France-Sénégal), Xuman (Sénégal), Soprano (France-Comores), DJ POIRIER (Canada) (Culture urbaine)

Théâtre Sorano: MONSIEUR DE SAINT GEORGES: musique de chambre, Hommage au chevalier de St-Georges, compositeur sénégalais du 18eme à la cours de Louis XVI (classical chamber music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Teranga avec Omar PENE, Frères Guissé (Music)

Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Projection de film sur la Danse : "les Bassaris" réalisation Amadou Mbaye Loum (46') suivi d'un débat (dance / film)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Danses traditionnelles et Percussions, Soirée Sénégal: Compagnie Bakalama; Compagnie Kër gui de Bargny; Ballet Kondiof; Cie d'Egypte; Cie de Lybie (dance)

12.15.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum, conférence structurante 4:« L'Apport des Peuples noirs à la Science et à la Technologie » (conférence)

Maison de La Culture Douta Seck: Vernissage de l'Exposition virtuelle sur les Musiques Noires 19h (music, exhibit)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée America: Rita Ribeiro (Brésil), Ousmane Gangué (music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Lusophona avec Oriazul, Mombaça ( Brésil), Cantos de Congo (Brésil) et Bonga (Angola) (music)

Saint-Louis: Soirée TERANGA avec Pape et Cheikh, Fallou Dieng, Philippe Monteiro All Star, (USA) (music)

Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Soirée Sénégal : Hardo Ka/ Compagnie Ka "Haala Nam (raconte-moi)"; Ballet Sinomew ; Troupe Communale de Louga ; Compagnie 5ème Dimension ; Compagnie Artea "Xeex Pollution" ; Ballet Entente Bannaya (dance)

Saint-Louis: Danse contemporaine et Capoeira / Compagnies Desmond Richardson (USA) "Moonlight" et "Lament" ; Grupo de Capoeira Ginga e Malicia (Brésil); Universal African Dance and Drum Ensemble (dance)

12.16.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum, conférence structurante 5 :« La participation des peuples noirs à l'avènement du monde libre et la place et le rôle de l'Afrique dans la gouvernance mondiale ». (Conference)

Biscuiterie: Soirée TRANSMUSICALITES avec Majid Bekkass (Maroc) (music)

Obélisque: Soirée DIASPORA n°2 avec Chico Freedman y Guataca, I Jah Man (Jamaïque) , Ziggi Recado & the Renaissance Band (Pays Bas), Capleton (jamaïque) (music)

Saint-Louis: Soirée Free Africa 2 avec Monza (Mauritanie) (Culture urbaine)

Saint-Louis: Soirée FREE AFRICA avec Vusi Mahlasela (Afrique du Sud) (music)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée TRANSMUSICALITES: Marcus Miller (Usa) , Ray Lema saka saka (RDC) (music)

Village des arts: ImproDances sous la direction de Gacirah Diagne / Chorégraphes Femmes (Sénégal): Gnagna Guèye, Fatou Samb, Rachelle Chenet, Marie Agnès Gomis, Ndèye Touti Daffé (dance)

12.17.10:

Hotel Le Virage: Forum: Table ronde sur "la propriété intellectuel dans l'art et la culture". Et "les objectifs du millénaire". (Conference)

Hotel Meridien: Forum: Table ronde sur " La Renaissance africaine : sciences et technologies" (Conference)

Pl de l'Obélisque: NUIT DU BRESIL: Ecole de Samba Imperio Serrano, Paula Lima , SANDRA de SA, Margareth Menezes (music)

Biscuiterie: Soirée Natty Dread avec Chronik2H (Sénégal), Empire Isis (Canada), Spyrow (Côte d'Ivoire), TIWONY (Guadeloupe), RAPPIN'HOOD (Brésil), Awadi – Présidents d'Afrique (Sénégal), en guest: RAHZEL (THE ROOTS) & DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) pour restitution du workshop (Culture urbaine)

Saint-Louis: NUIT DU BRESIL: Bonga (Angola), Sabura (Cap-Vert), Olodum, Nilze Carvalho (Music)

Saint-Louis: Nuit du Brésil : Maracatu de Baque Solto Agua Formosa (Brésil) (Dance)

Théâtre Sorano: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Compagnies Urban Bush Women Jant-bi (USASénégal, Germaine Acogny) "Les Ecailles de la Mémoire" ; Pamodzi Dance Troupe (Zambie) "Life and Living: a Zambia Danscape" (Dance)

12.18.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum: Table ronde sur " La Renaissance africaine : stratégies économiques"  
(Conference)

Biscuiterie: Conférence sur Bob Marley par le Docteur Desta , spécialiste du reggae (music /  
conference)

Pl de l'Obélisque: TADIABONE avec Saintrick et Les Tchelly, Fatou LAOBE ( Sen ), Petit  
Yéro (Guinée Conakry), Alioune Mbaye Ndeer, Kimani Marley (Music)

Monument de la Renaissance: African Reene, Hervé Samb, Stanley Clarke (Music)

Biscuiterie: Soirée Urban Jam avec Bidew bou bess (Sénégal), Izzo & Hyde (Canada - Sénégal),  
Simon (Sénégal), RAHZEL (THE ROOTS) & DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) (USA), DJ  
Saf Niang (Sénégal) (Culture urbaine)

Saint-Louis: TADIABONE avec Sékouba Bambino (Guinée), Salam Diallo, Capleton (music)

Saint-Louis: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Ballet Syllaba de Thiaroye (SN, Dkr) ;  
Cie Pasytef (SN, Dalifort) ; Cie Chabaab (Mauritanie) , Cie CDC Angola (Angola)  
(Dance)

Maison de La Culture Dousta Seck: Danses traditionnelles et danse classique indienne / Ballet  
national d'Ethiopie "Ethiopian Ballet Dance" ; Compagnie Seher (Inde) "Trividha"  
(Dance)

12.19.10:

Village des arts: Matinée Sénégalaise de musique Traditionnelle avec El Hadj Faye, Etoile 2000  
Version Traditionnelle (Music)

Hotel Méridien: Forum: Table ronde sur " La Renaissance africaine et États-unis d'Afrique"  
(Conference)

Maison de la Culture Dousta Seck: Danses traditionnelles / Compagnies Cameroun, Guinée  
Bissau (Dance)

Saint-Louis: DIASPORA 6 avec Habib Koïté, Latin Legends Band of Fania (Various artists),  
Bill Jacobs Ensemble, Linton Kwesi Johnson (music)

Village des Arts: Concert avec Pape Thiopet (music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Hommage à Myriam Makeba. Concert BLACK HITS : Angélique Kidjo, Rick  
Ross (USA) (Music)

Biscuiterie: Soirée "Hip Hop Represent ": Tigrm B (Sénégal), Nixx (Sénégal), Matador  
(Sénégal), Daara J Family (Sénégal), DJ Gee Bayss (Sénégal) (Culture urbaine)

Monument de la Renaissance: AFRICA UNITED avec Etienne Mbappe, Bohour Elmadehin  
(Lybie), M'nat Aichata (Maroc), musique soudanaise (Music)

12.20.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum: Table ronde sur " Rôle des langues dans la Renaissance africaine"(Conference)

Biscuiterie: Compagnie break dance et performance "Live graff" (Maroc) (Culture urbaine)

Biscuiterie: Conférence de Florent Mazzoleni sur "Un siècle de Musiques noires : du Jazz au Rhythm and Blues" (music / conference)

Obélisque: Pierre Akendengué, Gramps Morgan, Busta Rythme (music)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée GNAWA avec MALIKA ZARRA, Cheikh Lo (Sénégal) , Hassan Hakmoun (Maroc), Allikane et Karim Ziad (music)

Village des arts: Concert solo jazz

Biscuiterie: Soirée SLAM SESSION avec Sall Ngary (Sénégal), Diofel (Congo Brazzaville), Boudor (Cameroun), Sadrak (Cameroun), Rouda (France), John Banzai (France), Souleymane Diamanka (France) (Culture Urbaine)

Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Projection film sur la Danse : "Authenticité léboue", réalisation Omar Ndiaye (54') suivi d'un débat (dance, film, conference)

12.21.10:

Maison de La Culture Douta Seck: Exposition sur les musiques noires. Fermée entre 14 et 15h. Du 15 au 31 (music, exhibition)

Biscuiterie: Conférence: De la soul music au hip hop, l'âge d'or de la « great black music », avec des détours par la France et la Jamaïque. 1960-1990 (music, conference)

Hotel Méridien: Forum: Table ronde sur " Renaissance africaine et nouvelle approche des sciences sociales" (Conference)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée BLACK VIRTUOSOS avec Juldeh Camara (Gambie), Omar Sosa (Cuba), Richard Bona, Trio Ray Lema (RDC), Driss Maloumi (Maroc) (Music)

Biscuiterie: CÉRÉMONIE DE REMISE DES PRIX HIP HOP AWARDS, Fat Joe (USA) (Culture urbaine)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Rafat, Cumba Gaolo, Khaled (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines / Tradiçon di Terra "Ku Torno, Sem Torno" (Batucadeira, Cap Vert), Compagnie du Bénin (Dance)

Saint-Louis: Danse contemporaine et danse classique indienne / Compagnies Ki-yi Mbock "L'Afrique se lève" (Côte d'Ivoire) ; Compagnie Seher (Inde) "Trividha" (Dance)

Théâtre Sorano: Soirée HIP HOP / Crew One Click (SN, Thiès) ; Cie Nö Limi't (SN, Dkr) ; Crew Punisher (SN, Dkr), Compagnie 2nd Souffle "Ombre et Lumière" (Diaspora Algérie) ; Crew Black Jack (Maroc) (Dance)

12.22.10:

Hotel Meridien: Forum: Table ronde, Rencontre: Président de la République et les intellectuels et artistes présents à Dakar (Conference)

Hotel Meridien: Forum: Table ronde, "Le rôle des femmes dans la Renaissance africaine"

Biscuiterie: Conférence: Modernités et fusions musicales en Afrique, au Brésil, en Jamaïque et à Cuba, 1960 à aujourd'hui (music, conference)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Côte d'Ivoire avec PRISS K, Spyrow (Culture urbaine)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée COTE D'IVOIRE avec Aïcha Koné, Les Go de Koteba, DJ ARAFAT, ESPOIR 2000, MEIWAY, Magic Sytem (music)

Institut Français: Soirée VOCALISES avec Lokoua Kanza , Afrikiyo, Musiques marocaines, Gangbe Brass Band (Music)

Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Soirée HIP HOP / Crew Street Jam (SN, Gdwye) ; Crew Crashers Boys (SN, Louga) ; Crew Crazy Elements (SN, Dkr) ; Cie Afreekanam (SN, Dkr) ; bboy Lilou (Algérie) "Le Général" ; Compagnie Pockemon Crew (Diaspora Maghreb) "Second Souffle" (Dance)

12.23.10:

M C Douta Seck: Exposition sur les musiques noires (music, exhibition)

M C Douta Seck: Exposition de photographies (dance; photography; exhibition)

Hotel Méridien: Forum: Table ronde, "Diaspora et Renaissance africaine" (conference)

Saint-Louis: Soirée LUSOFONA avec Maria de Barros (Cap Vert) , Adjouza (Sénégal), Justino Delgado, Bando Muvemiento (Angola), Musique de la Guinée Equatoriale (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Afrique du Sud avec Tumi & the Volume (Afrique du Sud) (Culture urbaine)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée AFRIQUE DU SUD avec LADYSMITH BLACK MAMBAZO, Lira, Sypho, Sello Gellane (Music)

Biscuiterie: Master classe Cirque CUBA (Dance)

Village des Arts: ImproDances (Sénégal) / Hardo Ka/ Cie Ka, Compagnie Nö L'imit ; Compagnie 5ème Dimension (Dance)

Saint-Louis: Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine / Compagnie Seetu (SN, StL) ; Compagnie Forêt Sacrée (SN, ZG) ; Ballet du Libéria; "en remontant le fleuve congo" par la Cie Congo Unojà (RD Congo) (Dance)

12.24.10:

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Diversité avec Thione Seck (Sénégal), Sambala Kanouté (Guinée Bissau), Alpha Blondy, Acantha, Kiné Lam (Music)

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée DIASPORA avec KORA JAZZ TRIO, RANDY WESTON (usa), Will Calhoun Trio, Vusi Khumalo (Music)

Saint-Louis: Soirée Diaspora avec ANTHONY B (Culture urbaine)

Saint-Louis: Soirée DIASPORA 7 avec Luciano et Nikey General and the Mafia and Fluxy Band (Jamaïque), Liberian Crusaders for Peace (music)

Institut français: Acheng Abura (Kenya), Tarika Be (Madagascar) (music)

Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: PRESELECTION BATTLE SABAR ; Compagnie Handi Rythm (Sénégal) ; L'ensemble lyrique de Sorano (Dance)

12.25.10:

M C Douta Seck: Exposition sur les musiques noires (music, exhibition)  
 Saint-Louis: AFRICA UNITED AFRICA avec Jonny Ragga (Éthiopie), Patrouille des Stars (Congo), Alpha Blondy, Abdou Guité Seck (Music)  
 Monument de la Renaissance: Hassan Hakmoun, Miles Davis Tribute band (music)  
 Pl de l'Obélisque Soirée AFRICA UNITED AFRICA avec ANTHONY B (Culture urbaine)  
 Pl de l'Obélisque Soirée AFRICA UNITED AFRICA avec Wa Flash, Lama Sidibé, Fatou Guewel (music)  
 Biscuiterie: Soirée "Galsen show", part one : Les 15 meilleurs groupes de rappeurs du Sénégal (Culture urbaine)  
 Institut Français: AFRICA UNITED AFRICA, Ras Sheehama, Dulce Meves, Orchestra International de Cuba (Music)  
 Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Conférence sur la Danse "L'apport de Danse dans la libération des peuples noirs" (Intervenants du Sénégal, Diaspora UK-Jamaïque, Ghana) (dance, conference)  
 Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: FINALE BATTLE SABAR ; Compagnie Damballah (SN, T.Dialaw) ; Compagnie Ki-yi Mbock (Côte d'Ivoire) "L'Afrique se lève" (Dance)  
 Théâtre Sorano: compagnie Renaissance, "Fil et Contour, de Masiré à Cheikh Anta Diop" (Dance)

12.26.10:

Monument de la Renaissance: DIASPORA avec Bill Jacobs Ensemble (usa) , Senaya, Last Poet, New York Latin Jazz All Stars (Music)  
 Biscuiterie: Soirée reggae "Made in Senegal" (Culture urbaine)  
 Ngordiarama: Défilé spectacle n°1: "Mode et Musique: influ ences réciproques", autour du thème de la musique Africaine (fashion)  
 Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Hip Hop avec Duggy Tee (Sénégal), HAY'OE (Gabon), Supernatural (USA), Seyfu (FRANCE), DJ Abdel (France) (Culture urbaine)  
 Institut Français: Mounira Mitchalla, Bella Mondo, AMG Wuro (Music)  
 Saint-Louis: Soirée Hip Hop avec Da Brains (Sénégal), Smockey (Burkina Faso), Ardiess (Bénin), Degg J Force (Guinée Conakry), Fata (Culture urbaine)  
 Biscuiterie: Master classe Compagnie de Côte d'Ivoire (Dance)  
 Maison de la Culture Douta Seck: Soirée enfants / Compagnie Empire des Enfants (SN, Dkr) ; Crew Stand Up Junior (SN, Parcelles Assainies) ; Ballet Sory Camara (SN, Grand Yoff) ; Cirque : Circuba (Cuba) (Dance)  
 Saint-Louis: Compagnie Ekan Immortel (Cameroun) "Zen Bekon ou vers l'au-delà" ; Compagnie Faso Danse Théâtre (Burkina Faso) "Babemba" (Dance)  
 Saint-Louis: Battle Hip Hop (2h) (ouverture Soirée musique hip hop) (Dance)  
 Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée Hip Hop / Crew Crashers Boys(SN, Louga) ; Crew Stand Up (SN, Parcelles Assainies) ; Crew Crazy Elements (Dance)

12.27.10:

M C Doua Seck: projection des films "Latitude Reggae" et "Made in Jamaica" dans la salle Alpha Waly Diallo (music, film)

Monument de la Renaissance: BLACK VIRTUOSOS avec Mario Rui Sylva, Aly Keita, The African Jazz All Stars, Sekou Diabaté Bembeya (Guinée), Toumani Diabaté (Music)

CICES: Ensemble de musique traditionnelle du Sénégal (Music)

Biscuiterie: Soirée Galsen show, part two (Sélection Nationale) (Culture urbaine)

Maison de La Culture Doua Seck: Exposition de photographies de danse (Dance, photography)

Biscuiterie: Master classe Cirque CUBA (Dance)

12.28.10:

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée TRANSMUSICALITES: avec DEEP FOREST (France), TK Blue and Friends (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Soirée RDC avec BARBARA KANAM (RDC), Papa Wemba, Super Mama Jombo, Youssou Ndour (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Lexxus Legal (RDC) (Culture urbaine)

Biscuiterie: Soirée Urban Jam avec Bouba Kirikou (Sénégal), Nyaaya (Sénégal), Sun Sooley (Sénégal-Italie), Naby (Sénégal), Carlou D (Sénégal), Freddy Massamba (Belgique Congo), William Baldé (France-Guinée) (Culture urbaine)

Institut Français: Kader, Congo All Stars (Music)

Saint-Louis: Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d'élèves (Dance)

Maison de la Culture Doua Seck: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Compagnie St Lucia Arts Festival (St Lucie) "Navel String" ; Compagnie Via Katlehong Dance (Afrique du Sud) "Woza" (Dance)

12.29.10:

Monument de la Renaissance: Soirée Africa United AFRICA avec King Mensah (Togo) , Yoro Ndiaye, Hugh Masekela (Afrique du sud) (Music)

Obélisque: Soirée AFRICA UNITED AFRICA avec Idrissa Diop, Ismaël Lô, Salif Keïta, Tiken Jah Fakoly (Music)

Institut Français: Soirée AFRICA UNITED AFRICA avec Djelibah Kouyaté (Gambie) (Music)

Saint-Louis: Soirée Latin Hits avec Aragon, soirée BLACK HITS, Orchestre National du Sénégal (Music)

Saint-Louis: Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d'élèves (Dance)

Biscuiterie: Master classe Compagnie de Sainte Lucie (Dance)

Saint-Louis: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Cie Alioune.Aïda (SN, St Louis) ; Djembé Rythme (SN, Gdweye) ; Cie Génération Danse (SN, Louga) ; Ballet national du Congo Brazzaville (Dance)

Théâtre Sorano: Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine / Compagnie Ekan Immortel (Cameroun) "Zen Bekon ou vers l'au-delà" ; Compagnie Faso Danse Théâtre (Burkina Faso) "Babemba" (Dance)

12.30.10:

Saint-Louis: Soirée SPIRITUALITES avec de la musique Gnawa avec Hassan Akmoun, des chorales, Youssou Ndour et Cairo Orchestra (Music)

Pl de l'Obélisque: Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (soirée Nigeria), 2 Faces Idibia (Nigeria) (Culture urbaine)

Obélisque: Soirée NIGERIA avec King Suny Adé, Baba Maal (Music)

Institut Français: Divers groupes à venir (Music)

Biscuiterie: Master classe Cie CAMEROUN (2h) & BURKINA FASO (2h) (Dance)

Saint-Louis: Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d'élèves (Dance)

12.31.10:

Saint-Louis: Ilê Aiyê ( Brésil ), Chico César (Brésil ), Lazzo Matumbi ( Brésil ) 23h

Saint-Louis: Grand concert de clôture avec Akon (USA) (Music)

Saint-Louis: Bal poussière et clôture (Dance)

*EVENEMENTS ITINERANTS*

Ziguinchor, Dakar Théâtre: caravane Kaolack / Rufisque/ Thiès/Dakar mar 7 17h

Ziguinchor, Spectacle de théâtre forum , place Bembeya (Brésil, Bissau, Mali, Sénégal, Mauritanie, Espagne, Portugal, Burkina Faso) mer 08 9h

Ziguinchor-Bignona Départ caravane théâtre de la renaissance de l'Afrique, mer 08 10h

Bignona Théâtre: spectacle à Bignona (CTO de Bissau) à la gare routière, Jeu 09 10h

Kaolack Spectacle de théâtre forum , Xixa de Barcelone et groupe Gindi de Kaolack au terrain Deggo, jeu 09 17h

Kaffrine Performance de théâtre-forum, GTO de Rio et Ndoucoumane de Kaolack, ven 10 11h

Rufisque Performance de théâtre-forum, Cies Potimarron de Strasbourg et Kocc barma de Rufisque, Sam 11 11h

Dakar, parc de Hann: Arrivée de la caravane théâtre

Dakar: 12/12 au 12/25: Performances Graff Culture Urbaine avec Faith 47 (Afrique du Sud), Kouka (France), LovePusher1 (UK), Sénégal: Docta, Big Key (de Miserables Graff), Dippi Deup, Grafxxx, Kemp (de 2MGraff ). (Culture Urbaine)

Dakar Littérature: Le Bonhomme livre est une scénographie littéraire par des comédiens et artistes en cars rapides, autobus et camions-podiums, véhicules qui seront décorés par des graffeurs, 14 et 26

St Louis Danse: caravane danse à travers Saint-Louis

*ATELIERS (MASTER CLASSES) / WORKSHOPS*

- Ziguinchor Théâtre: atelier avec les compagnies du Sénégal, Brésil, Gambie, Guinée Bissau, Burkina, Mauritanie. Encadreur Barbara Santos (Brésil) et Compagnies multinationales 12 au 31
- Biscuiterie Design : OEuvres in situ, Stephen Burks (USA), Drahman Cherif (Mali), JOAL, Mbin Djogoy
- Café littéraire: LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR Éthiopiens 10-11-12 à 12h avec le Lycée Léopold S. SENGHOR de Joal , prof: Bilali SOW, 10,12,14 16h Gorée Maison Mariama BA
- Café littéraire: NGUGI WA THIONGO Je me marierai quand je voudrai avec l'école Mariama BA , prof Baïtyr KA, 10,12,14 12h, Lycée Thierno S. N. TALL
- Café littéraire: ANANDA DEVI Le sari vert, prof Annie COLY, 10,12,21 15h, Lycée Ahmadou NDACK SECK
- Café littéraire: MARIAMA BA Une si longue lettre , prof Younouss NDIAYE, 10,11,12 16h FIMELA, Maison Communautaire
- Café littéraire: OUSMANE SEMBENE Les bouts de bois de Dieu , avec le Lycée Basile D. SENGHOR de Fimela, prof Abdoulaye DIONE, 10,12,16 12h Lycée Limamou laye
- Café littéraire: JORGE Amado Gabriela, Fille du Brésil , prof Amadou Lamine N'DIAYE 10,12,16 16h Lycée de Pikine
- Café littéraire: BOUBACAR BORIS DIOP Doomi golo, prof Abdrahmane DJIMERA 10,12,18 10h, Lycée Cheikh O. Foutihou TALL
- Café littéraire: CHEIKH ANTA DIOP Nations nègres, prof Ousmane GUEYE, 10,12,23 11h Lycée de Thiaroye
- Café littéraire: le 23: KWAME NKRUMAH L'Afrique doit s'unir, prof Djeynaba SARR 10,12,23 16h Biscuiterie
- Café littéraire: ABDOULAYE WADE Un destin pour l'Afrique avec le Lycée de Ouakam, prof Emmanuel FAYE, 10,12,18 16h, Saint-Louis, Prytanée militaire
- Café littéraire: NELSON MANDELA Un long chemin vers la liberté, prof Charles CAMARA 10,12,18 12h Saint-Louis (UGB)
- Littérature: AGOSTINHO NETO Chants de l'espoir 18-12-10 à 12h avec le Département de Français de l'UGB, prof Boubacar CAMARA, 11-18h
- Institut Français Artisanat d'art: Visite de l'Exposition-Vente d'Artisanat, 11 au 19 CICES
- Architecture: réalisation sur place d'une porte traditionnelle par madame Ely FATMA, artiste traditionnelle de OUALATA (Mauritanie), dim 12 12-14h Village des arts Atelier d'expression libre de sous verre comme animateur, Mr. Moussa Sakho du village des arts 20 au 31 12-19h Biscuiterie
- Photographie: Studio de photographie Oumar Ly: Prises de vues par Oumar Ly et Serge Villain, photographes, dim 12 10-14h Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie D. Richardson (USA) (10-12h) & SeràQ (BRÉSIL) 1 /contemporain (12-14h), 13 10-12h Biscuiterie Artisanat d'art: Visite guidée à l'intention des journalistes et organes de Presse, 20 au 31 8.30
- CICES Architecture: Ouverture de la Bibliothèque des enfants, 26 au 31 10-19h
- CICES Architecture: atelier pour enfants: ateliers d'initiation à la photographie, au cinéma et à l'architecture. Des films pour les enfants seront diffusés ainsi que des films sur l'architecture, lun 13 10-14h Village des arts Atelier Education Artistique, dessin, couleur, graphisme avec comme animateur Ibrahima Kebe du Village des Arts 14 au 17 matin

Ngordiarama Mode: Ateliers pédagogiques Mode: visites guidées activités manuelles, sérigraphie, dessins sur tissus, lun 13 10h-14h

Saint-Louis Danse: Master classe Cie USA-SN (10-12h) & Cie ZAMBIE (12-14h) 14 10-12h

Biscuiterie Artisanat d'art: Visite guidée à l'intention des élèves du Centre de Formation Gallo Boury (DelaFosse) mar 14 10h-14h

Village des arts Atelier céramique pour enfants avec Mr Alpha Sow du Village des Arts, 14 au 18 10-12h30

Saint-Louis Danse: Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) dans Lycées mer 15 10-14h

Village des arts: Atelier de dessin et bricolage plastique animé par Assane Dione et Assane Gningue jeu 16 10-12h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Sénégalaise 16,17,18 10-14h

Biscuiterie Atelier de photographie: Atelier dirigé par les membres du collectif « Invisible Borders, The Trans- African Photography Project » ouvert aux artistes et photographes professionnels, sam 18 15-16.30

CICES Architecture: Réunion constitutive des réseaux des étudiants/ Rencontre formelle des dirigeants d'instituts de formation, Sam 18 10-14h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie USA-SN (2h) & Cie ZAMBIE (2h), dim 19 11h

Pikine: Performance de théâtre-forum en wolof avec Des groupes du Sénégal, Dim 19 10-14h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie ETHIOPIE (2h) ; Cie INDE (2h), 20 au 22 11-13 et 16-18h

Biscuiterie Artisanat d'art: Atelier, démonstration de fabrication de bogolans et de tissage avec du coton biologique. TISSAGE: Fédération Yaakar Niani Wulli de Tambacounda, TEINTURE: Ballaski du Mali.

CICES Architecture: 20, 21, 22: Tables rondes et panels d'étudiants autour de "Architecture de demain et identité": Le 22 et le 23: rencontres avec les étudiants, 27 au 31 8.30- 16.30

CICES Architecture: Ateliers de synthèse, 20 au 22 matin Ngordiarama Mode: visites guidées de l'exposition: l'Afrique des textiles, Lun 20 11-13h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie HIP HOP 2, Diaspora Algérie, 10-14h

Saint-Louis Danse: Master classe Cie COTE D'IVOIRE (2h) & INDE (2h), Mer 22 10-12h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie HIP HOP 1, Diaspora Algérie, 22 9-16h

Ndem Artisanat d'art: Visite programmée à l'intention des festivaliers du village de NDEM à 140 km de Dakar, 22 10-13h

Biscuiterie Artisanat d'art: Visite programmée à l'intention des festivaliers du village artisanal de Soumbédioune, Jeu 23 10-12h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cirque CUBA, Ven 24 10-12h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Hip Hop Maroc avec le crew Black Jack, Ven 24 10-14h

Saint-Louis Danse: Master classe Cie CAMEROUN (10-12h) & Cie BURKINA FASO (12-14h) Dim 26 12-14h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie C. IVOIRE, Lun 27 10-13h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cirque CUBA, 28 au 30

Saint-Louis Danse: Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d'élèves Mer 29 11-13 et 15-18h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe ST LUCIE, Jeu 30 10-14h

Biscuiterie Danse: Master classe Cie CAMEROUN (2h) & BURKINA FASO (2h), 17 au 31 Dakar/ St Louis Forum: tables rondes dans les universités de Dakar et St Louis

*FESTIVALS LABELLISES*

Bargny:

Festival Bargny Rythme Sur Mer: DANSE: Siddi Goma Groupe (Inde) et Ballet Kabakel Cultural Dance, Group (Gambie) le 24 déc, Compagnie Madagascar le 25 déc, 17 au 20 et 22 au 27

Cap Skirring et Ziguinchor:

Miss Senegal Zig'Fest, Le 18

Dakar:

EXPOSITION: 10 signatures sénégalaises au musée BORIBANA, Le 25

MICRO D'OR à l'hôtel des Almadies, Le 25

Esplanade, CICES, LE PETIT BAL, 09 au 18

Dakar, Louga, Thiès, Kaolack et Ziguinchor: Africafête ([www.africafete.com](http://www.africafete.com)):

15 à 21h: Baaba Maal (Sénégal) - Institut Français de Dakar.

16 à 21h: Bassekou Kouyaté (Mali) - Institut Français de Dakar

18 à 20h: Takeifa - Njaaya – Philip Montéiro - Place Yacine Boubou , Louga. Prévente : 5 000 Fcfa / Sur place : 8 000 Fcfa

15 au 17 Diourbel Kaay Rap de Diourbel

12 au 14 Diourbel Fesmut de Diourbel

16 au 31 Foundiougne FESFOU: Festival de Foundiougne : [www.fesfou.com](http://www.fesfou.com)

16 au 18 Guediawaye Blues du Fleuve

18 au 20 Kaolack FEST INT HIP HOP, Festival des arts hip hop de Kaolack

11 au 30 Kedougou LE FESTIVAL DE KEDOUGOU

27 au 29 Kolda FESKODAK

11 et 12 Lompoul Festival du Sahel de Lompoul

20 au 02, janv Louga

Festival de Folklore et de Percussion (FESFOP): musique: Tikken Jah Fakoly, MALOUMA.

DANSE: compagnie de Guinée (Conakry) le 30/12, Matam Festival de l'eau de Bow

20 au 22 Podor Festival de Mery

24 au 26 Podor Festival de Saldé

27 au 29 Podor Festival International de Ndioum

4 au 17 Saint-Louis Les rencontres sur le fleuve

29 au 31 Sedhiou JOURNEES CULTURELLES MANDINGUES DE SEDHIOU

27 et 28 Tambacounda ALLO TAMBA

10 au 31 Tambacounda ORIENTAL FESTIVAL TAMBA

9 au 22 Thiès Hip Hop awards à Thiès et Dakar: KORA JAZZ TRIO (Sénégal)

11 au 30 Thiès THIES FESTIVAL

24 au 31 Thiès Fête des Arts

18 au 19 Toubacouta, Fatick FESTIVAL DE TOUBACOUTA

17 au 27 Ziguinchor Zig Fest avec Salif Keita le 27/12

## APPENDIX XII

## FESMAN III: PERFORMERS BY GENRE

Venue Abbreviations:

Biscuiterie: BS  
 Renaissance Monument: RM  
 Obélisque: OB  
 Saint-Louis: SL  
 Institut français: IL

*Culture Urbaine / Hip-hop*

(\*)Abass Abass (from France-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 Adjabel (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11, RM  
 (\*)Akon (from USA) (“Grand concert de clôture avec”, Music) – 12/31, SL  
 \*Awadi (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 \*Bidew bou bess (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18, BS  
 \*Black Diamonds (from Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 \*Bouba Kirikou (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 Boudor (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 Busta Rhymes (US, Music) – 12/20, OB  
 Bwakoré (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11, RM  
 \*Carlou D (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 \*Chronik2H (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 Congo All Stars (Music) – 12/28, IF [*hip hop, world, soukous, rumba*]  
 \*Crew Crashers Boys (from Louga, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26, OB  
 \*Crew Crazy Elements (Senegal - “Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26, OB  
 \*Crew Stand Up (from Parcelles Assainies, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26, OB  
 \*Daara J Family (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19, BS  
 Diams, “Grand concert de” (“Soirée Femme”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/12, OB  
 Diofel (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 DJ Abdel (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26, OB  
 DJ Arafat (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22, OB  
 \*DJ Gee Bayss (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19, BS  
 DJ Poirier (from Canada) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 \*DJ Saf Niang (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18, BS  
 \*Duggy Tee (from Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26, OB  
 Empire Isis (from Canada) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 2 Faces Idibia (from Nigeria) (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30, OB  
 Fat Joe (from USA) (“Cérémonie de remise des prix hip hop awards”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/21, BS  
 Freddy Massamba (from Belgium-Congo) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 Hay’oe (from Gabon) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26, OB  
 (\*)Izzo & Hyde (from Canada-Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18, BS  
 John Banzai (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 Last Poet (US - “Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26, OB

- Lexxus Legal (from RDC) (“Soirée RDC”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, OB  
 Compagnie break dance et performance “Live graff” (from Morocco) (Culture Urbaine, Dance) – 12/20, BS  
 \*Matador (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19, BS  
 Monza (from Mauritania) (“Soirée Free Africa 2”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/16, SL  
 (\*)Moona (from Benin-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 \*Naby (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 \*Nixx (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19, BS  
 \*Nyaaya (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 Priss K (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/22, OB  
 Rahzel (The Roots) & DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) (Special Guests, for workshop) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 Rappin’hood (from Brazil) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 Rick Ross (from USA) (“Hommage à Myriam Makeba”, “Concert Black Hits”, Music) – 12/19, OB  
 Rouda (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 Sadrak (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 \*Sall Ngary (from Senegal) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 Seyfu (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26, OB  
 \*Simon (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18, BS  
 Soprano (from France-Comores) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 Spyrow (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/22, OB  
 Souleymane Diamanka (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20, BS  
 (\*)Sun Sooley (from Senegal-Italy) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 Supernatural (from USA) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26, OB  
 \*Tigm B (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19, BS  
 Tiwony (from Guadeloupe) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17, BS  
 Tumi & the Volume (from South Africa) (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/23, OB  
 William Baldé (from France-Guinée) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28, BS  
 Wyclef Jean (from Haiti) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB  
 \*Xuman (from Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14, BS  
 15 best rappers of Senegal (“Soirée ‘Galsen Show’, Part 1”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25, BS  
 “Soirée Galsen Show, Part 2”, Selection Nationale (Culture Urbaine) – 12/27, BS

### *Culture Urbaine / Reggae*

- I Jah Man (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16, OB  
 Capleton (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16, OB  
 Gramps Morgan (US/Jam-Music) – 12/20, OB  
 Alpha Blondy (Ivory Coast - “Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24, OB  
 Anthony B (Jamaica - “Soirée Africa United Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25, OB  
 Tiken Jah Fakoly (Ivory Coast - “Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, OB

*Culture Urbaine / Other*

Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30, OB

*Old Guard*

Manu Dibango (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12, RM

Archie Shepp (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12, RM

Ray Lema saka saka (from RDC) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16, RM

Ladysmith Black Mambazo (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23, OB

Randy Weston (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24, RM

Hugh Masakela (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, RM

Mahotella Queens (from South Africa) (“Soirée Femme, Music) – 12/12, OB

Les Bantous de la Capitale (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB

Bembeya Jazz (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB

Xalam (from Senegal) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB

Papa Wemba (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28, OB

Super Mama Jombo (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28, OB

King Suny Adé (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30, OB

Pape et Cheikh (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15, SL

*Jazz*

Manu Dibango (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12, RM

Archie Shepp (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12, RM

Marcus Miller (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16, RM

Hervé Samb (Music) – 12/18, RM

Sqeeziband: Chico Freedman (pno), Reto Weber (perc) (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12, RM

Stanley Clarke (Music) – 12/18, RM

Etienne Mbappe (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19, RM

Omar Sosa (from Cuba) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21, RM

Richard Bona (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21, RM

Randy Weston (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24, RM

Miles Davis Tribute Band (Music) – 12/25, RM

Bill Jacobs Ensemble (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26, RM

New York Latin Jazz All Stars (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26, RM

TK Blue and Friends (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28, RM

The African Jazz All Stars (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27, RM

Chico Freedman y Guataca (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16, OB

Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30, OB

Andy Narrell (from USA) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13, IF

*African / World Music Stars*

Cheikh Lo (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20, RM

Hassan Hakmoun (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20, RM

Ladysmith Black Mambazo (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23, OB

Toumani Diabaté (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27, RM

Deep Forest (from France) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28, RM

King Mensah (from Togo) (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, RM

Hugh Masakela (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, RM  
 Mahotella Queens (from South Africa) (“Soirée Femme, Music) – 12/12, OB  
 Les Bantous de la Capitale (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB  
 Bembeya Jazz (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB  
 Xalam (from Senegal) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB  
 Angélique Kidjo (from Benin) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13, OB  
 Omar Pene (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/14, OB  
 Khaled (Algeria; rai; Music) – 12/21, OB  
 Papa Wemba (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28, OB  
 Youssou Ndour (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28, OB  
 Ismaël Lô (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, OB  
 Salif Keita (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29, OB  
 Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30, OB  
 King Suny Adé (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30, OB  
 Baba Maal (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30, OB  
 Gangbe Brass Band (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22, IF  
 Tarika Be (from Madagascar) (Music) – 12/24, IF  
 Congo All Stars (Music) – 12/28, IF  
 Pape et Cheikh (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15, SL  
 Habib Koité (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19, SL

#### *National Ensembles*

Un group de Lybie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13, RM  
 Un group de Tunisie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13, RM  
 Musique sudainaise (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19, RM  
 Compagnie du Bénin (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines,” Dance) – 12/21, OB  
 Musiques marocaines (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22, IF  
 Orchestra International de Cuba (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25, IF  
 Cirque Cuba, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/23, BS  
 Compagnie de Côte d’Ivoire, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/26 BS  
 Compagnie de Sainte Lucie, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/29, BS  
 Compagnies de Cameroun, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/30, BS  
 Compagnies de Burkina Faso, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/30, BS  
 Compagnie CDC Angola (from Angola) (“Danses traditionnelles et contempinaire”, Dance 12/18,  
 SL  
 Musique de la Guinée Equatoriale (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23, SL  
 Ballet du Libéria (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23, SL  
 Compagnie Congo Unojà, “En remontant le fleuve congo” (from RDC) (“Danses traditionnelles  
 et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23, SL  
 Orchestre National du Sénégal (“Soirée Black Hits”, Music) – 12/29, SL  
 Ballet national du Congo Brazzaville (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) –  
 12/29, SL  
 Cairo Orchestra (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30, SL

*Other*

Abayazid (from Djibouti) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13, RM  
Etran Finatawa (from Niger) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13, RM  
Malouma (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13, RM  
Rita Ribeiro (from Brazil) – 12/15, RM  
Ousmane Gangué (“Soirée America”, Music) – 12/15, RM  
African Reene (Music) – 12/18, RM  
Bohour Elmadehin (from Libya) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19, RM  
M’nat Aichata (from Morocco) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19, RM  
Malika Zarra (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20, RM  
Allikane et Karim Ziad (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20, RM  
Juldeh Camara (from Gambia) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21, RM

## APPENDIX XIII

## FESMAN III: HIP HOP PERFORMERS BY COUNTRY

BENIN-SENEGAL: Moona  
BRAZIL: Rappin'hood  
CAMEROON: Boudor, Sadrak  
CANADA: DJ Poirier, Empire Isis  
COMOROS-FRANCE: Soprano  
CONGO: Congo All Stars, Diofel – Brazza-RC, Lexxus Legal – RDC-Kinshasa  
CONGO-BELGIUM: Freddy Massamba  
FRANCE: Diams, DJ Abdel, John Bonzai, Rouda, Seyfu, Souleymane Diamanka  
GABON: Hay'oe  
GUADELOUPE: Tiwony  
GUINEA-FRANCE: William Baldé  
HAITI: Adjabel, Bwakoré, Wyclef Jean  
ITALY-SENEGAL: Sun Sooley  
IVORY COAST: DJ Arafat, Priss K, Spyrow  
MAURITANIA: Monza  
MOROCCO: break dance group  
NIGERIA: 2 Faces Idiba  
SENEGAL-CANADA: Izzo & Hyde  
SENEGAL-FRANCE: Abass Abass  
SOUTH AFRICA: Tumi and the Volume  
US: Busta Rhymes, Fat Joe, Last Poet, Rahzel – The Roots; DJ JS-1 – Rocksteady Crew, Rick Ross, Supernatural

## APPENDIX XIV

## FESMAN III: PERFORMANCES BY VENUE

*Renaissance Monument*

- Wyclef Jean (“Haiti Night”, Music) – 12/11  
 Bwakoré (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11  
 Adjabel (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11  
 Squeeziband: Chico Freedman, Reto Weber (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12  
 Manu Dibango (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12  
 Archie Shepp (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12  
 Abayazid (from Djibouti) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Etran Finatawa (from Niger) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Un group de Lybie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Malouma (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Un group de Tunisie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Rita Ribeiro (from Brazil), Ousmane Gangué (“Soirée America”, Music) – 12/15  
 Marcus Miller (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16  
 Ray Lema saka saka (from RDC) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16  
 Littératures et jazz de la diaspora africaine/américaine, Table ronde 2. Littérature et jazz de la diaspora africaine américaine (Conference, Music) – 12/17  
 African Reene (Music) – 12/18  
 Hervé Samb (Music) – 12/18  
 Stanley Clarke (Music) – 12/18  
 Etienne Mbappe (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 Bohour Elmadehin (from Libya) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 M’nat Aichata (from Morocco) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 Musique sudainaise (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 Malika Zarra (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Cheikh Lo (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Hassan Hakmoun (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Allikane et Karim Ziad (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Juldeh Camara (from Gambia) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21  
 Omar Sosa (from Cuba) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21  
 Richard Bona (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21  
 Trio Ray Lema (from RDC) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21  
 Driss Maloumi (From Morocco) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21  
 Kora Jazz Trio (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
 Randy Weston (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
 Will Calhoun Trio (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
 Vusi Khumalo (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
 Hassan Hakmoun (Music) – 12/25  
 Miles Davis Tribute Band (Music) – 12/25

Bill Jacobs Ensemble (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26  
 Senaya (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26  
 Last Poet (“Diaspora”, Music - US) – 12/26  
 New York Latin Jazz All Stars (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26  
 Mario Rui Sylva (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Aly Keita (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 The African Jazz All Stars (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Sekou Diabaté Bembeya (from Guinée) (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Toumani Diabaté (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Deep Forest (from France) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28  
 TK Blue and Friends (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28  
 King Mensah (from Togo) (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Yoro Ndiaye (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Hugh Masakela (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29

### *Obelisque*

Diams, “Grand concert de” (“Soirée Femme”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/12  
 Mahotella Queens (from South Africa) (“Soirée Femme, Music) – 12/12  
 Les Bantous de la Capitale (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Bembeya Jazz (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Xalam (from Senegal) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Angélique Kidjo (from Benin) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Wyclef Jean (from Haiti) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Omar Pene (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/14  
 Frères Guissé (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/14  
 Oriazul (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Mombaça (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Cantos de Congo (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Bonga (from Angola) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Chico Freedman y Guataca (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16  
 I Jah Man (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16  
 Capleton (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16  
 Ecole de Samba Imperio Serrano (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Paula Lima (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Sandra de Sa (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Margareth Menezes (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Tadiabone avec Saintrick et Les Tchelly (Music) – 12/18  
 Fatou Laobe (from Senegal) (Music) – 12/18  
 Petit Yéro (from Guinée Conakry) (Music) – 12/18  
 Alioune Mbaye Ndeer (Music) – 12/18  
 Kimani Marley (Music) – 12/18  
 Angélique Kidjo (“Hommage à Myriam Makeba”, “Concert Black Hits”, Music) – 12/19

Rick Ross (from USA) (“Hommage à Myriam Makeba”, “Concert Black Hits”, Music) – 12/19  
 Pierre Akendengué (Music) – 12/20  
 Gramps Morgan (Music) – 12/20  
 Busta Rhymes (Music) – 12/20  
 Rafat (Music) – 12/21  
 Cumba Gaolo (Music) – 12/21  
 Khaled (Music) – 12/21  
 Tradiçon di Terra “Ku Torno, Sem Torno” (from Batucadeira, Cap Vert) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/21  
 Compagnie du Bénin (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines,” Dance) – 12/21  
 Priss K (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/22  
 Spyrow (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/22  
 Aïcha Koné (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Les Go de Koteba (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 DJ Arafat (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Espoir 2000 (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Meiway (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Magic System (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Tumi & the Volume (from South Africa) (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/23  
 Ladysmith Black Mambazo (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Lira (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Sypho (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Sello Gellane (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Thione Seck (from Senegal) (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Sambala Kanouté (from Guinée Bissau) (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Alpha Blondy (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Acantha (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Kiné Lam (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Anthony B (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25  
 Wa Flash (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Lama Sidibé (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Fatou Guewel (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Duggy Tee (from Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 Hay’oe (from Gabon) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 Supernatural (from USA) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 Seyfu (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 DJ Abdel (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 Crew Crashers Boys (from Louga, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Crew Stand Up (from Parcelles Assainies, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Crew Crazy Elements (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Barbara Kanam (from RDC) (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28  
 Papa Wemba (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28  
 Super Mama Jombo (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28  
 Youssou Ndour (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28  
 Lexxus Legal (from RDC) (“Soirée RDC”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Idriss Diop (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29

Ismaël Lô (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Salif Keita (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Tiken Jah Fakoly (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30  
 2 Faces Idibia (from Nigeria) (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30  
 King Suny Adé (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30  
 Baba Maal (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30

*Institut Français*

Kamaldine (from Guinée) (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11  
 Amazigh Kateb (from Algeria) (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11  
 Pape Diouf (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11  
 Minyeshu (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Somi (from Rwanda/USA) (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Adjabel (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Manu Dibango (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Abdoulaye Diabaté (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Andy Narrell (from USA) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Les Frères Kete (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Amadou Dabo (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Jean-Pierre Senghor (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Ray Lema (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Alain Guédé: Conférence sur le Chevalier de Saint George (Conférence, Music) – 12/14  
 Lokoua Kanza (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Afrikiyo (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Musiques marocaines (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Gangbe Brass Band (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Acheng Abura (from Kenya) (Music) – 12/24  
 Tarika Be (from Madagascar) (Music) – 12/24  
 Ras Sheehama (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Dulce Meves (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Orchestra International de Cuba (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Mounira Mitchalla (Music) – 12/26  
 Bella Mondo (Music) – 12/26  
 AMG Wuro (Music) – 12/26  
 Kader (Music) – 12/28  
 Congo All Stars (Music) – 12/28  
 Djelibah Kouyaté (from Gambia) (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 Divers groupes à venir (Music) – 12/30

*Biscuiterie*

- Black Diamonds (from Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Moona (from Benin-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Abass Abass (from France-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Xuman (from Senegal (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Soprano (from France-Comores) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 DJ Poirier (from Canada) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Majid Bekkass (oud, guitar, from Morocco) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”) – 12/16  
 Chronik2H (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Empire Isis (from Canada) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Spyrow (from Côte d’Ivoire) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Tiwony (from Guadeloupe) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Rappin’hood (from Brazil) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Awadi (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Rahzel (The Roots) & DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) (Special Guests, for workshop) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Docteur Desta (reggae specialist): Conference sur Bob Marley (Conference, Music) – 12/18  
 Bidew bou bess (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 Izzo & Hyde (from Canada-Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 Simon (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 Rahzel (The Roots) & DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) (from USA) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 DJ Saf Niang (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 Tigrm B (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Nixx (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Matador (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Daara J Family (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 DJ Gee Bayss (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Sall Ngary (from Senegal) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Diofel (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Boudor (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Sadrak (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Rouda (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 John Banzai (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Souleymane Diamanka (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Compagnie break dance et performance “Live graff” (from Morocco) (Culture Urbaine, Dance) – 12/20  
 Florent Mazzoleni, Conference sur ‘Un siècle de Musiques noires: du Jazz au Rhythm and Blues’ (Conference, Music) – 12/20  
 Conference: “De la soul music au hip hop, l’âge d’or de la ‘great black music’, avec détours par la France et la Jamaïque, 1960-1990” (Conference, music) - 12/21  
 Fat Joe (from USA) (“Cérémonie de remise des prix hip hop awards”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/21  
 Conference: “Modernités et fusions musicales en Afrique, au Brésil, en Jamaïque et à Cuba, 1960 à aujourd’hui” (Conference, Music) – 12/22  
 Cirque Cuba, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/23

15 best rappers of Senegal (“Soirée ‘Galsen Show’, Part 1”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25  
 “Soirée reggae ‘Made in Senegal’” (Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 Compagnie de Côte d’Ivoire, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/26  
 “Soirée Galsen Show, Part 2”, Selection Nationale (Culture Urbaine) – 12/27  
 Bouba Kirikou (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Nyaaya (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Sun Sooley (from Senegal-Italy) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Naby (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Carlou D (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Freddy Massamba (from Belgium-Congo) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 William Baldé (from France-Guinée) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Compagnie de Sainte Lucie, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/29  
 Compagnies de Cameroun and Burkina Faso, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/30

### *Saint Louis*

Mc Coy Mrubata (from South Africa) (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Refugee All Stars (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Compagnies Urban Bush Women-Jant-bi (from USA-Senegal), “Les Ecailles de la Mémoire”  
 (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/12  
 Pamodzi Dance Troupe (from Zambia), “Life and Living: A Zambia Danscape” (“Danses  
 traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/12  
 Pape et Cheikh (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15  
 Fallou Dieng (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15  
 Philippe Monteiro All Star (from USA) (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15  
 Compagnie Desmond Richardson (from USA), “Moonlight” et “Lament” (“Danse contemporaine  
 et Capoeira”, Dance) – 12/15  
 Grupo de Capoeira Ginga e Malicia (from Brazil) (“Danse contemporaine et Capoeira”, Dance)  
 12/15  
 Universal African Dance and Drum Ensemble (USA) (“Danse contemporaine et Capoeira”,  
 Dance) – 12/15  
 Monza (from Mauritania) (“Soirée Free Africa 2”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/16  
 Vusi Mahlasela (from South Africa) “Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/16  
 Bonga (from Angola) (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Sabura (from Cap-Vert) (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Olodum (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Nilze Carvalho (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Maracatu de Baque Solto Aguia Formosa (from Brazil) (“Nuit du Brésil”, Dance) – 12/17  
 Tadiabone (Sen) avec Sékouba Bambino (from Guinée), Salam Diallo (Sen), Capleton (Jamaica)  
 (Music) – 12/18  
 Ballet Syllaba de Thiaroye (from Dakar, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contempinaire”,  
 Dance) – 12/18

- Compagnie Pasytef (from Dalifort, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance)  
12/18
- Compagnie Chabaab (from Mauritania) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance)  
12/18
- Compagnie CDC Angola (from Angola) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance)  
12/18
- Habib Koité (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19
- Latin Legends Band of Fania (Various Artists) (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19
- Bill Jacobs Ensemble (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19
- Linton Kwesi Johnson (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19
- Compagnie Ki-yi Mbock “L’Afrique se lève” (from Côte d’Ivoire) (“Danse contemporaine et danse classique indienne”, Dance) – 12/21
- Compagnie Seher, “Trividha” (from India) (“Danse contemporaine et danse classique indienne”, Dance) – 12/21
- Maria de Barros (from Cap Vert) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Adjouza (from Senegal) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Justino Delgado (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Bando Movimento (from Angola) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Musique de la Guinée Equatoriale (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Compagnie Seetu (from Saint Louis, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23
- Compagnie Forêt Sacrée (from Ziguinchor, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) 12/23
- Ballet du Libéria (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23
- Compagnie Congo Unojà, “En remontant le fleuve congo” (from RDC) (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23
- Anthony B (“Soirée Diaspora”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/24
- Luciano et Nikey General and the Mafia and Fluxy Band (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora 7”, Music) – 12/24
- Liberian Crusaders for Peace (“Soirée Diaspora 7”, Music) – 12/24
- Johnny Ragga (from Ethiopia) (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Patrouille des Stars (from Congo) (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Alpha Blondy (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Abdou Guité Seck (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Compagnie Ekan Immortel (from Cameroun), “Zen Bekon ou vers l’au-delà” (Dance) – 12/26
- Compagnie Faso Danse Théâtre (from Burkina Faso) “Babemba” (Dance) – 12/26
- Battle Hip Hop (ouverture Soirée musique hip hop) (Dance) – 12/26
- Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d’élèves (Dance) – 12/28
- Aragon (“Soirée Latin Hits”, Music) – 12/29
- Orchestre National du Sénégal (“Soirée Black Hits”, Music) – 12/29
- Compagnie Alioune.Aïda (from Saint Louis, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29
- Djembé Rythme (from Guedewaye, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29
- Compagnie Génération Danse (from Louga, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29

Ballet national du Congo Brazzaville (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29  
Hassan Hakmoun (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
Des chorales (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
Youssou Ndour (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
Cairo Orchestra (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d’élèves (Dance) – 12/30  
Ilê Aiyê (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31  
Chico César (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31  
Lazzo Matumbi (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31  
Akon (from USA) (“Grand concert de clôture avec”, Music) – 12/31  
Bal poussière et clôture (Dance) – 12/31

## APPENDIX XV

## FESMAN III: ALL PERFORMERS, ALPHABETICAL ORDER

- 2 Faces Idibia (from Nigeria) (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30  
 15 best rappers of Senegal (“Soirée ‘Galsen Show’, Part 1”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25  
 Abayazid (from Djibouti) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Abass Abass (from France-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Abdou Guité Seck (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Abdoulaye Diabaté (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Acantha (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Acheng Abura (from Kenya) (Music) – 12/24  
 Adjabel (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11  
 Adjouza (from Senegal) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23  
 The African Jazz All Stars (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 African Reene (Music) – 12/18  
 Afrikiyo (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Aïcha Koné (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Akon (from USA) (“Grand concert de clôture avec”, Music) – 12/31  
 Alain Guédé: Conference sur le Chevalier de Saint George (Conference, Music) – 12/14  
 Compagnie Alioune.Aïda (from Saint Louis, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29  
 Alioune Mbaye Ndeer (Music) – 12/18  
 Allikane et Karim Ziad (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Alpha Blondy (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 Aly Keita (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Amadou Dabo (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Amazigh Kateb (from Algeria) (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11  
 AMG Wuro (Music) – 12/26  
 Andy Narrell (from USA) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13  
 Angélique Kidjo (from Benin) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Compagnie CDC Angola (from Angola) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance)  
 12/18  
 Anthony B (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/25  
 Aragon (“Soirée Latin Hits”, Music) – 12/29  
 Archie Shepp (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12  
 Ateliers Mots et Mouvements (MIM) avec groupe restreint d’élèves (Dance) – 12/28  
 Awadi (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Baba Maal (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30  
 Bal poussière et clôture (Dance) – 12/31  
 Bando Muvemiento (from Angola) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23  
 Les Bantous de la Capitale (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Barbara Kanam (from RDC) (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28  
 Battle Hip Hop (ouverture Soirée musique hip hop) (Dance) – 12/26

Bella Mondo (Music) – 12/26  
 Bembeya Jazz (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
 Compagnie du Bénin (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines,” Dance) – 12/21  
 Bidew bou bess (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18  
 Bill Jacobs Ensemble (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26  
 Black Diamonds (from Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
 Bohour Elmadehin (from Libya) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 Bonga (from Angola) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Bouba Kirikou (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Boudor (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Compagnie Burkina Faso, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/30  
 Busta Rhymes (Music) – 12/20  
 Bwakoré (“Haiti Night”, Culture Urbaine, Music) – 12/11  
 Cairo Orchestra (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
 Compagnies de Cameroun, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/30  
 Cantos de Congo (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15  
 Capleton (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16  
 Carlou D (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Chico César (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31  
 Des chorales (“Soirée Spiritualités”, Music) – 12/30  
 Compagnie Chabaab (from Mauritania) (“Danses traditionnelles et contempinaire”, Dance)  
 12/18  
 Cheikh Lo (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Chico Freedman y Guataca (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16  
 Chronik2H (from Senegal) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17  
 Cirque Cuba, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/23  
 Congo All Stars (Music) – 12/28  
 Ballet national du Congo Brazzaville (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29  
 Compagnie Congo Unojà, “En remontant le fleuve congo” (from RDC) (“Danses traditionnelles  
 et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23  
 Compagnie de Côte d’Ivoire, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/26  
 Crew Crashers Boys (from Louga, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Crew Crazy Elements (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Crew Stand Up (from Parcelles Assainies, Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Dance) – 12/26  
 Orchestra International de Cuba (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Cumba Gaolo (Music) – 12/21  
 Deep Forest (from France) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28  
 Daara J Family (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Compagnie Desmond Richardson (from USA), “Moonlight” et “Lament” (“Danse  
 contemporaine et Capoeira”, Dance) – 12/15  
 Diams, “Grand concert de” (“Soirée Femme”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/12  
 Diofel (from Congo Brazza) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20  
 Divers groupes à venir (Music) – 12/30  
 DJ Abdel (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26  
 DJ Arafat (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Djelibah Kouyaté (from Gambia) (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29

- Djembé Rythme (from Guedewaye, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29
- DJ Gee Bayss (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19
- DJ JS-1 (Rocksteady Crew) (Special Guests, for workshop) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17
- DJ Poirier (from Canada) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14
- DJ Saf Niang (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18
- Driss Maloumi (From Morocco) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21
- Duggy Tee (from Senegal) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26
- Dulce Meves (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Empire Isis (from Canada) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17
- Compagnie Ekan Immortel (from Cameroun), “Zen Bekon ou vers l’au-delà” (Dance) – 12/26
- Espoir 2000 (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22
- Etran Finatawa (from Niger) (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13
- Etienne Mbappe (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19
- Fallou Dieng (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15
- Fat Joe (from USA) (“Cérémonie de remise des prix hip hop awards”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/21
- Fatou Guewel (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Fatou Laobe (from Senegal) (Music) – 12/18
- Compagnie Forêt Sacrée (from Ziguinchor, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23
- Freddy Massamba (from Belgium-Congo) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28
- Frères Guissé (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/14
- Les Frères Kete (from Senegal) (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13
- Gangbe Brass Band (Togo - “Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22
- Compagnie Génération Danse (from Louga, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/29
- Grupo de Capoeira Ginga e Malicia (from Brazil) (“Danse contemporaine et Capoeira”, Dance) 12/15
- Gramps Morgan (Music) – 12/20
- Musique de la Guinée Equatoriale (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23
- Habib Koité (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19
- Hassan Hakmoun (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20
- Hay’oe (from Gabon) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26
- Hervé Samb (Music) – 12/18
- Hugh Masakela (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29
- Idriss Diop (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29
- I Jah Man (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora No. 2”, Music) – 12/16
- Ilê Aiyê (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31
- Imperio Serrano, Ecole de Samba (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17
- Ismaël Lô (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29
- Izzo & Hyde (from Canada-Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18
- Jean-Pierre Senghor (“Soirée Classissimo”, Music) – 12/13
- John Banzai (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20
- Johnny Ragga (from Ethiopia) (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Juldeh Camara (from Gambia) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21

- Justino Delgado (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23  
 Kader (Music) – 12/28  
 Kamaldine (from Guinée) (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11  
 Khaled (Music) – 12/21  
 Kimani Marley (Music) – 12/18  
 Kiné Lam (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24  
 King Mensah (from Togo) (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
 King Suny Adé (“Soirée Nigeria”, Music) – 12/30  
 Comapgnie Ki-yi Mbock “L’Afrique se lève” (from Côte d’Ivoire) (“Danse contemporaine et danse classique indienne”, Dance) – 12/21  
 Kora Jazz Trio (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
 Ladysmith Black Mambazo (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Lama Sidibé (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
 Last Poet (“Diaspora”, Music - US) – 12/26  
 Latin Legends Band of Fania (Various Artists) (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19  
 Lazzo Matumbi (from Brazil) (Music) – 12/31  
 Les Go de Koteba (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Lexxus Legal (from RDC) (“Soirée RDC”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
 Ballet du Libéria (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23  
 Liberian Crusadors for Peace (“Soirée Diaspora 7”, Music) – 12/24  
 Linton Kwesi Johnson (“Diaspora 6”, Music) – 12/19  
 Lira (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23  
 Compagnie break dance et performance “Live graff” (from Morocco) (Culture Urbaine, Dance) – 12/20  
 Lokoua Kanza (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22  
 Luciano et Nikey General and the Mafia and Fluxy Band (from Jamaica) (“Soirée Diaspora 7”, Music) – 12/24  
 Un group de Lybie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Magic System (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Mahotella Queens (from South Africa) (“Soirée Femme, Music) – 12/12  
 Majid Bekkass (oud, guitar, from Morocco) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”) – 12/16  
 Malika Zarra (“Soirée Gnawa”, Music) – 12/20  
 Malouma (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13  
 Manu Dibango (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12  
 Maracatu de Baque Solto Aguia Formosa (from Brazil) (“Nuit du Brésil”, Dance) – 12/17  
 Marcus Miller (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16  
 Margareth Menezes (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17  
 Maria de Barros (from Cap Vert) (“Soirée Lusofona”, Music) – 12/23  
 Mario Rui Sylva (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27  
 Matador (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19  
 Mc Coy Mrubata (from South Africa) (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 Meiway (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Music) – 12/22  
 Miles Davis Tribute Band (Music) – 12/25  
 Minyeshu (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12  
 M’nat Aichata (from Morocco) (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19  
 Mombaça (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15

- Monza (from Mauritania) (“Soirée Free Africa 2”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/16
- Moona (from Benin-Senegal) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14
- Mounira Mitchalla (Music) – 12/26
- Musiques marocaines (“Soirée Vocalises”, Music) – 12/22
- Naby (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28
- New York Latin Jazz All Stars (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26
- Nilze Carvalho (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17
- Nixx (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19
- Nyaaya (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28
- Olodum (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17
- Omar Pene (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/14
- Omar Sosa (from Cuba) (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21
- Oriazul (from Brazil) (“Soirée Lusophona”, Music) – 12/15
- Ousmane Gangué (“Soirée America”, Music) – 12/15
- Pamodzi Dance Troupe (from Zambia), “Life and Living: A Zambia Danscape” (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/12
- Papa Wemba (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28
- Pape Diouf (“Nouvelle scène”, Music) – 12/11
- Pape et Cheikh (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15
- Compagnie Pasytef (from Dalifort, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) 12/18
- Patrouille des Stars (from Congo) (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Paula Lima (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17
- Petit Yéro (from Guinée Conakry) (Music) – 12/18
- Philippe Monteiro All Star (from USA) (“Soirée Teranga”, Music) – 12/15
- Pierre Akendengué (Music) – 12/20
- Priss K (“Soirée Côte d’Ivoire”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/22
- Rafat (Music) – 12/21
- Rahzel (The Roots) (Special Guests, for workshop) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) 12/17
- Randy Weston (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24
- Rappin’hood (from Brazil) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17
- Ras Sheehama (“Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25
- Ray Lema saka saka (from RDC) (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/16
- Refugee All Stars (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12
- Richard Bona (“Soirée Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/21
- Rick Ross (from USA) (“Hommage à Myriam Makeba”, “Concert Black Hits”, Music) – 12/19
- Rita Ribeiro (from Brazil) (“Soirée America”, Music) – 12/15
- Rouda (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20
- Sabura (from Cap-Vert) (“Nuit du Brésil”, Music) – 12/17
- Sadrak (from Cameroun) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20
- Compagnie de Sainte Lucie, Masterclass (Dance) – 12/29
- Saintrick
- Salam Diallo (Sen)
- Salif Keita (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29
- Sall Ngary (from Senegal) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20

- Sambala Kanouté (from Guinée Bissau) (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24
- Sandra de Sa (“Nuit du Bresil”, Music) – 12/17
- Compagnie Seetu (from Saint Louis, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et danse contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/23
- Compagnie Seher, “Trividha” (from India) (“Danse contemporaine et danse classique indienne”, Dance) – 12/21
- Sékouba Bambino (from Guinée)
- Sekou Diabaté Bembeya (from Guinée) (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27
- Sello Gellane (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23
- Senaya (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/26
- Orchestre National du Sénégal (“Soirée Black Hits”, Music) – 12/29
- Seun Kuti & Egypt 80 (“Soirée Nigeria”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/30
- Seyfu (from France) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26
- Simon (from Senegal) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/18
- “Soirée Galsen Show, Part 2”, Selection Nationale (Culture Urbaine) – 12/27
- “Soirée reggae ‘Made in Senegal’” (Culture Urbaine) – 12/26
- Somi (from Rwanda/USA) (“Soirée femme”, Music) – 12/12
- Soprano (from France-Comores) (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14
- Souleymane Diamanka (from France) (“Soirée Slam Session”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/20
- Spyrow (Culture Urbaine) – 12/22
- Sqeeziband: Chico Freedman, Reto Weber (“Diaspora”, Music) – 12/12
- Stanley Clarke (Music) – 12/18
- Musique sudainaise (“Africa United”, Music) – 12/19
- Sun Sooley (from Senegal-Italy) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28
- Super Mama Jombo (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28
- Supernatural (from USA) (“Soirée Hip Hop”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/26
- Ballet Syllaba de Thiaroye (from Dakar, Senegal) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaine”, Dance) – 12/18
- Sypho (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Music) – 12/23
- Tadiabone (Music) – 12/18
- Tarika Be (from Madagascar) (Music) – 12/24
- Les Tchelly Thione Seck (from Senegal) (“Soirée Diversité”, Music) – 12/24
- Tigrm B (from Senegal) (“Soirée ‘Hip Hop Represent’”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/19
- Tiken Jah Fakoly (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29
- Tiwony (from Guadeloupe) (“Soirée Natty Dread”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/17
- TK Blue and Friends (“Soirée Transmusicalités”, Music) – 12/28
- Toumani Diabaté (“Black Virtuosos”, Music) – 12/27
- Tradiçon di Terra “Ku Torno, Sem Torno” (from Batucadeira, Cap Vert) (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/21
- Tumi & the Volume (from South Africa) (“Soirée Afrique du Sud”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/23
- Un group de Tunisie (“Soirée Tradi-Moderne”, Music) – 12/13
- Universal African Dance and Drum Ensemble (USA) (“Danse contemporaine et Capoeira”, Dance) – 12/15
- Compagnies Urban Bush Women-Jant-bi (from USA-Senegal), “Les Ecailles de la Mémoire” (“Danses traditionnelles et contemporaines”, Dance) – 12/12
- Vusi Khumalo (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24

Vusi Mahlasela (from South Africa) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/16  
Wa Flash (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/25  
Will Calhoun Trio (“Soirée Diaspora”, Music) – 12/24  
William Baldé (from France-Guinée) (“Soirée Urban Jam”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/28  
Wyclef Jean (“Haiti Night”, Music) – 12/11  
Xalam (from Senegal) (“Soirée Free Africa”, Music) – 12/13  
Xuman (from Senegal (“Soirée Made in Africa”, Culture Urbaine) – 12/14  
Yoro Ndiaye (“Soirée Africa United Africa”, Music) – 12/29  
Youssou Ndour (“Soirée RDC”, Music) – 12/28

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “300 touristes soviétiques à Dakar pendant trois jours.” *Dakar-Matin*, April 1, 1966, 8.
- Achille, Louis. “The Negroes and Art.” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 1 (1931): 28-31.
- . “Negro Spirituals,” in *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*, edited by Société africaine de culture, 351-368. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968.
- Afolabi, Alaja-Browne. “A Diachronic Study of Change in Juju Music.” *Popular Music* 8, No. 3 (Oct., 1989): 231-242.
- African Underground: Democracy in Dakar*. Directed by Ben Herson, Magee McIlvaine, and Christopher Moore. 2009. New York: Nomadic Wax and Sol Productions, 2009. DVD.
- African Youth Commission. “Youth and the African Union Commission.” Accessed August 18, 2013. <http://www.africa-youth.org/>.
- “African Voices of Yesterday and Today: The contribution of the Negro Spiritual to the Poetic Heritage of Humanity.” *Dakar-Matin*, January 18, 1966, 4.
- “Afrique: FESMAN III—Festival mondial des arts nègres 3ème édition.” *Le Soleil*, June 23, 2008, accessed January 23, 2014. <http://fr.allafrica.com/storiies/200806240409.html>.
- “Alger, 21 juillet-1er août 1969: manifeste culturel panafricain,” *La nouvelle critique* (Oct., 1969): 45
- Algerian Ministry of Information and Culture. *The First Pan-African Cultural Festival*. Algiers: Ministry of Information and Culture, 1970, 50-54
- Alessandrini, Paul. “L’Amérique noire au festival d’Alger.” *Jazz Magazine* 169-70 (Sept., 1969): 16-17.
- Alla, B., Ph. Constantin and M. Haciane. “Dans alger en fête [2].” *Jeune Afrique* 449 (12-18 août, 1969): 26-27.
- Allen, William Francis, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison, eds. *Slave Songs of the US*. New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867.
- Allingham, Rob. “South Africa—Jazz—Hip Kings, Hip Queens,” in *World Music: The Rough Guide Volume 1*, edited by Simon Broughton, Mark Ellingham, and Richard Trillo, 660-668. New York: Penguin Books, 1999.

- Amrouche, Taos. *Jacinthe noir*. Paris: Éditions Charlot, 1947.
- . *La grain magique*. Paris: n.p., 1966.
- de Andrade, Mario. *Antologia da poseia negra de expressão portuguesa: precedida de cultura negro-africana e assimilação*. Paris: P.J. Oswald, 1958.
- Antheil, George. 1934. "The Negro on the Spiral, or a Method of Negro Music," in *Negro: An Anthology*, edited by Nancy Cunard, 346-347. London: Wishart & Co., 1934.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. "Négritude." In *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, 670. Philadelphia: Running Press, 2003.
- Apter, Anthony. *Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Archer-Straw, Petrine. *Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- "L'Asie présente au Festival des Arts Nègres." *Bingo* (Jan., 1966): 39.
- Autrand, Michel. "La négritude et son chant selon Claudel et Senghor." *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 88e année, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr., 1988). Rpt. in *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*, edited by Pierre Brunel, 1195-1207. Paris: Planète Libre, 2007.
- Awadi, Didier. *Présidents d'Afrique*. P.riph.ria 2754672, 2010, compact disc.
- . Liner notes. *Présidents d'Afrique*. Didier Awadi. P.riph.ria 2754672, 2010, compact disc.
- Ba, Abdoulaye. "La troupe nationale de la République Arabe Unie présente ce soir à Sorano son spectacle de danses populaires." *Dakar-Matin*, April 8 1966, 6.
- . "L'Egypte, trait d'union entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde, a foi en la coopération avec les peuples africains," a déclaré M. Sawy, chef de la délégation de la R.A.U. au Festival." *Dakar-Matin*, April 13, 1966, 6.
- . "L'envolée de la fantasia marocaine au Stade de l'Amitié a enthousiasmé une foule conquise." *Dakar-Matin*, April 20, 1966, 8.
- . "La fameux 'orchestre miracle' de Trinidad et Tobago a remporté un immense succès." *Dakar-Matin*, April 25, 1966, 6.

- Ba, M. "Didier Awadi s'attaquant au regime: 'Dans une république démocratique bananière, on coupe le courant à Biscuiterie pour alimenter Dieuppeul.'" *Seneweb*, December 20, 2010, accessed February 5, 2014. [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/didier-awadi-s-attaquant-au-regime-laquo-dans-une-republique-democratique-bananiere-on-coupe-le-courant-a-biscuiterie-pour-alimenter-dieuppeul-raquo\\_n\\_38849.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/didier-awadi-s-attaquant-au-regime-laquo-dans-une-republique-democratique-bananiere-on-coupe-le-courant-a-biscuiterie-pour-alimenter-dieuppeul-raquo_n_38849.html).
- Bagoë, Aude and Claude Mahmud. "Cécile Jean-Louis Baghio'o, dite Moune de Rivel." *Un siècle de musiciens et de musiques traditionnelles aux Antilles Guyane*, June 14, 2000, accessed April 13, 2014. <http://alrmab.free.fr/moune.html>.
- Balliett, Whitney. "Panassié, Delaunay et Cie." In *American Musicians II: Seventy-one Portraits in Jazz*, 1-8. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2005.
- Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, eds. *Zoos humains: de la vénus hottentote aux reality shows*. Paris: Le Découverte, 2002.
- Barlow, Sean and Banning Eyre. *Afropop! An Illustrated Guide to Contemporary African Musicians*. Edison, NJ: Saraband / Chartwell Books, 1995.
- Bastide, Roger. *African Civilizations in the New World*. London: C. Hurst, 1972.
- . "Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History." *Capital and Class* 1 (1977): 1-44.
- . *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilisations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Baxter, Peter. "Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Life of a French African." *Peter Baxter Africa*, November 19, 2012, accessed March 15, 2014. <http://peterbaxterafrica.com/index.php/2012/11/19/leopold-sedar-senghor-the-life-of-a-french-african/>.
- Beltrán, Gonzalo Aguirre. "Tribal Origins of Slaves in Mexico." *Journal of Negro History* 31 (1942): 269-352.
- . *La población negra de México: estudio etnohistórico*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Corregida y aumentada México: Fondo de Culturo Económica, 1972.
- Benaïche, Marc. "Inauguration du centre des musiques noires." *Cultures*. Senegal TV5, Dakar, December 15, 2010.
- Bender, Wolfgang. *Sweet Mother: Modern African Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Berliner, Brett. *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

- Betts, Raymond. "The Establishment of the Medina in Senegal, 1914." *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute* 41, no. 2 (1961): 143-152.
- Binet, Stéphanie. "Le mouvement Y'en a marre, révolution née d'une coupure d'électricité." *Le Monde*, December 12, 2011, accessed January 29, 2014.  
[http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2011/12/12/le-mouvement-y-en-a-marre-revolution-nee-d-une-coupure-d-electricite\\_1617480\\_3246.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2011/12/12/le-mouvement-y-en-a-marre-revolution-nee-d-une-coupure-d-electricite_1617480_3246.html).
- "Biography – Youssou N'Dour." *RFI Musique*, September, 2010, accessed February 3, 2014.  
[http://rfimusique.com/siteen/biographie/biographie\\_6045.asp](http://rfimusique.com/siteen/biographie/biographie_6045.asp).
- Black Music Worldwide. *Les musiques noires dans le monde: l'Exposition multimédia de Mondomix*. Paris: Mondomix; Dakar: Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, 2010.
- . "Présentation de l'exposition de Dakar." December 1, 2011, accessed August 17, 2013.  
<http://www.blackmusicworldwide.com/2011/12/01/lexposition-de-dakar-presentation/#more-255>.
- Blake, Jody. *Le Tumulte Noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900-1930*. University Park, PN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- . "The Truth About the Colonies, 1931: Art Indigène in Service of the Revolution." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2002): 37-58.
- Bojang, Sheriff. "Le Joola: Seven Years Since Africa's Worst Maritime Disaster." *Radio Netherlands Worldwide*, September 29, 2009, accessed April 16, 2014.  
<http://www.rnw.nl/africa/article/le-joola-seven-years-africa%E2%80%99s-worst-maritime-disaster>.
- "Boule amicale: Stade Genin." *Dakar-Matin*, April 16, 1966, 3.
- Braun, Ken. "Kinshasa + Havana = Kinavana: Kékélé's 2006 CD Release and Tour." *Rock Paper Scissors*, 2006, accessed April 14, 2014.  
[http://www.rockpaperscissors.biz/index.cfm/fuseaction/current.press\\_release/project\\_id/78.cfm](http://www.rockpaperscissors.biz/index.cfm/fuseaction/current.press_release/project_id/78.cfm).
- Breuilac, Brigitte. 2001. "Senegal Leader Unveils Plan for African Development." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), June 29.
- Breytenbach, Breyten. "Imagine Africa." *Harper's* (June, 2007): 16 [from the opening remarks of the ARTERial Conference delivered March 5, 2007 at the Gorée Institute on Gorée Island, in Senegal].
- Brierre, Jean. Libretto. "Spectacle féérique de Gorée." 1965. Senegalese National Archives FESMAN Collection, Folder 29.

Brooke, James. "Senegal Postpones a Black Cultural Festival." *New York Times*, November 13, 1988.

Brunel, Pierre, ed. *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*. Paris: Planète Libre, 2007.

Burke, Kevin. "Calypso on Trial: The case of 'Rum and Coca Cola.'" *BWIA Sunjet* 16 (Autumn, 1989): 8-11; 12-14; 49.

"Camp Mangin: Dans le cadre du Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, des soirées dansantes sont régulièrement organisées chaque soir à 21 heures au Camp Mangin (Siège du Festival). Ces soirées sont animées par les orchestres réputés à savoir le O.K. Jazz, le Bantou Jazz, le Nigérian Jazz, le Star, le Saloum et le Super Star." Advertisement. *Dakar Matin*, April 14, 1966, 6.

"La campagne d'assainissement est en bonne voie." *Dakar Matin*, March 10, 1966, 3.

Carayol, Rémi. "Banlieues Sénégalaises: Y'en a marre!" *Jeune Afrique*, April 19, 2011, accessed January 29, 2014. <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2622p032-034.xml0/>.

Carneiro, Edison and Aydano do Couto Ferras. "O Congresso Afro-Brasileiro de Bahia," in *Congresso Afro-Brasileiro (Second), O Negro no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1940.

Castaldi, Francesca. *Choreographies of African Identities: Negritude, Dance, and the National Ballet of Senegal*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

"Ce soir et pendant la durée du Festival...!, Le Bodega vous propose de 21h à l'aube: 'Cabaret Dancing – Snack-Bar' animé par René Messina et le Grand Fantaisiste Imitateur René Rocher." Advertisement. *Dakar Matin*, April 1, 1966, 5.

"Ce soir, on danse sur le bateau italien 'Sorriento.'" Advertisement. *Dakar Matin*, April 16, 1966, 1.

Chabasseur, Eglantine. "Angélique Kidjo's Tribute to Miriam Makeba: Remembering Mama Africa." *RFI Music*, September 25, 2009, accessed February 3, 2014. [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiqueen/articles/117/article\\_8268.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiqueen/articles/117/article_8268.asp).

Chametzky, Jules and Sidney Kaplan, eds. *Black and White in American Culture: An Anthology from The Massachusetts Review*. Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1969.

"Chants et danses de l'Afrique et des Antilles." *Dakar Matin*, April 21, 1966, 6.

Charry, Eric. *Mande Music: Traditional and Modern Music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

———. “A Capsule History of African Rap.” In *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*, edited by Eric Charry, 1-26. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.

Collins, John. “Jazz Feedback to Africa.” *American Music* 5, No. 2 (Summer 1987): 176-193.

———. *West African Pop Roots*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Colloquium on Negro Art. *Colloquium: Function and significance of African negro art in the life of the people and for the people, March 30-April 8, 1966*. Paris: Présence Africaine 1968.

Comettant, Oscar. *Trois ans aux Etats-Unis: Étude des mœurs et coutumes américaines*. Paris: Pagnerre, 1857.

Cook, Mercer. “The Negro Spiritual Goes to France.” *Music Educators Journal* 40, no. 5 (1954): 42-48.

Copans, Sim. “The African Heritage in the Music of the American Negro,” In *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*, 369-396. Société africaine de culture, ed. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968.

Correa, Edou. “Des touristes belges sont arrivés pour assister au Festival Mondial: Le ‘Flandres’ fait escale à Dakar avec 756 passagers à bord.” *Dakar Matin*, April 8, 1966, 1.

Courlander, Harold. *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Cowell, Alan. “Miriam Makeba, 76, Singer and Activist, Dies.” *New York Times*, November 10, 2008, accessed April 20, 2014.  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/11/world/africa/11makeba.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/11/world/africa/11makeba.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

Cunard, Nancy, ed. *Negro: An Anthology*. London: Wishart & Co, 1934.

Cusak, Igor. “African National Anthems: ‘Beat the Drums, the Red Lion has Roared.’” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (December, 2005): 235-251.

Dagan, Esther, ed. *The Spirit’s Dance in Africa: Evolution, Transformation and Continuity in Sub-Sahara*. Westmount, QC, Canada: Galerie Amrad African Arts Publications, 1997.

Dauncey, Hugh and Steve Cannon, eds. *Popular Music in France from Chanson to Techno: Culture, Identity, and Society*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.

Debord, Guy. *La société du spectacle*. Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1967.

- Delas, Daniel. "Rythme, culture et poésie dans *Éthiopiennes* de L. S. Senghor." In *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*, edited by Pierre Brunel, 1187-1194. Paris: Planète Libre, 2007.
- De Swardt, Moira. "International Exhibition of Black Music." *Arts Comments*, September 5, 2012, accessed March 31, 2014. <http://artscomments.wordpress.com/2012/09/05/international-exhibition-of-black-music/>.
- Diallo, Tidiane. Personal interview with the author. May 24, 2011.
- Diam's. (Mélanie Georgiades). "Ma France à Moi." *Dans ma Bulle*. Capitol Records-EMI Music France 0946 3547220 2, 2006.
- "Didier Awadi: *Présidents d'Afrique*." RFI Musique, July 7, 2007, accessed April 17, 2014. [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/127/article\\_18027.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/127/article_18027.asp).
- Dieng, Aziz. Personal interview with the author. March 14, 2011.
- Diop, Alioune. "Deuxième Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs: Rome, 26 mars-1er avril 1959.", t. 1: "L'unité des cultures négro-africaines." *Présence Africaine* 24-25: 417, quoted in Éloi Ficquet and Lorraine Gallimardet. "'On ne peut nier longtemps l'art nègre': Enjeux du colloque et de l'exposition du Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres de Dakar en 1966." *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 136-7.
- Diop, Ousmane Socé. *Mirage de Paris*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1937.
- Diop, Papa Samba. "La négritude senghorienne. Une rétrospective historique." Originally published in *Léopold Sédar Senghor, Africainité-universalité*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002, reprinted in *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Poésie complète: édition critique*, edited by Pierre Brunel. Paris: Planète Libre, 2007: 1077-1085.
- Diouf, Ndiaga. "FESMAN 3: Manu Dibango déçu de l'organisation." *Press Afrik*, December 27, 2010, accessed April 17, 2014. [http://www.pressafrik.com/Fesman-3-Manu-Dibango-decu-de-l-organisation\\_a46445.html](http://www.pressafrik.com/Fesman-3-Manu-Dibango-decu-de-l-organisation_a46445.html).
- Diouf, René Massiga. "FESMAN III: A Global Celebration of African Culture." *WIPO Magazine* 1 (Feb., 2011): 22.
- Dorsinville, Max. "Les écrivains haïtiens à Dakar." *Études littéraires* 13, no. 2(1980): 349-352.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (William Edward Burghardt). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903.
- Dudley, Andrew and Steven Ungar. *Popular Front Paris and the Poetics of Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Duteil, Henri-Jean. *La grande parade américaine: scènes et faites du Nouveau Monde*. Paris: Éditions André Bonne, 1949.

Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

———. "The Uses of Diaspora." *Social Text* 19, no. 166 (2001): 45-73.

Ellington, Duke. "The Duke Steps Out." *Rhythm* (March, 1931): 20-22, quoted in Mark Tucker, *The Duke Ellington Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, 49.

Ellington, Duke. *Music is My Mistress*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.

Emery, Meaghan. "Taos Amrouche, romancière, by Denise Brahim." Review of *Taos Amrouche, romancière, by Denise Brahim*. *Research in African Literatures* 30, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999): 224-227.

*En direct du Congo*. LP. Pathé-Stenco, Stx 196. 1966.

"En marge du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, une brillante soirée dansante a eu lieu jeudi soir au Camp Mangin. Elle a été animés par les orchestres Saloum Jazz et Nigérien Jazz de Lagos." *Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, 5.

"L'Ensemble artistique du Niger présente ce soir à Brottier un spectacle de danses ancestrals." *Dakar Matin*, April 6, 1966, 6.

"L'Ensemble folklorique du Ghana." *Dakar Matin*, April 15, 1966, 6.

Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal. *1er Festival des Arts Nègres*. LP. Barclay 86119, 1966.

———. *Premier festival d'art nègre: Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal*. LP. Philips R774 862, 1966.

———. Liner notes. *Premier festival d'art nègre: Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal*. LP. Philips R774 862, 1966.

Ergo, André-Bernard. *Congo Belge: La colonie assassinée*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.

Erlmann, Veit. *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ewens, Graeme. "Obituary: Miriam Makeba." *The Guardian*, November 10, 2008, accessed April 20, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/nov/10/miriam-makeba-obituary>.

- Ezra, Elizabeth. *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Farrell, Barry. "First World Festival of Black Man's Art." *Life*. April 22, 1966, 86.
- Feld, Steven. *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- FESMAN Collection. Senegalese National Archives. Dakar, Senegal.
- "FESMAN: International Petition Against Abdoulaye Wade and his Daughter Sindiély." *Seneweb News*, August 10, 2011, accessed April 21, 2014. [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/fesman-petition-internationale-contre-abdoulaye-wade-et-sa-fille-sindiely\\_n\\_49489.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Culture/fesman-petition-internationale-contre-abdoulaye-wade-et-sa-fille-sindiely_n_49489.html).
- FESMAN. *Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres*. Livre d'or (Commemorative Book). Dakar, Senegal: Premier Festival des arts nègres, and Paris: Secrétariat d'État aux Affaires étrangères chargé de la Coopération, 1966.
- FESMAN United States Committee Minutes, Frederick O'Neal Papers, 1914-2001. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library.
- FESMAN United States Committee Minutes, Press Agent's Files: 1965-1966, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library.
- "Festival des Arts Nègres: Nombreux ensembles folkloriques à la première soirée de gala." *El Moujahid* (Algiers). April 3-4, 1966, 8.
- "Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres," *Au-Senegal*, December 10, 2010, <http://www.au-senegal.com/+1er-au-21-decembre-2009-Festival+.html?lang=fr> (accessed April 16, 2014).
- Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres. "FESMAN III." Official Festival Program. Dakar: Government of the Republic of Senegal, 2010.
- Festival panafricain d'Alger*. Directed by William Klein. 1969. Issy-les-Moulineaux: Arte Éditions, 2010. DVD.
- Ficquet, Eloi et Lorraine Gallimardet. 2009. "'On ne peut nier longtemps l'art nègre': Enjeux du colloque et de l'exposition du Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres de Dakar en 1966." *Gradhiva* 10: 134-155.
- First Panafrikan Cultural Festival, Algiers*. Directed by William Klein. 1970. Paris: Arte Éditions, 2010. DVD.

- “The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, Senegal.” *Cultural Events in Africa* 17 (1966): 2.
- Foltz, Anne-Marie. “More About a Word.” *West Africa*, May 7, 1966, 517.
- “Formidable effort des Etats-Unis: 105 artistes et 600.000 dollars.” *Dakar Matin*, February 13, 1966, 3.
- “Fou Malade attaque: Awadi travaille pour le gouvernement.” 2010. *Senewebnews*, December 1, 2010, accessed February 1, 2014. [http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/fou-malade-attaque-awadi-travaille-pour-le-gouvernement\\_n\\_38042.html](http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/fou-malade-attaque-awadi-travaille-pour-le-gouvernement_n_38042.html).
- Frioux-Salgas, Sarah. “Présence Africaine: une tribune, un mouvement, un réseau.” *Gradhiva* 10, 2009: 5-21.
- Froiss, Pee, aka Xuman. “Askan Wi.” Courtesy of Dabel records. In *African Underground: Democracy in Dakar*, directed by Ben Herson, Magee McIlvaine, and Christopher Moore. 2009. New York: Nomadic Wax and Sol Productions, 2009. DVD.
- Fry, Paul. “...About Fela and his Music.” *Daily Times* (Lagos), April 9, 1966, 7.
- “Gadaffi Calls for Single African Army.” *Mail and Guardian* (Lagos). December 15, 1966.
- Geesey, Patricia. “Collective Autobiography: Algerian Women and History in Assia Djebar’s *L’amour, la fantasia*,” *Dalhousie French Studies* 35 (Summer, 1996): 158.
- Génériques, ed. *Presse et mémoire: France des étrangers, France des libertés*. Paris: Mémoire Generiques Éditions; Éditions Ouvrieres, 1990.
- Genova, Ann Waymouth. *Oil and Nationalism in Nigeria*. Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest, 2007.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Goffin, Robert. *Aux frontières du jazz*. Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1932.
- Goffin, Robert. “Negro Stars,” in *Negro: An Anthology*, edited by Nancy Cunard. London: Wishart & Co, 1934.
- “Grand Nuit de clôture: Des soirées dansantes auront lieu ce soir de 22 heures à l’aube à bord du S/S “Surriento” et à le “Caféteria” du Centre Mangin, animées par les orchestres Trinidad et Tobago, Bantou, et l’ensemble sénégalais.” Advertisement. *Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.
- Gueye, Marame. “Urban Guerrilla Poetry: The Movement *Y’en a Marre* and the Socio-Political Influences of Hip Hop in Senegal.” *The Journal of Pan-African Studies* 6, no. 3 (2013): 29.

- Guindou, Fidèle. "Manu Dibango: 'Je suis un des survivants du FESMAN de 1977.'" Dakar Bondy. Weblog. December 11, 2010, accessed April 17, 2014. <http://yahoo.dakar.bondyblog.fr/news/manu-dibango-je-suis-un-des-survivants-du-fesman-de-1977>.
- Hadouchi, Olivier. "'African Culture will be Revolutionary or it will not be': William Klein's Film of the First Pan-African Festival of Algiers (1969)." *Third Text* 25, no. 1 (2011): 125.
- Haque, Nicolas. "A Little-Known Massacre in Senegal." *Al Jazeera*, November 12, 2013, accessed March 16, 2014. <http://blogs.aljazeera.com/blog/africa/little-known-massacre-senegal>.
- Harney, Elizabeth. "'Les Chers Enfants' Sans Papa." *Oxford Art Journal* 19, no. 1 (1996): 42-52.
- . *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960-1995*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Herkenrath, Mark, ed. *Civil Society: Local and Regional Responses to Global Challenges*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.
- Hip Hop Franco. "Le bourreau est noir." Positive Black Soul, accessed February 1, 2014. [http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108\\_positive\\_black\\_soul\\_le\\_bourreau\\_est\\_noir](http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108_positive_black_soul_le_bourreau_est_noir).
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998.
- Hodeir, André. 1948. *Introduction à la musique du jazz*. Paris: Larousse.
- Honigmann, David. "Angelique Kidjo's Platform for Advocacy." *Financial Times*, January 2, 2010, accessed February 3, 2014. <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/36e61a80-f4cd-11de-9cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz2sHvzYMPm>.
- Horn, David Timothy. *Telling the Truth About the Colonies: The Anti-Imperialist Exposition, Paris, 1931*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Howlett, Marc-Vincent and Romuald Fonkoua. "La maison *Présence Africaine*." *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 106-133.
- Huchard, Serge. Personal interview with the author. February 3, 2011.
- Hughes, Langston. *Black Nativity*. Musical. First performed December 11, 1961.
- Hurston, Zora Neale. "Characteristics of Negro Expression." In *Negro: An Anthology*, edited by Nancy Cunard. London: Wishart & Co., 1934.

Hurston, Zora Neale. "Spirituals and Negro Spirituals." In *Negro: An Anthology*, edited by Nancy Cunard. London: Wishart & Co., 1934.

"Ils ont séduit Paris." *Bingo*. February (1966): 26-7.

Jackson, Jeffrey. *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Jaji, Tsitsi Ella. "*Bingo*: Francophone African Women and the Rise of the Glossy Magazine." In *Popular Culture in Africa: the Episteme of the Everyday*, edited by Stephanie Newell and Onookome Okome. NY: Routledge, 2013.

———. *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

"Jazz: Le Modern Jazz Quartet: de Bach à Aranjuez." *Dakar Matin*, March 7, 1966, 4.

Jeanpierre, W. A. "Sartre's Theory of 'Antiracist Racism' in his Study of Negritude." In *Black and White in American Culture: An Anthology from The Massachusetts Review*, edited by Jules Chametzky and Sidney Kaplan, 451-454. Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1969.

Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1912.

Johnson, James Weldon; J. Rosamond Johnson, and Lawrence Brown, eds. *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*. New York: Viking Press, 1925.

Josselin, Marie-Laure. "'Les Etats-Unis d'Afrique', un documentaire sur le rappeur Didier Awadi." *RFI Musique*, November 14, 2011, accessed February 5, 2014. <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20111114-etats-unis-afrique-documentaire-le-rappeur-didier-awadi>.

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Kenney, William H. III. "*Le Hot*: The Assimilation of American Jazz in France, 1917-1940." *American Studies* (Spring, 1984): 5-24.

Kepaar. "Interview Kepaar-Didier Awadi: 'La vérité sur Syndjély, le Fesman et moi.'" 2010, accessed February 1, 2014. <http://www.kepaar.com/medias/musique/599-interview-kepaar-didier-awadi-la-verite-sur-syndjely-le-fesman-et-moi.html>.

Kesteloot, Lilyan. *Comprendre les poems de L.S. Senghor*. Issy les Moulineaux: Editions Saint Paul, 1986.

- Khamié. "Concert de Didier Awadi à la Biscuiterie: une pensée pour la Côte d'Ivoire." *Dakarmusique*. December 19, 2010, accessed February 5, 2014. <http://www.dakarmusique.com/actu-musique/fesman-2011/798-concert-de-didier-awadi-a-la-biscuiterie-une-pensee-pour-la-cote-divoire.html>.
- Kish, Daniel. "Flash Sonar Program: Learning a New Way to See." Placentia, CA: World Access for the Blind, 2013, accessed March 22, 2014. <http://www.worldaccessfortheblind.org/sites/default/files/snr-pgm-rv1113.htm>.
- Koerner, Brendan. "A Black Panther Guide to Algiers." *Roads and Kingdoms*. 2013, accessed April 14, 2014. <http://roadsandkingdoms.com/2013/a-guide-to-algiers/>.
- 'Kola (Bukola Jejeloye). "The New Type of Senegalese." *Africasacountry*. April 2, 2012, accessed January 29, 2014. <http://africasacountry.com/the-new-type-of-senegalese/>.
- Krehbiel, Henry Edward. *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music*. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1914.
- Künzler, Daniel. "The 'Lost Generation': African Hip Hop Movements and the Protest of the Young (Male) Urban." In *Civil Society: Local and Regional Responses to Global Challenges*, edited by Mark Herkenrath, 89-127. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007.
- Lacascade, Suzanne. *Claire-solange, âme africaine*. Paris: Eugène Figuière, 1924.
- Lahoud, Robert. Personal interview with the author. 22 December 2010.
- Larché, George. "La participation du Cameroun: triomphe!" *Dakar Matin* April 25, 1966, 6.
- Lebovics, Hermann. "Les zoos de l'exposition coloniale internationale de Paris en 1931." In *Zoos humains: de la vénus hottentote aux reality shows*, edited by N. Bancel, P. Blanchard, G. Boetsch, E. Deroo, and S. Lemaire, 367-373. Paris: Le Découverte, 2002.
- Lema, Ray. Informal speech presented at FESMAN III's "Soirée Classissimo" Concert at the French Institute of Dakar (l'Institut Français de Dakar). Dakar, Senegal, December, 13, 2010.
- Lemancel, Anne Laure. "Présidents d'Afrique de Didier Awadi: Travail de mémoire et hip hop." *RFI Musique*, October 12, 2007, accessed February 5, 2014. [http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/094/article\\_17015.asp](http://www.rfimusique.com/musiquefr/articles/094/article_17015.asp).
- Let'sSingIt*. "Youssou N'Dour – Biography." June 5, 2011, accessed February 3, 2014. <http://artists.letssingit.com/youssou-ndour-7w783/biography>.
- "Libyan, Senegalese Leaders Lay Foundation Stone for 'Libya Tower' in Dakar." *BBC Monitoring Middle East-Political – Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, April 6, 2006.

- Like Forex: Currency Converter*. "1966132013 XOF to USD." Like Forex: Currency Converter, 2013, accessed November 13, 2013. [http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof\\_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966](http://likeforex.com/currency-converter/cfa-bceao-franc-xof_usd-us-dollar.htm/1966).
- Locke, Alain LeRoy. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925.
- Lonoh, Michel (aka Malangi Bokelenge). *Negritude et musique: regards sure les origins et l'evolution de la musique negro-africaine de la conception congolaise*. Kinshasa: Republique démocratique du Congo, 1971.
- . *Negritude, Africainite et Musique Africaine*. Kinshasa: Recherches Pedagogiques, 1990.
- Loucif, Mohamed Sadek. "40 ans après sa tenue à Alger: Le premier Panaf revisité." *L'Expression: le Quotidien* (Kouba, Alger), July 2, 2009, accessed April 13, 2014. <http://www.lexpressiondz.com/actualite/66953-le-premier-panaf-revisite.html>.
- Makalani, Minkah. "Pan-Africanism." *Africana Age: African and African Diasporan Transformations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (a project of the Schomburg Mellon Humanities Summer Institute, 2014), accessed March 15, 2014. <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-pan-africanism.html>.
- Makeba, Miriam. *Makeba: My Story*. New York: New American Library, 1987.
- Mangeon, Anthony. "Miroirs des literatures nègres: d'une anthologie l'autre, revues." *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 40-63.
- Manhattan Brothers and Miriam Makeba. *Lovely Lies*. London Records. London 1610, 1956. LP.
- "Manifeste Culturel Panafricain (Pan-African Cultural Manifesto)." *Présence africaine* 71, no. 3 (1969): 124-132.
- Maran, René. *Batouala: véritable roman nègre*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1921.
- Martin, Denis-Constant and Olivier Roueff. *La France du jazz: Musique, modernité et identité dans la première moitié du XXe siècle*. Marseille: Parenthèses, 2002.
- Masakela, Hugh. Transcription of lyrics and dialogue from live FESMAN concert at the Renaissance Monument in Dakar, Senegal. December 29, 2010.
- Mbaye, Synthèse Assane. "Bennoo Charge Wade: Fesman, 'dernier d'une longue série de scandales de la République.'" *Sud Quotidien* (Dakar), December 17, 2010, 3.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McKay, Claude. *Banjo*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

- Meintes, Louise. *Sound of Africa! Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- “Merci Josephine pour cette soirée: ‘Chants et danses d’Afrique et des Antilles.’” *Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.
- Middleton, Richard. “Introduction: Music, modernization and popular identity.” In *Popular Music in France from Chanson to Techno: Culture, Identity, and Society*, edited by Hugh Dauncey and Steve Cannon, 1-6. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.
- Miller, Lisa and Miriam Makeba. “Miriam Makeba.” *Bomb* 72 (Summer 2000): 90-95.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
- Mondomix*. “Le centre des Musique Noires à Salvador/Bahia.” Paris: Mondomix Media, 2009, accessed April 16, 2014. [http://mymondomix.com/Publish/fichier/252/482\\_570.pdf](http://mymondomix.com/Publish/fichier/252/482_570.pdf).
- Mortimer, Robert. “The Algerian Revolution in Search of the African Revolution.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 8, no. 3 (1970): 363-387.
- Mudimbe, Valentin-Yves. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- . *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- “Musiciens et chanteurs du Festival.” *Bingo* April (1966): 41.
- Musique Ados*. “Ma France à Moi.” *Diams*, accessed March 15, 2014. <http://musique.ados.fr/Diam-S/Ma-France-A-Moi-t42452.html>.
- Musiques noires*. “Réalizations.” Accessed April 21, 1966. <http://www.musiquesnoires.com/realisations/>.
- Nardal, Andrée. “Etude sur la beguine créole.” *La Revue du Monde Noir* 2 (1931): 51-53.
- Ndiaye, Pap. “Présence africaine avant *Présence africaine*,” *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 64-79.
- Newell, Stephanie and Onookome Okome, eds. *Popular Culture in Africa: the Episteme of the Everyday*. NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Nicol, Davidson. “Alioune Diop and the African Renaissance.” *African Affairs* 78, no. 310 (Jan., 1979): 3-8.
- Nina Rodrigues, Raymundo. *Os Africanos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional, 1932.

- . *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1935.
- Njau, Elimo. "John Nagenda from Uganda Talks to Ibrahim Salahi from Sudan and Elimo Njau from Tanzania at the Dakar Festival." *Cultural Events in Africa* 17 (1966): 1-3.
- Nketia, J.H. Kwabena. "Music in African Culture." In *Colloquium: Function and significance of African negro art in the life of the people and for the people, March 30-April 8, 1966*, 143-186. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968.
- Nkosi, Lews. "Jazz in Exile," *Transition* 24 (1966): 34
- Obama, Jean-Baptiste. "Traditional African Music." In *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*, 187-222. Société africaine de culture, ed. Paris: Présence africaine, 1969.
- Odebiyi, Dapo. "Fela Ready to Meet Rex Lawson." *Sunday Times* (Lagos). April 10, 1966, 1.
- Odum, Howard and Guy Johnson. *The Negro and His Songs: A Study of Typical Negro Songs in the South*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1925.
- . *Negro Workaday Songs*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926.
- Olaniyan, Teju. *Arrest the Music! Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- . Personal email to the author. April 18, 2006.
- Ortíz, Fernando. *Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Esclavos: Estudio Sociológico y de Derecho Público*. Havana: Revista Bimestra Cubana, 1916.
- . "Los cabildos afro-cubanos." *Revista Bimestra Cubana* 16 (Jan.-Feb., 1921): 5-39.
- . *La antigua fiesta afrocubana del "Dia del Reyes*. Havana: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Departamento de Asuntos Culturales, División de Publicaciones, 1960.
- . *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. Durham: Duke University Press, [1947] 1995.
- . *Los instrumentos de la musica afrocubana*. 5 vols. Madrid: Editorial Música Mundana Maqueda; Fundación Fernando Ortíz, [1952-55] 1996.
- Ouazani, Cherif. "Il était une fois le Panef. ..." *Jeune Afrique*, April 15, 2009, accessed April 18, 2014. <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2518p076-077.xml0/>.

“Outcry after Senegalese President buys new airplane.” 2010. *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), November 12, 2010.

Panassié, Hugues. *Le Jazz Hot*. Paris: Éditions Corrêa, 1934.

Pascarella, Matt. “A Voice from Senegal: Youssou N’Dour.” *The Progressive*. February, 2010, accessed February 3, 2014. [https://www.progressive.org/youssou\\_n\\_dour.html](https://www.progressive.org/youssou_n_dour.html).

Patterson, Tiffany and Robin Kelley. “Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World.” *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April, 2000): 11-45.

Peterson, Oscar. “Musical Moments.” *Oscar Peterson*. 2014, accessed January 4, 2014. [www.oscarpeterson.com/musicalmoments/detail.aspx?nid=668](http://www.oscarpeterson.com/musicalmoments/detail.aspx?nid=668).

Polgreen, Lydia. “Shadows Grow Across One of Africa’s Bright Lights.” *The New York Times*, June 18, 2008, 8.

Positive Black Soul. “Le bourreau est noir.” Hip Hop Franco. Accessed April 17, 2014. [http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108-positive\\_black\\_soul\\_le\\_bourreau\\_est\\_noir](http://www.hiphopfranco.com/lyrics/4108-positive_black_soul_le_bourreau_est_noir).

Positive Black Soul. “Sunugaal.” Senlyrics. Accessed April 17, 2014. <http://www.senlyrics.com/awadi/lyrics/25/?id=842>.

“Le premier festival culturel panafricain.” *Maghreb* 35 (Sept.-Oct., 1969): 10-12.

*Premier festival d’art nègre: Ensemble instrumental traditionnel du Sénégal*. Philips R774 862, 1966. LP.

*Premier festival culturel panafricain*. Livre d’or (Commemorative book). Algiers: Le premier festival culturel panafricain, 1969.

“Présidents d’Afrique: un album de Dider Awadi.” *Thomas Sankara*. Accessed February 4, 2014. <http://www.thomassankara.net/spip.php?article947&rubrique48&lang=fr>.

*Presse et mémoire: France des étrangers, France des libertés*. Paris: Mémoire Génériques Éditions; Éditions Ouvrières.

“Programme des spectacles du Festival.” *Dakar Matin*, February 17, 1966, 5.

Ramos, Arthur. *As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo*. Rio de Janeiro: New World Black Cultures, 1937.

———. *The Negro in Brazil*. Washington, D.C.: Associated Press, 1939.

- Reed, Christopher Robert. "The Black Presence at 'White City': African and African-American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893-October 31, 1893." *Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection*, 1999. Accessed March 15, 2014. <http://columbus.iit.edu/reed2.html>.
- Reiser, Melissa. "Festival au Desert, Essakane, Mali: A Postcolonial, Postwar Tuareg Experiment." Master's thesis. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007.
- Roueff, Olivier. *Jazz, les échelles du plaisir. Intermédiaires et culture lettré en France au vingtième siècle*. Paris: Editions La Dispute, 2013.
- . "Plaisirs du jazz: L'élaboration de la catégorie 'jazz hot' par les classifications discographiques (1929, 1931).", *les échelles du plaisir*. Companion website. Paris: Editions La Dispute, 2013, accessed April 6, 2014. [www.plaisirsdujazz.fr/chapitre-trois-sommaire/lelaboration-de-la-categorie-jazz-hot-par-les-classifications-discographiques/](http://www.plaisirsdujazz.fr/chapitre-trois-sommaire/lelaboration-de-la-categorie-jazz-hot-par-les-classifications-discographiques/).
- Sala, Gilles. "Les disques que vous aimez: Chants et dances pour soirs de fête." *Bingo* (March, 1966): 35.
- Salabert, Francis, ed. *Les plus célèbres negro spirituals*. Paris: Salabert, 1945.
- Santos, José. "Mythes des origines et nostalgie chez Taos Amrouche." *The French Review* 77, no. 2 (Dec., 2003): 326-327.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. "Orphée Noir (preface)." In Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française*. Paris: PUF (Presses Universitaires de France). 1948.
- Saumane. (Narcisse Danaé). "L'exposition coloniale internationale." *Le Cri des Nègres* 1 (Aug., 1931): 1.
- . "La vérité sur les colonies." *Le cri des nègres* I (Oct., 1931): 1.
- Schipper-de leeuw, Mineke. *Le blanc vu d'Afrique: le blanc et l'occident au miroir du roman négro africain de langue française, des origines au Festival de Dakar, 1920-1966*. Yaoundé: Éditions CLE, 1973.
- Schmeisser, Iris. "'Un Saxophone en Mouvement'? Josephine Baker and the Primitivist Reception of Jazz in Paris in the 1920s." In *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*, edited by Neil A. Wynn, 106-124. Jackson, Miss: University of Mississippi Press. 2007.
- Senegalese National Archives. FESMAN (1966) Collection. Dakar, Senegal.
- "Senegal Opens World Festival of Negro Arts." *The Bridgeport Telegram*, Saturday, April 2, 1966: 24.

- “Sénégal: ‘Y’en a marre’ sort une chanson contre la candidature de Wade.” *Jeune Afrique*, December 21, 2011, accessed January 30, 2014.  
<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/actu/20111221T150355Z20111221T150333Z/>.
- “Senegal: Youssou N’Dour’s Candidacy for President Rejected.” *Africa Research Online*, January 29, 2012, accessed February 3, 2014.  
<http://africaresearchonline.wordpress.com/2012/01/29/senegal-youssou-ndours-candidacy-for-presidency-rejected/>.
- Senghor, Léopold Sédar. “L’humanisme et nous: René Maran.” *L’Étudiant Noir* 1, no. 1 (1935): 4.
- . “The Problem of Culture in French West Africa.” *Paris-Dakar*: Sept. 7, 8, 10, and 11, 1937.
- . *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948.
- . “Ce que l’homme noir apporte.” In Cardinal Verdier, *L’Homme de couleur*. Paris: Plon, 1939: 304.
- . *Chants d’ombre*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1945.
- . *Éthiopiennes*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1956.
- . “Éléments constructifs d’une civilisation d’inspiration négro-africaine.” *Présence Africaine* 24-25 (1959): 249-279; quoted in Éloi Ficquet et Lorraine Gallimardet. “‘On ne peut nier longtemps l’art nègre’: Enjeux du colloque et de l’exposition du Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres de Dakar en 1966.” *Gradhiva* 10 (2009): 137-8.
- . “Message du président Senghor au peuple sénégalais.” Transcript of Senegalese National Radio broadcast, February 4, 1963. Senegalese National Archives, FESMAN Collection. Dakar, Senegal.
- . *Liberté I: Négritude et humanisme*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1964.
- . “René Maran, précurseur de la Négritude.” In *Hommage à René Maran*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1965.
- . “Négritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century.” In *Senghor à Bruxelles: La négritude est un humanisme du XXe siècle*. Speech by Président Léopold Sédar Senghor and King Baudouin, October 20-22, 1970, Brussels, Belgium. Dakar: Grande imprimerie africaine, 1971.
- . *La poésie de l’action: Conversations avec Mohamed Aziza*. Paris: Stock, 1980.
- . *Poèmes*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1985.

- . Introduction to *Anthology of Contemporary Fine Arts in Senegal*, edited by Friedrich Axt and El Hadji Moussa Babacar Sy. Frankfurt/Main: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1989.
- Senlyrics. "Awadi." Accessed February 1, 2014. <http://www.senlyrics.com;awadi/lyrics/25/?id=842>.
- Shack, William. *Harlem in Montmartre*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001.
- Shain, Richard. "Roots in Reverse: Cubanismo in Twentieth-Century Senegalese Music." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, no. 1 (2002): 83-101.
- Shepp, Archie. *Live at the Pan-African Festival*. BYG Actuel CDGR 292-2, 1969
- Shepperson, George "Pan-Africanism and 'pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon* 23 (Winter 1962): 346-358.
- Sicard, E. "A Meeting at the colonial Exhibition." *La Revue du Monde Noir*, no. 1 (1931): 61-2.
- Skeeter, Sharyn. "Black Nativity by Langston Hughes: A Musical African-American Holiday Tradition." *Suite 101*. 2007, accessed March 15, 2014. [http://african-american-playwrights.suite101.com/article.cfm/black\\_nativity\\_by\\_langston\\_hughes](http://african-american-playwrights.suite101.com/article.cfm/black_nativity_by_langston_hughes).
- Smith, Angela. *Steel Drums and Steelbands: A History*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012.
- Société africaine de culture, ed. *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1-24, 1966: Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People, March 30-April 8, 1966*. Paris: Présence africaine, 1968.
- Soellé, Ebongué. "L'Ensemble instrumental du Sénégal: les Frères Kété et la Musique des Armées animeront la gala du clôture du Festival." *Dakar Matin*, April 23, 1966, 8.
- Sow, Cécile. "Présidents musicalement élus." *Jeune Afrique*, April 16, 2010, accessed April 18, 2014. <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAJA2570p089.xml0/>.
- Stearns, Marshall. *The Story of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Stein, Daniel. "Negotiating Primitivist Modernisms: Louis Armstrong, Robert Goffin, and the Transatlantic Jazz Debate." *European Journal of American Studies* 6, no. 2 (2011): 2-16.
- Stewart, Gary. *Rumba on the River: A History of the Popular Music of the Two Congos*. New York: Verso, 2003.
- Stokes, Melvyn. "Race, Politics and Censorship: D.W. Griffith's 'The Birth of a Nation' in France, 1916-1912." *Cinema Journal* 50, no. 1 (2010): 19-38.

- Stone, Michael. "Out of Cuba: Latin American Music Takes Africa by Storm." *Rootsworld*. 2006, accessed December 5, 2006. <http://www.rootsworld.com/reviews/cuba0605.shtml>.
- Stovall, Tyler. *Paris Noir: African-Americans in the City of Light*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.
- Tang, Patricia. "The Rapper as Modern Griot: Reclaiming Ancient Traditions." In *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*, edited by Eric Charry, 79-91. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Thévenet, Jean. "Chronique du jazz." *Variétés* 10 (Feb. 15, 1929): 560-562.
- Thioossane, Ablaye. Personal interview. Dakar, Senegal, February 8, 2011.
- Thompson, Dave. *Reggae and Caribbean Music*. San Francisco, CA: Backbeat Books, 2002.
- "Tonnerre d'applaudissements au Stadium pour l'ensemble national du Ghana." *Dakar Matin*, April 18, 1966, 6.
- Touré, Bachir. *Bachir Touré dit et chante l'Afrique*. Festival: FAN 9501, 1966. LP.
- Touré, Seynabou. *Les Coulisses du FESMAN 2009: Récit d'un rêve avorté*. Paris: Acoria Éditions, 2010.
- Tournès, Ludovic. *New Orleans sur Seine: l'Histoire du jazz en France*. Paris: Fayard, 1999.
- "De triomphe en triomphe: Duke Ellington." *Dakar Matin*, April 6, 1966, 6.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Tucker, Mark. *The Duke Ellington Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- "Une grande soirée de gala aura lieu ce soir au Relais, kilomètre 5, route de Ouakam, animée par l'orchestra O.K. Jazz, chants et danses du folklore du Congo-Léo, et le célèbre orchestre Keur-Samba, de Paris." Advertisement. *Dakar Matin*, April 9, 1966, 5.
- "Une première mondiale sans précédent: le spectacle féérique de Gorée." *Dakar Matin*. March 14, 1966, 3.
- UNESCO. "Statistics on Youth." 2012, accessed August 18, 2013. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-days/world-radio-day/statistics-on-youth/>.

*Un siècle de musiciens et de musiques traditionnelles aux Antilles Guyane.* “Cécile Jean-Louis Baghio’o.” Accessed January 17, 2014. <http://alrmab.free.fr/moune.html>.

Urban Reproductive Health. “Senegal.” Accessed August 18, 2013.  
<http://www.urbanreproductivehealth.org/projects/senegal>.

Uri, Alex and Françoise Uri. *Musique et musiciens de la Guadeloupe: le chant de karukéra*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 1991.

U.S. Inflation Calculator. Accessed March 16, 2014. <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>.

Vaillant, Janet. *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Verdier, Cardinal. *L’Homme de couleur*. Paris: Plon, 1939.

Vian, Boris and Norman Cowin. “Les negro spirituals.” [French translations of James Weldon Johnson’s *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925)]. *Les temps modernes* 11-12 (Aug.-Sept., 1946), edited by Jean-Paul Sartre. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.

Vikey, G.G. *Vive l’Afrique!* Riviéra 231.180, 1966. LP.

Von Eschen, Penny. *Satchmo Blows up the World!: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Wachsmann, Klaus P. “Negritude in Music.” *Composer* 19 (Spring, 1966): 12-15.

Ward, Brian. *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998: 182.

Warren, Kenneth. “Appeals for (Mis)recognition: Theorizing the Diaspora.” In *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, 392-406. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Warren, Nagueyalti. “Pan-African Cultural Movements, from Baraka to Karenga.” *The Journal of Negro History* 75, nos. 1-2 (1990): 16-28.

Welbourn, Ron. “Jazz Magazines in the 1930s: An Overview of their Provocative Journalism.” *American Music* 5, no. 3 (1987): 255-270.

Westegg. “The Inflation Calculator.” Accessed March 15, 2014. [www.westegg.com/inflation/](http://www.westegg.com/inflation/).

White, Newman Ivey. *American Negro Folk-songs*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Wilder, Gary. *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism Between the Two World Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

*William Grant Still Music and the Master-Player Library*. "William Grant Still (1895-1978): Biographical Notes." Accessed March 15, 2014. [www.williamgrantstill.com/wgsbiography](http://www.williamgrantstill.com/wgsbiography).

*World Festival of Black Arts*. "Festival mondial des arts nègres: dossier de presse." 2010, Accessed April 21, 2014. [http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier\\_presse\\_FR.pdf](http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Dossier_presse_FR.pdf).

Wynn, Neil, ed. *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*. Jackson, Miss: University of Mississippi Press, 2007.

Xuman (Pee Froiss). "Askan Wi." Courtesy of Dabel records. In *African Underground: Democracy in Dakar*. Directed by Ben Herson, Magee McIlvaine, and Christopher Moore. 2009. New York: Nomadic Wax and Sol Productions, 2009. DVD.

Young, Robert. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001.

Yourcenar, Marguerite. *Fleuve profond, sombre rivière: Les negro spirituals*. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.

"Youssou N'Dour to Run for President of Senegal." *Rolling Stone*, January 3, 2012, accessed February 3, 2014. <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/youssou-ndour-to-run-for-president-of-senegal-20120103>.

Zobel, Joseph. *La rue cases-nègres*. 1950. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1974.