Miriam Makeba in Guinea - Deterritorializing History Through Music

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הכרת תודה

עבודה זו לא יכלה להכתב ללא עזרתם ותמיכתם של אנשים רבים שסייעו לאורך הדרך בדרכים שונות, וזו הזדמנות להוקיר להם את תודתי. עוד לפני כניסתי לעולם האקדמי, היכרותי עם המוסיקה המערב אפריקאית התאפשרה הודות למורי סבולה בנגורה (Saboula Bangoura), שלימד אותי את רזי המקצבים המערב אפריקאים ואת היכולת להעריך ולהרגיש את מורכבותם. במהלך שתי נסיעותיי לגמביה זכיתי ללמוד לנגן על הקורה (נבל אפריקאי) עם ברהמה סאהו (Brama Saho), שאדיבותו וסבלנותו זכורים לי עד היום. החל מתקופת לימודיי בבית הספר התיכון, דרך הנסיעות למערב אפריקה ועד היום, זכיתי לחבר הטוב ולשותף המוסיקאלי בן אילון, איתו צעדתי יחד בדרכיה המרתקות של המוסיקה. היצירתיות, האמביציה וההרפתקנות המוסיקאלית מהווים עבורי השראה גדולה הן במוסיקה והן מחוצה לה.

בזמן התואר הראשון למדתי אצל פרופ' אדוין סרוסי בסמינר "המרחב הצלילי החוץ מערבי" שחשף אותי לראשונה לשדה האתנומוסיקולוגיה. רוחב הידע וההוראה מעוררת ההשראה של אדוין הגבירו את העניין שלי במחקר אקדמי של מוסיקה וחידדו את החשיבה הביקורתית שלי על מוסיקה. השנתיים האחרונות בתוכנית ללימודי תרבות היו חוויה אינטלקטואלית מעצבת ומשמעותית. אני מודה לחברות הסגל האקדמי של התוכנית שמשמשות כדוגמא חיה לעשייה מחקרית שמצליחה לפרוץ את הגבולות הדיסיפלינרים, ובו בעת להיות מעמיקה ומקצועית. הקורס "משמעות השמע" שהעבירה פרופ' רות הכהן הקנה לי מיומנויות חדשות בניתוח מוסיקאלי. כמו כן הערותיה על עבודת הסיכום בקורס, שחלקים ממנה הורחבו לתזה, אפשרו לי לשכלל את המחקר ולהרחיב אותו לכיוונים חדשים. אני מודה מקרב לב לפרופ' משה סלוחובסקי על הקורס "מפגשים קולוניאליים" שהרחיב את היכרותי עם תאוריות פוסט קולוניאליות וכן מודה לו על כך שדלתו תמיד היתה פתוחה בפניי להתייעצות ולהכוונה.

בשנה האחרונה הייתה לי הזכות להיות חבר בצוות מופלא של חוקרים בראשות ד"ר לואיז בית לחם שמנהלת את פרוייקט המחקר Apartheid - The Global Itinerary, במימון קרן המחקר של האיחוד האירופאי. תזה זו נכתבה במסגרת פרוייקט זה והתאפשרה הודות למימונו. אני מודה לכל חברי הצוות על העבודה המשותפת והשיחות המפרות, כמו גם על ההזדמנות להיות חלק

מקהילה חוקרת. בפרט אני רוצה להודות לרון לוי על החברות, הפרגון ועל השיחות הממושכות הן בנושאי המחקר והן מעבר לו. הזיקוקים האקדמיים שהבזיקו ממוחו סייעו לי לפתח רעיונות רבים שמתבטאים בעבודה זו. ד"ר גראהם קונסל חלק איתי בנדיבות רבה את תובנותיו וידיעותיו על סצנת המוסיקה בגינאה. ד"ר סינתיה גבאי סייעה באיתור, איסוף ותרגום חומרים מעיתונות מערב אפריקאית וד"ר רותם גלעדי ייעץ וחנך אותי בעבודה בארכיון המדינה.

נתברכתי במנחה יוצאת דופן, ד"ר לואיז בית לחם, שמהווה עבורי מודל אינטלקטואלי מעורר השראה. הכוונתה לכל אורך הדרך, הבנתה החדה ומחשבתה הביקורתית הבלתי מתפשרת הצליחו בכל פעם למתוח את גבולות החשיבה שלי. כמו כן, יכולתה לזהות את נקודות החולשה שלי ולכוון אותי ברגעי הקושי סייעו לי רבות בתהליך העבודה על התזה. עבודה זו לא יכלה היתה להיכתב ללא חילופי הרעיונות בינינו וללא התשתית התיאורטית שעומדת בבסיס מחקרה. תודה העמוקה נתונה לה.

אני רוצה להודות למשפחתי היקרה: איתן, שלי ושירה, וכן למשפחת שפיר, משפחתי השניה, על התמיכה והעידוד לכל אורך הדרך. לבסוף, אני רוצה להודות לבת זוגתי רוני שפיר על התמיכה הנפשית, על הלב החכם והשכל הרגיש שמלווים אותי כל העת. תרומתך לעבודה זו לא תסולא בפז.

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Abstract – Hebrew

עבודה זו בוחנת מחדש את ההיסטוריה התרבותית של גינאה (קונאקרי) בשלושת העשורים הראשונים לאחר העצמאות (1958) על ידי גישה היסטוריוגרפית העושה שימוש בחומרים מוסיקאליים ובמשמעויות הפוליטיות והתרבותיות הטמונות במבנים צליליים. באמצעות מקרה המבחן של גינאה, המחקר מדגים כיצד מוסיקה יכולה לחשוף רבדים תרבותיים אשר אינם נגישים בניתוח מקורות טקסטואליים, ובכך להוות נדבך חשוב במחקר תרבותי היסטורי.

ראשית, נסקרים מחקרים המגשרים בין מוסיקה לבין מחקר היסטורי אשר אינם רדוקטיביים בתפיסתם את היחס בין מוסיקה לבין ההקשר ההיסטורי והקטגוריות החברתיות העולות ממנו. בהמשך מוצגת ההיסטוריה התרבותית של גינאה תוך התמקדות בשני תהליכים תרבותיים מקבילים הבניית תרבות לאומית וביטוי של אידיאולוגיה פאן אפריקאית. לאחר הצגת ההקשר ההיסטורי הכללי, מוצג מקרה המבחן בו עוסק המחקר: פעילותה של הזמרת הדרום אפריקאית מרים מקבה בגינאה בין השנים 1968 ל 1986.

דמותה של מקבה נבחנת הן באמצעות ייצוגיה במדיה הכתובה והן באמצעות ניתוח מוסיקאלי של הקלטותיה מן תקופה האמורה. עיון בהקלטות אלה מסייע בחשיפת משמעויות פוליטיות וחברתיות המתווכות על ידי מבנים צליליים המבארים את תפקודה הכפול של מקבה בגינאה: כמשתתפת בשיח ההגמוני שהוכתב על ידי השלטון המקומי וכסוכנת תרבותית של אלמנטים המאתגרים את האידיאולוגיה השלטת. דגש מיוחד מושם על חריגות במבנים הצליליים במוסיקה של מקבה, ובפרט שילוב אלמנטים סגנוניים אפריקאים אמריקאים שחריגים במרחב הצליל המקומי ומבטאים מבני רגש של הנאה והזדהות עם תרבות קוסמופוליטית שחורגת ממגבלות השיח המוכתב על ידי השלטון.

Abstract – English

This work revisits the cultural history of Guinea-Conakry in the three decades following independence (1958) by applying a historiographic heuristic that relies on musical materials and the political and cultural meanings that are embedded within the sonic formations. Through the Guinean case study, this thesis demonstrates how music can expose latent cultural dynamics that are not discernible in textual sources, and can therefore contribute to cultural-historical knowledge.

First, existing scholarship that links music and history is reviewed, with an emphasis on research that does not subordinate musical meanings to historical context and social categories. In what follows, the cultural history of Guinea is presented with respect to two parallel cultural processes - the establishment of a national culture and the expression of pan-African solidarity. Following a general introduction to Guinean culture, the case study of this thesis is presented: the musical activity of the South African singer Miriam Makeba in Guinea between the years 1968-1986.

The figure of Makeba is examined through both her representation in the written media and music analysis of her recorded output from the same period. Investigating her recordings exposes political and social meanings that are mediated by the sonic formations, and the dual role of Makeba in the Guinean cultural scene is revealed: a contributor to the hegemonic discourse that was dictated by the Guinean state and a cultural agent who brought subversive musical elements to Guinean music. Specifically, the incorporation of African-

American stylistic elements, which were uncommon in the Guinean music scene, is discussed and interpreted. These musical elements function as an expression of affective structures that deviate from the limitations of the explicit state ideology and trigger connections with cosmopolitan cultures.

Chapter 1 - Introduction – Music Writes Back[1]

What place can music have in historical research? Can sounds serve as a legitimate source through which existing social thought can be revised? In his book *Interpreting Music*, musicologist Lawrence Kramer summarized the marginal position of music (and musicology as a discipline) in respect to the wider academic discourse in the following manner:

> Musicologists have come to read widely in critical and cultural theory and philosophy, but critics, theorists, and philosophers do not read musicology in any depth if they read it at all. The situation is a little embarrassing. It stems from the familiar, unreflective assumption that music has nothing to tell us about the historical and conceptual worlds it comes from. The question here is not whether music "has" meaning but whether it contributes meaning. Even most studies in critical musicology have used historical knowledge and critical theory to illuminate music, not the other way around. (Kramer 2011: 96)

In contrast to the gloomy state of affairs that Kramer depicts, this thesis seeks to bridge the gap between music and historical inquiry and to claim for music a legitimacy and necessity in addressing questions of cultural and political dynamics that are often out of the reach of academic discourse about music. By examining the possibility of conducting an historical inquiry that is based upon music and sound formations, I wish to argue for the added value such a mode of inquiry might have over other modes of historical inquiry, primarily the dominant medium of linguistic textuality.

The theoretical question presented above will be addressed through a

[1] The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement no. 615564.

case study that aims at realizing such a type of inquiry. The principal goal is similar to the one stated plainly by Kramer in the introduction to his analysis of Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens*: "to learn something about a moment in history by thinking about a sample of its music" (Kramer 2011: 98). While Kramer's work is emplaced within the Classical Western canon (his "sample of music" is Beethoven's overture to *The Ruins of Athens* and the "moment in history" is the early 19th century Austro-Hungarian Empire), my research is concerned with the music of the exiled South African singer Miriam Makeba during her exile in Guinea in the 1970's in the midst of the Cold War. Before exploring Makeba's work in detail, it is first necessary to review the theoretical literature that has inspired this research. While diverse scholarship could have been chosen, I have decided to focus on two strands of research: research in what was called the New Musicology and the work of social theorist Paul Gilroy on the framework of the black Atlantic.

Musicology and New Musicology

Kramer's words, quoted above, about the asymmetrical communication between musicology and other disciplines were written in a moment when the study of music was already deeply changed. Music is no longer studied solely as a self-contained form that is denied extra-musical meaning following musical thought that derives from 19th century European metaphysics. The idea of 'absolute' music and the relating claims for music autonomy that shaped the academic and popular discourses on music have by now been strongly criticized and challenged, both from voices within musicology and from adjacent

disciplines such as ethnomusicology, cultural sociology, cultural studies and others.[2] The formalistic methods of analysis have been complemented with semiotic and cultural readings, and post-structuralist ideas have affected the discipline tremendously, albeit with a certain lag behind other disciplines. Especially relevant to this thesis is the work of the New Musicology - a movement within musicology that emerged in the 1990's and is associated with figures such as Lawrence Kramer, Rose Subotnik, Susan McClary and Richard Leppert, to name a few, who share the ambition to view "musical autonomy as a historical construction" and "to understand music as a worldly activity" (Kramer 2002: 6). Their works, which primarily focus on the Western Classical canon, are characterized by an emphasis on music interpretation that often relies on hermeneutic models influenced by the work of thinkers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer. These works have taken different directions and read music in relation to various social matters including gender (McClary 2002), ideology (Subotnik 1991), race and modernity (Kramer 2002: 194-216) and others. The work of Lawrence Kramer is of special relevance to this research for it aims at a historical reading of music. Aware of the reductionist tendency of much writing about music, Kramer sets the terms of his inquiry in *The Ruins of Athens*:

> The music will not count as understood until and unless it appears as a source of historical knowledge that alters the understanding of its context—or rather of what can no longer be subsumed under the concept of context (Kramer 2011: 98).

For Kramer, the challenge is to write about music in a way that will not

[2] For a good review of different lines of inquiry that seek to study music culturally, see Middleton (2012).

subordinate it to context. Accordingly, I argue that in order for music to count as a key player in an historical inquiry it has to contribute meanings that cannot be gained from other sources, so that music will exceed the context. This is a problematic terrain because such claims might lead back to calls for the independence of music from context, hence its "autonomy". However, I argue that what might seem as a dichotomy between a conception of music as autonomous and music as a mere reflection of social categories or verbal ideological discourse is a false one. It is not that music ought to be autonomous in order to add something new to historical knowledge. On the contrary, it requires an understanding of music as a symbolic form that is always emplaced in culture, and that culture grants it with the potential to act as a semiotic form. However, since music is different from other media, particularly for our purpose on the ground that it is not discursive in the way language is, the cultural work that music does is different. The meanings that are reserved to music are not the ones that are attached to linguistic forms and because of that they cannot be simply extracted from other texts.

In a way, reading music is a variation on Althusser's "symptomatic reading" because it makes it possible to bring back meanings that do not appear on the linguistic surface. It illuminates the gap between what can be said and what can be only sounded through music, and because this gap is constituted and maintained by culture, it grants music the potential to act as a powerful source for expanding the context. This act will inevitably require a form of interpretive leap since the meanings that will be elicited are not the ones that can be found in

any other historical or cultural account. In that way, the interpretation of music – deciphering its meaning – always in a way stems from a linguistic void. It has to be understood not from the context, but rather from what is not present in the context in order to eventually reconstruct the context. This type of hermeneutic reading of music derives from a context but exceeds it. It is an attempt to expand the context through a reading of sound-embedded meaning units. While this form of inquiry is based on a historical contextualization, at a certain point a rupture must be created between the interpretation and the context. It must unsettle the context in order to fill it with new meanings.

Gilroy, Music and the African Diaspora

Musicology is by no means the only academic discipline that attempted to take music as the object of inquiry. While dedicated to destabilizing the boundaries between the Classical and the Popular and to challenging the notion of the canon, with a few exceptions[3], New Musicologists are still largely preoccupied with the classical Western canon. A vast scholarship on music in culture exists and fills dedicated books, journals and conferences outside of musicology.[4] The discipline of ethnomusicology, institutionalized in the US in the 1950's, was in fact established on the core assumption that music is a "social practice" that is "shaped by its cultural context" (What Is Ethnomusicology? 2015). This inclination is due to the historically close ties, particularly in the US,

[3] See for example Kramer (2002) chapter on John Coltrane's version of *My Favorite Things*.
[4] Two representative examples are Clayton, Herbert, and Middleton (2012) and Shepherd and Devine (2015).

between ethnomusicology and anthropology, which placed social theory as a main foundation for research. This anthropological emphasis was most clearly outlined by Alan P. Merriam's influential- *The Anthropology of Music* (Merriam 1964), which sought to balance musicological analysis with deep cultural knowledge. The pendulum of music analysis and social contextualization is in constant movement, and some researchers in ethnomusicology do attempt to bridge music analysis and social theory. Nevertheless, the fact that in the present state ethnomusicologists still need to advocate practices of "close listening" (Solis 2012), attests to the discipline limited success in forging a true integration between analysis of sound structures and social and cultural contextualization.

Works in cultural studies and the sociology of music have also contributed to the cultural study of music in respect to diverse subjects such as music and class (Frith 1981), subcultures and styles (Hebdige 1979), musical scenes (Straw 1991), music and social movements (Eyerman and Jamison 1998) and the practice of music in everyday life (DeNora 2000). This approach often regards music under the social interactionist notion of the "art worlds" (Becker 2011). These researchers have all situated music within broader social contexts.

However, social contextualization of music comes with its price and the extent to which these researchers engage with the "music itself" (and by that I mean the sonic formations) is often limited. While elaborating the social dimensions of music regarding its production and consumption, these researchers fail to account for the dense symbolic meanings that are embedded in sounded forms (Samuels et al. 2010; Feld 2012; Meintjes 2003). While

sociologists such as Henion and DeNora do emphasize in their work the bi-directional dynamics between music and the social, and by that object to reductionist perspectives that reduce music to social categories (Born 2012), their work also lacks a serious account of sound.

While I do not deny the importance of studies that examine music from other perspectives than the sound itself, I do think that music as a sounded form has more to offer to broad academic scholarship than what Ingrid Monson called "raw data to be plugged into Western philosophical modes of understanding and conceptualization" (Monson 1999: 33). Unless sound is examined critically it will function merely as a subordinated form that will not be able to count as a source that can destabilize – and perhaps revise – our understanding of culture.

An important intervention from outside of musicology that does place music at the center and that deals with black music is Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993). This seminal work is usually recognized for laying the influential framework of the black Atlantic that serves as an alternative lens to the dominant paradigm of nationality - what Schiller and Meinhoff have called a "methodological nationalism" that "reinforces a tendency in various disciplines to equate nation-state boundaries with the concept of society" (2011: 21). Less recognized is the fact that music is the main ground on which Gilroy bases his theoretical contestation regarding black nationalism and both the essentialist conceptualization of racial identity and the "pseudo-pluralist identity". As Gilroy asserts:

> The vitality and complexity of this [black Atlantic] musical culture offers a means to get beyond the related oppositions between essentialists and pseudo-pluralists on the

> one hand and between totalising conceptions of tradition, modernity, and post-modernity on the other (Gilroy 1993: 36).

No less important is the fact that the focus on music reflects a profound theoretical transition from a mode of inquiry that is based on textuality to one that is based on musical performativity.[5] In his insistence on music as the primary site of investigation, Gilroy recognizes the unique capacity of music to constitute (but also to reflect) a form of utopian imagination that, drawing on Seyla Benhabib, he calls a "politics of transfiguration" in which "the formation of a community of needs and solidarity… is magically made audible in the music itself" (Gilroy 1993: 37). Note that for Gilroy music is not just another form of human creative agency. Precisely because it is not linguistic, it can transcend some of the restrictions imposed by the order of discourse, and can serve as a medium that expresses utopian imagination – the "counterculture of modernity" that exceeds the boundaries of the modern nation-state.

Subsequent scholarship has utilized Gilroy's framework and elaborated on the central place of music in the African Diaspora from different vantage point. Gilroy's significance to this body of research is evident from the introduction to the edited volume *African Diaspora: a Musical Perspective,* in which "Gilroy's Legacy" is placed as the central reference point to which to the body of research relates. It is seen as "critical in defining both the cultural studies debate about the African diaspora and arguing for the centrality of music in the construction and maintenance of contemporary transnational identities"

[5] For more on the shift from textuality to performativity, see Chude-Sokei (1994). For an alternative view that conceives music as a text, albeit not a linguistic one, see Agawu (2003), especially chapter 5.

(Monson 2003: 3). In this volume, Gilroy's conceptualization of the black diaspora and its emphasis on musical performativity is central to the chapter by Veit Erlmann, who adopts the concept of "diasporic intimacy" that is achieved through "rituals of performance" in order to explain the "shifts and revisions that arise from cross-racial handlings of repetition" in the case of three versions of the South African song "Mbube" (Erlmann 2003: 87). Another contributor who adopts Gilroy's model is Travis A. Jackson, who focuses on performance rituals and explores connections between jazz rituals and rituality in other black Atlantic musical styles (Jackson 2003).

The importance of Gilroy to African and African American music scholarship, however, is not without problems. For some critics Gilroy's work overemphasizes diasporic thinkers and cultural agents and neglects continental Africans in a way that, for Piot, "leaves unchallenged the notion that Africa is somewhat different" and "uncontaminated by those histories of the modern that have lent black Atlantic cultures their distinctive character" (Piot 2001: 156). For Masilela, Gilroy's work excludes Africa and African thinkers from the "dialogical intellectual system of discourse" that for him epitomize the "black Atlantic" (Masilela 1996: 88) . Musically speaking the *black Atlantic* is exclusionary in regard to Africa, with a focus on American and British musical outputs with no indication of African popular music. In that sense, African music has no place in Gilroy's methodological achievement. This void has been addressed by research that places African music within a transnational black diaspora exchange, most fruitfully in regard to the Africa-US axis (Erlmann 1999; Muller and Benjamin

2011; Monson 2010; Kelley 2012), but also in regard to Africa-Cuba (Shain 2012; White 2002). However, these researchers, with the exception of Erlmann (1999) and Monson (2010), rely on Gilroy's framework of the black Atlantic only as an historical apparatus, but without engaging with the sonic formations.

The present study shares with Kramer and Gilroy the wish to take music as a source of knowledge, but aims to extend this notion to a less investigated area, to the contemporary African context. My purpose is to reconstruct the cultural history of Guinea by confronting the musical materials with the known textual history. My research will deal with Guinea at the time following independence, mainly in the 1960's-1970's. While extensive research on Guinean music has been done by ethnomusicologists (Charry 2000; Counsel 2009; Dave 2014), none of it has attempted to fuse music analysis with political contextualization.

In contrast to the majority of studies on popular music in Africa following independence, which adhere to the purview of national musicians who act in their national countries (Turino 2000; Askew 2002), I wish to examine Guinea's cultural history by focusing on the musical career of the South African singer Miriam Makeba, who moved to Guinea in 1968 and was active in the local musical scene. Precisely by focusing on a non-Guinean figure such as Makeba, who exemplifies notions of dislocation and "travelling cultures" (Clifford 1992), it will be possible to illuminate certain contradictions and tensions within Guinean society that are not noticeable otherwise. This is a historiographic heuristic that is derived from the research project within which this study is

conducted, 'Apartheid—The Global Itinerary: South African Cultural Formations in Transnational Circulation', directed by Dr. Louise Bethlehem. Elaborating on Appadurai's (1996: 18) concept of deterritorialization, Bethlehem argues that "The deterritorialization of South African texts, images, works of performance culture, and social actors—particularly those associated with anti-apartheid resistance—demonstrably ensnared the apartheid state in the world beyond in multiple ways and at various levels of resolution" (forthcoming: 4). Subsequently, these cultural forms are "reterritorialized" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002: 12) in new contexts and "at their multiple points of diffusion… [they] are enfolded within situated local narratives" (Bethlehem 2013: 2). For Bethlehem these reinscriptions "offer significant systemic purchase over a broad range of conjunctures *outside* of South Africa" (forthcoming: 7) and open up possibilities to revise existing historiographies in different destinations. Combining this form of analysis with a music-based historiography, the current research leads to a twofold historical defamiliarization – the historiography of Guinea is reexamined through the lenses of both the transnational trajectory of Miriam Makeba and the symbolically embedded sonic formations.

The thesis comprises two chapters: the first provides the political and cultural background of Guinea from the time of independence with regard to issues such as the construction of national culture and the polemic against colonial influences, the presence of pan-Africanist solidarity within the nation-state and the impact of the Cold War on the cultural scene. This chapter will illuminate various aspects in Guinean history by examining the explicit ideology

that is mainly based on official national documents, historical events and other primary sources. The second chapter focuses on Makeba's musical output, as well as other Guinean music insofar as it is necessary for the eliciting of meanings that stem from a comparative framework. Eventually, the musical analysis will lead back to the historical context and be incorporated into it. The discrepancies between the official discourse and the potential meanings that Makeba's music conveys will stand at the core of my analysis.

Chapter 2 – Guinea – Nationalism and Pan-Africanism

Cultural Nationalism

In September 1958 Guinea gained its independence from France, thus being the only country in the whole French Empire that voted "No" in a referendum that offered the African territories a choice between a system of local government that would remain in the Franco-African Community and immediate independence. By this act Guinea became the first country in francophone Africa to gain independence. Guinea's lone withdrawal from the Empire was far from being predictable. As Schmidt points out, it was fraught with internal tensions between grassroots activists, trade unionists and student organizations that pushed for an immediate independence and the more pragmatic leadership of the Guinean branch of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) led by Ahmed Sékou Touré, who inclined towards a more gradual road towards independence. Eventually the grassroots movements had the upper hand and the Guinean leadership was forced to change their vote to "No" at the eleventh hour (Schmidt 2007: 161).

France's reaction to the vote was harsh. When the direction of Guinea's vote began to be clear, France ordered its civil servants, teachers and medical staff to leave Guinea immediately. Infrastructure and industrial and medical equipment were sabotaged and documents and archives were destroyed (Schmidt 2007: 171; Counsel 2009: 73). France also broke diplomatic relations with the new Guinean state and attempted to isolate Guinea from the international community (Schmidt 2007: 182). While France recognized Guinea

in January 2, 1960 (Schmidt 2007: 176), only in 1975 did a full reconciliation between the countries occur under the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (Camara 2014: 213-214).

Independent Guinea under the leadership of Sékou Touré put great efforts and investments into developing a modern national culture under a doctrine called *Authenticité*. However, before discussing the implications of cultural modernization in post-independence Guinea, it is crucial to trace the antecedent processes to such an endeavor in pre-independence Guinea. The most notable example is the Ballets Africains, a group that specialized in West African dances and music that was founded by Fodéba Kéita, a prominent figure who later served as Minister of Interior and Security and as Minister of Defense in the Guinean government. Founded in the 1950's, when Guinea was still under French rule, the Ballet was not recognized at this stage as Guinean and included cast and repertoires from diverse places in West Africa. Only when Guinea gained independence was the group nationalized, changing its name to the National Ballet of Guinea and confining the repertoire to the Guinean culture (Cohen 2011: 26). From its inception, the Ballet modernized African dances by extracting them from the local contexts in which they were performed and by adapting them to the format of a stage (Dave 2009; Nesbitt 2001). While the modernity of the Ballet was often overlooked on the international stage and the group's performances were depicted as "primeval innocence" (Cohen 2011: 19), for Guinea and other West African national cultures the Ballet served as an early experiment in modernizing African culture. Importantly, the Ballet's innovations

were not conceived as purely aesthetic, but ones that were tied to the political project of decolonization. For instance, Franz Fanon claimed that the Ballet epitomized a "revolutionary perspective" that asserted that "National culture in the under developed countries… must lie at the very heart of the liberation struggle these countries are waging" (Fanon 2011: 168).

Fanon's emplacement of the Ballet in a revolutionary discourse resonates with the political climate in Guinea at the time following independence and the explicit ideology that equated aesthetic merits with positive political action. In independent Guinea the primary political function reserved for culture was to serve as a vehicle for overcoming the legacy of colonialism. The cultural policy in Guinea was heavily preoccupied with the harmful impact of colonialism on the national culture and on the people, as is evident from the following document, produced in 1979 by the Guinean government for UNESCO:

> Resistance and offensive are organized first and foremost in the field of culture. Colonized man first has to pull himself together and critically assess the effects of the influences to which he has been subjected by the invader and which are expressed in his behaviour, his way of thinking and acting, his ideas about the world and society, and his appreciation of the values of his people (*Cultural Policy in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea* 1979: 72).

Culture, conceived here in the broadest sense, similar to the classical anthropological definition of culture as "the complex whole" (Tylor 1871), is the primary site in which the fight against colonization takes place, and, as will be demonstrated below, the arts and music were important mediators of this struggle. As Dave emphasizes, in the case of Guinea the calls to reject the

colonial legacy did not result in a wish to return to a precolonial past, but instead sought to promote modern culture and establish a creative culture that drew on traditional sources and was thus counted as "authentic" (Dave 2009).

Interestingly, while the struggle against colonial legacy is the one that is more often discussed in regard to post-colonial African cultures, no less important is the local polemic against the old tribal chieftaincy that was conceived as a threat to the nationalist leaders. This struggle was highly intertwined with attempts to neutralize the powers of older traditions and religious practices that were counted as fetishistic. In this respect music played a key role:

> Guinean musicians have helped the people to demystify divinatory polyphonic music previously unknown or forbidden, and dances and songs whose performance formerly involved an absurd psychosis or was tied up with an archaic ritual. This mystical, divinatory music has now been brought to light and integrated into the progressive social movement so as to make a philosophical contribution to the well-being and equilibrium of the people (*Cultural Policy in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea* 1979: 83).

The secularization of music and other cultural practices was an important component of Guinean nationalization (McGovern 2013). Straker points to similar cultural work that was done by the National Ballet of Guinea. By presenting masks and rituals outside of their religious context the Ballet contributed "to [the] combat [of] mystification – a particular form of ignorance that revolutionary discourse constantly associated with fetishism"

(Straker 2009: 100). This mission exemplifies one side of what Turino named "the twin paradox of nationalism" – the fact that the nation state is dependent on the previous systems of identification that provide the justification for establishing a community, but at the same time is threatened by the older order and the ethnic division which it aimed to transcend (Turino 2000: 215).

However, the traditional sources that were neutralized and were incorporated into the emerging national culture were far from being representative of the Guinean population. Similar to other African countries, Guinea is a home of many ethnic groups; the largest are the Maninka, Fula and Sousou. Despite the overt discourse that wished to transcend ethnic divisions in order to establish an inclusive nation, older tribal alliances did play a significant role in Guinean culture. While prior to independence, Sékou Touré , who was at that time the leader of the RDA and a Maninka, took pains in attempts to convince Fula people that the RDA was not a Soussou-Maninka party (Schmidt 2005: 155), the cultural sphere in post-independence Guinea was dominated by the Maninka while the Fula were under-represented and occasionally even conceived as traitors of the nation.[6] In regard to recorded music, Counsel argues that "Guinea's representations of national culture as expressed through Syliphone[7] invariably depicted a Mandé cultural aesthetic, which over time had come to dominate the (cultural) politics of the era and which was the façade of nationalism" (Counsel 2015: 572).

[6] The tension between the Fula people and the government intensified when the government accused the Fula of initiating plots against the ruling party.
[7] The national Guinean record label.

The rejection of foreign influences and the debates over authentic culture were waged most forcefully in the musical sphere. At the time of independence, the music that was played in the urban center of Conakry was a mixture of colonial styles (waltzes, tangos and others) with almost no original music by Guinean musicians (Counsel 2009: 76).[8] Another influential genre of music was Highlife – a style most associated with Anglophone African countries such as Ghana and Nigeria that fuses jazz with local rhythms. The most notable band was that of Ghanaian E.T. Mensah who traveled West Africa and performed in Guinea in 1958 (Counsel 2009: 62).

Cuban music was another genre that was very influential in Guinea at that time. Heavily distributed on 78rpm shellac discs by the Gramophone and Victor companies, Cuban music became popular in urban centers throughout Africa (Counsel 2009), and in countries such as Congo (White 2002) and Senegal (Shain 2012). Referring to its popularity in Congo, White argues that Cuban music came to embody "a form of urban cosmopolitanism" that served as an alternative model to the "European cosmopolitanism" that was identified with colonialism (White 2002: 663). As Counsel points out, notable Guinean bands such as the Horoya band "acknowledged their debt to the GV series [Gramophone and Victor] in their compositions" (Counsel 2009: 64) and the Guinean music scene was highly Cubanized. This will be explored further in the discussion below.

The most direct intervention of the Guinean government in the music scene was conducted in 1959, only a few weeks after independence. A resolution led by

[8] Traditional music was in fact played in the more rural areas and in the forests. These areas had a special place in Guinea nationalism because they were seen as more resistant to the impact of colonialism. For this respect, see Straker (2009).

the Parti Democratique de Guinea (PDG) disbanded all the existing music groups in Guinea. The rationale for this act was described as follows:

> As African light music and dance music were banned by the colonial authorities, most music-lovers looking for something exotic turned to Cuban or Latin American music, whose rhythms and melodies were more or less remotely of African origin. In this situation, one of the first things the Party had to do once in power was to disband a plethora of dance orchestras and vocal groups, in vogue under the colonial regime, which confined their performances to slavish renditions of tangos, waltzes, fox-trots, swing music and other rhythms imported from Europe and the Caribbean. Musicians and other performers in these groups were asked to return to authentic African rhythms and tunes. (*Cultural Policy in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea* 1979: 80)

The search for the "exotic" music on behalf of the Africans is an interesting reversal of the Western consumption of African music (Taylor 2007) and culture (Archer-Straw 2000), which was often based on their "exotic" value. What is interesting is that what counts as "exotic" – very similar to the Greek original meaning of the word, translated as "foreign" – are not solely the European styles that might have been identified directly with external colonial coercion, but also the Cuban and the Caribbean. All are considered equally as "more or less remotely of African origin". The crux of the matter is not that the African origin of the Cuban people was denied, but that the African origins of the music became at that time inaudible. This claim stands in contrast to prevalent practices that stress a musical continuity between black cultures on the two sides of the Atlantic. For example, in the

exact same period, American Jazz was heavily absorbing Cuban stylistic features that came to serve as a musical index of 'Africa' as part of a growing interest among African Americans in the processes of decolonization in Africa (Monson 2010: 134).

Musical practices were not the only means by which a cultural continuity across the Atlantic was established. Discursive representations of black music were also critical in this regard. Specifically, jazz became a major signifier in Négritude thought for *l'âme noire* (the black soul). Jaji points to the ways in which Léopold Sédar Senghor, one of the movement's key figures, embraced "jazz as a sign of Négritude" that allowed him "to articulate parallels between African vernacular oral art forms and jazz as commensurable modern black forms" (Jaji 2014: 66) and in that way to support "Négritude's claim to pan-racial black sensibility" (Jaji 2014: 67). In Senghorian thought, an ethics of sameness is articulated in order to preserve a notion of continuity and stability that is based primarily on race. Any difference between black Africans and black Americans is portrayed as marginal – as a "simple *décalage* [time-lag]" (Edwards 2003: 13). The divergence between Guinea and Senegal on the basis of questions of continuity in regard to race is not simply a dispute over musical matters but a fundamental issue that stems from a bitter ideological dispute over the desirable type of pan-African solidarity and political action. In what follows, the place of pan-Africanist ideology and practice in Guinea will be assessed.

Pan Africanism within the Guinean nation

The national politics of Guinea was highly intertwined with pan-Africanist ideas and political commitments that exceeded the borders and the interests of the Guinean nation. The construction of the Guinean state, as with other African nations, was tied to a pan-Africanist ideology. In the years prior to independence, African leaders shared a political pan-Africanist vision and warned against the creation of premature nation states that would reside in the colonial borders (Mkandawire 2005; Ki-Zerbo 2005). Ki-Zerbo argues that against the "Pan-Africanist euphoria" common at that time stood the colonial powers that wished to dismantle attempts for an African national unity. He claims that the French gave the African leaders a false choice between colonization and independence in colonial borders, and that the 'no' vote of Guinea for immediate independence urged other countries to follow the independence path (Ki-Zerbo 2005).

The formation of African nation states within colonial borders undermined the more ambitious vision to create a united pan-African nation. Gradually, the new African nation states each constructed a distinct national culture that was often at the expense of broader pan-African solidarity (Ki-Zerbo 2005). Nevertheless, the vision for pan-African unity was not completely abandoned at the moment of independence and some leaders thought that independence in colonial borders was only a first step towards African unity (Mkandawire 2005). In Guinea, there were attempts to form federal political entities that exceeded the colonial borders after

independence (e.g. Ghana-Guinean union in 1958; Mali federation in 1959), but these attempts ended in failure.

Despite these failures, more moderate attempts to sustain pan-African solidarity within the nation state did succeed. In Guinea, for example, the official policy supported equal civil rights for Africans who came to live and work in Guinea (Camara 2014). Perhaps the most symbolic realization of this policy was the refuge Guinea provided to the ex-Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah after he was overthrown in a coup. Touré even referred to Nkrumah as an honorary co-president of Guinea (*Le Festival Artistique et Culturel et Le Panafricanisme* 1975: 57). For Stokely Carmichael, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) president, this act was an indication that Sékou Touré "remained true to the spirit of Pan-Africanism" (Camara 2014: 44). Pan-Africanist obligations were also articulated in the 34th article of the first Guinean constitution (1958), which reserved the right of the state to renounce its sovereignty in order to establish African unity (Touré 1959: 235-258). Additionally, Guinea was highly active in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. It is noteworthy that three chairs of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid were Guineans,[9] that Guinea organized and participated in several intra-African conferences on apartheid[10] and that the national newspaper *Horoya* published extensive

[9] Diallo Telli, Achkar Marof and Jeanne Martin Cissé.

[10] See for example the conference that took place in 1977 in the IPGAN University in Conakry documented in *Horoya* (1977, issue: 2259).

reports on apartheid and anti-apartheid activities.[11] In 2004 Sékou Touré even posthumously received the Order of the Companions of OR Tambo in Gold from the South African government for his contribution to the struggle against apartheid. These actions were part of a political solidarity that was constantly promoted by the Guinean media, which wished to sustain pan-African solidarity within the Guinean state.

The kind of pan-Africanism that Sékou Touré promoted was not the same as the one that is often discussed in scholarship. In academic circles, discussion of pan-Africanism often highlights the African American roots of the movement associated with figures such as W.E.B Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and others. When African leaders are considered, the ones that are often mentioned are Léopold Sédar Senghor and Kwame Nkrumah. Together these two groups comprise a pan-African thought that exemplifies a black Internationalism intellectual exchange (Edwards 2003). Sékou Touré is somehow exceptional in this milieu. Unlike the African figures in the movement who received higher education outside of Africa, and had close contacts with black intellectual elites, Touré's education and subsequent activity took place in Guinea and he received only elementary education. Instead of literary and humanistic thought, his political agenda developed from a grassroots activity in labor unions. Accordingly, Touré's pan-African thought was based on regional solidarity, workers' alliances and youth

[11] See for example the article "Pour une Action Globale Contre l'apartheid" in *Horoya* (1977, issue 2289). I would like to thank Cynthia Gabbay for mapping out relevant references to Makeba and South Africa in *Horoya* as well as for help with the French translations.

movements, and less on trans-Atlantic intellectual and artistic exchanges (Camara 2010: 47). He had a major role in promoting trade union alliances that crossed colonial borders. In 1957 he founded the Union générale des travailleurs d'Afrique noire (UGTAN), an organization that cut ties with the French union organization in favor of an inter-territorial African organization that fused ambitions to unite all the African workers together with an anti-colonial agenda (Camara 2014: 52).[12] It is from these grassroots circles that Touré's pan-Africanist vision first developed and from these circumstances that we can understand his objection to the more abstract forms of pan-Africanism, primarily Négritude ideas of racial essentialism. Importantly, Touré was by no means the only African figure that criticized Négritude. The movement's legacy and its relevance to decolonized Africa were at the center of a heated debate that involved other African leaders, intellectuals and writers. Since pan-Africanism is a dominant force within Guinean culture and my music analysis will refer to these issues directly, I will now refine the discussion about pan-Africanism by examining two important pan-African festivals that took place in Dakar (1966) and Algiers (1969) that exemplify two major variants of the pan-African ideology.

The First World Festival of Negro Arts took place in Dakar in 1966 under the auspices of the Senegalese government. It was a continuation of the two Congresses of Writers and Artists organized by the French-based

[12] Another important precursor to pan-African solidarity in Guinea was the formation of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), a major regional political party that was active in the French territories in West Africa (Schmidt 2005).

publishing house Presence Africaine, which Senghor was involved with. The festival had different funders but they were all from the Western Bloc with the US serving as the leading backer of the festival (Jaji 2014: 94). The American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) was the major player in the American organizing committee of the festival and was associated with the CIA (Ratcliff 2014: 181; von Eschen 1997: 175). Ratcliff notes that the Dakar festival emphasized mostly cultural issues and avoided political debates and questions of neo-colonialism and anti-imperialism at a time when bitter struggles were being waged across the continent (Ratcliff 2014: 174). Moreover, participation in the festival was limited to nation state delegations, therefore excluding African liberation movements as well as American cultural figures who were associated with the more radical line of Civil Rights activism in the US, who were blocked by the US delegation to the festival (Jaji 2014: 94).

While the festival included performances from North African countries (Morocco, Libya and the United Arab Republic), the official brochure of the festival contained profile articles dedicated solely to black artists (from both Africa and America), thus emphasizing the category of race as the common denominator for solidarity. We can learn from these profiles about the ways in which black artists were represented in the eyes of the Négritude ideology. For instance, South African singer Miriam Makeba, who eventually did not participate in the festival (Reiser 2014: 137), was portrayed in the following words:

> In the Bantu world of the Primordial Word of the Third Day, song is an essential part of life and therefore singing is performed in common… Her [Makeba] voice has risen out of a world in which harmony is the result of the fusion of the elements: lava, emanation, trees, stones obeying man's will to survive… One need only look at Miriam Makeba to appreciate the Word made Song. One need only look, or rather listen, to see eyes rooted in the depths of a soul, and a clear brow of one whose being thrusts upwards towards the Communion (Diakhaté, n.d.)

This description depicts Makeba as part of primordial world, and her voice as inseparable from natural elements in a setting of the creation of the world. In this atavistic world, Christian ideas are fused with natural elements to form a sense of ancient spirituality in which Makeba resides. By attaching signs of archaic existence to her, Makeba is devoid of any trace of modernity. It is striking that this language is not just reserved to Makeba, but that other artists, such as Duke Ellington, are described in the same manner. This example can be understood as what Paul Gilroy calls the legacy of Euro-American modernity, which "conditions the continuing aspiration to acquire a supposedly authentic, natural, and stable rooted identity" (Gilroy 1993: 30). As scholars have argued, the essentialized tendency is not just restricted to Euro-American thought and is intrinsic to works of certain pan-African thinkers.[13] In fact, Senghor and Négritude were often criticized on the grounds of racial essentialism. Accordingly, Guinea banned the festival and did not send a delegation to participate in it. The Guinean party explained their objection to Négritude and the festival on the ground of the use of the

[13] For more on these tendencies in pan-African thought, see Appiah (1993).

word “negro” in the name of the festival. For Guinea, using race as the main basis for solidarity was a reproduction of the colonizers’ categorization that served as the basis of exploitation (*Le Festival Artistique et Culturel et Le Panafricanisme* 1975: 43). While Négritude was recognized as a movement that was important in mobilizing Africans during the time of colonization, it was viewed as outdated and foreign to the political and cultural demands of decolonized Africa (ibid, 42). Guinea’s criticism of Négritude was harsh, to the extent that it drew parallels between it and the South African apartheid regime, stating that “the racists of Southern Africa and the poets of NEGRITUDE all drink from the same fountain of racial prejudice and serve the same cause, the cause of imperialism exploitation of man by man” (ibid, 63).

As an alternative to a solidarity that was based on race, Touré as well as other African leaders wished to promote a form of color-blind solidarity that was more attuned to concrete historical and socio-political conditions, namely a shared struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The second pan-African festival that took place in Algiers in 1969 signaled an important shift in this respect from the Négritude-dominated Dakar festival. The shift was manifested on several critical grounds. Of relevance to this discussion is the fact that the Algiers festival conceived culture as inseparable from liberation struggles and anti-colonial political activity, which was absent from the Dakar festival. In addition to the black African countries, the festival also included a greater presence from the Maghreb countries,

delegations from African liberation movements (ANC, FRELIMO, SWAPO, etc.), and other representatives from the Eastern Bloc. This ideological shift was manifested in the opening speech given by the President of Algeria, Houari Boumediene, who called for the establishment of an African partnership based on a history of oppression under colonialism rather than on an ahistorical racial identity (Ratcliff 2009: 112). Importantly, by shifting the basis of pan-African solidarity from race to a shared experience of colonialism and imperialism, the meaning of 'Africanity' was transformed. In his typology of pan-Africanisms, Ali Mazrui defines this form of pan-Africanism as "trans-Saharan pan-Africanism" (Mazrui 2005: 65), and associated this form with leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré and Gamal Abdel-Nasser, whom he calls "Ideological Afrabians" since these figures bridge between African and Arabic identities.[14]

Importantly, although the name "pan-African" implies solidarity between Africans, the Algiers festival also set the stage for wider political alliances that go beyond the borders of Africa. If a shared history of colonial domination is defined as the main criterion for solidarity, then political and cultural ties between countries that are not African but were affected by colonial or imperialist powers can be envisioned. In the case of Guinea these ties were often drawn. For example, by referring to the devastating

[14] This split of two types of pan-Africanism goes along the lines of the two major political groups that emerged in the early 1960's in Africa: the Monrovia group (which included countries such as Senegal, Ivory Coast and Cameroon) and the Casablanca group (which included countries such as, Guinea, Egypt, Ghana and Algeria). The first one was more liberal and close to the Western bloc, while the second was more militant and radical and often associated with Eastern bloc. See Ratcliff (2009).

influences of Négritude, an official document that covered Guinea's statement to the 6th pan-African conference in Dar-Salam (1974) posed the following rhetorical questions:

> Is it not true that our friend, the great revolutionary leader of Cuba, FIDEL CASTRO, is more hated by the imperialists, colonialists, segregationists and facists than black leaders who have become the accomplices and devoted and servile agents of those who exploit their brothers and cynically scoff at the rights of African Peoples?... Was not ALLENDE closer to the exploited blacks than certain Afro-Americans or African <<leaders>> (*Le Festival Artistique et Culturel et Le Panafricanisme* 1975: 64).

This statement undermines the legitimacy of race and African origin as valid grounds for political solidarity, and instead wishes to place anti-imperialist political orientation as the common denominator.

As demonstrated in this chapter, post-independence Guinea was dominated by two major political and cultural forces. On the one hand, efforts to establish a distinct national culture were promoted against the legacy of colonialism and the older traditional systems. On the other hand, Guinea attempted to sustain pan-African solidarity and to establish anti-imperialist political alliances. Against this complex backdrop, the following chapter explores the place of Miriam Makeba in Guinean society and points to her decisive role in integrating these two forces through her public persona and music.

Chapter 3 – Makeba in Guinea

The decision to focus specifically on Makeba might seem peculiar**.** After all, Makeba is not the first figure that comes to mind when Guinean national music is considered. Musical groups such as the Horoya Band, Balla et ses Balladins and Bembeya Jazz National are more often mentioned in works on Guinean music.[15] Moreover, Makeba was a South African who arrived in Guinea at the age of 36, after a successful international career in the US and Europe. At a time when the visibility of African artists in the Western world was almost non-existent, she became a "sonic stand-in for the continent of Africa" (Sizemore-Barber 2012: 253). Even after she relocated to Guinea, Makeba continued to perform and record in non-Guinean contexts and maintained her international career.

Therefore the question remains: why Makeba? This thesis does not aim to provide a detailed account of the post-independence music scene in Guinea. Existing research, primarily by Charry (2000) and Counsel (2009), has provided a wealth of information about the canonical and most recognized names within the post-independence Guinean music scene. In contrast, the purpose of this study is to expose more latent facets of Guinean culture. By focusing on Makeba – both her public persona and her music – the aim is to offer an account of Guinean culture that is guided by Bethlehem's heuristic of "thick convergence". This is an elaboration on Geertz's conceptualization of "thick description" (1973) that "arises when the movement of cultural agents, products or formations central to imaginaries within apartheid South Africa produces significant historiographic

[15] An exception to this is a short section in Counsel (2009) about Miriam Makeba. However, Counsel does not cover Makeba's music in detail.

purchase over other geopolitically differentiated sites" (Bethlehem, forthcoming).

Recently, Makeba has been the subject of academic scrutiny that has focused mainly on her time in the United States. Research has investigated, for example, her role in the US civil rights movement as part of black cultural activism (Feldstein 2013; Ford 2011), the manner in which she came to represent the African 'other' in the US (Sizemore-Barber 2012) and her role in anti-apartheid political activity in the US as part of an international network of activists (Weaver 2013).

Makeba arrived in Guinea after a successful career in the US that included numerous recordings and performances in major venues worldwide. During her time in the US she became acquainted with popular figures in American culture, including actor Marlon Brando and singer Nina Simone, who was her close friend (Ford 2011: 53). She also had contacts within the American political world, and was even personally invited by President Kennedy to perform in his birthday party (Makeba and Hall 1989: 108).

At the same time that her popularity in the US was growing, Makeba was also achieving increasing fame in Africa. Her success in Africa was mediated by her popularity in the US and through her friendship with well-known public figures such as Harry Belafonte, who was her musical patron and was associated with key figures in African politics. Belafonte was sent to Guinea by the US government to establish relations through cultural activity with the new

independent state against the backdrop of the Cold War.[16] In 1962, Makeba returned to Africa for the first time since leaving South Africa, visiting Kenya and Tanzania. Following this visit, she participated at major events on the continent: the first Organization of African Unity summits, the independence celebrations in Kenya, Mozambique and Angola, and the pan-African festivals in Dakar, Algiers and Lagos. Her prominence at these events won her considerable cultural capital and she gradually became a highly significant symbol throughout Africa.

On the morning of September 18, 1967, Makeba arrived for the first time in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, for a one month visit. She was invited by Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, whom she first met in 1963 at the first summit of the OAU in Addis Ababa, to perform in a festival in the country (Makeba and Hall 1989). Three reports that appeared on the front cover of *Horoya*, a spot that was usually reserved for important national events and diplomatic visits, covered her visit. In the report published upon her arrival in Guinea, Makeba is called "La célèbre chanteuse sud-africaine" [The celebrated South African singer] and "La grande chanteuse africaine" [The great African singer] (Horoya 1967, issue: 1293). Throughout the visit she was hosted by Touré and other leading figures in the Guinean government, which awarded her with honorary citizenship and land in the Dalaba region for her "grande contribution a l'effort de liberation et de rehabilitation du continent" [great contribution to the liberation effort and the rehabilitation of the continent] (Horoya 1967, issue: 1311). When Makeba left the country for Lusaka on

[16] Belafonte initiated the establishment of a performance center in Conakry, which eventually did not materialize. His involvement in Guinea is covered in Belafonte and Shnayerson (2012).

October 14, the report from *Horoya* mentioned that the Guinean people "...lui a rendu l'hommage du a son grand talent et a son engagement patriotique" [gave tribute to her great talent and her patriotic engagement] (Horoya 1967, issue: 1314).

During her first visit to Guinea Makeba also met her future husband Stokely Carmichael, a radical civil rights activist and a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) member who arrived in Guinea after visiting Algeria and Syria (Joseph 2014: 213-218). Carmichael had established close relationships with Sékou Touré and Kwame Nkrumah, who was at that time in Guinea after being overthrown in a military coup. In 1968 Makeba came back to Guinea with Stokely Carmichae,l this time as a married couple (Makeba and Hall 1989: 166). The two decided to move to Guinea after they were placed under surveillance by the FBI and because Makeba's career was in decline following her marriage to Carmichael (Makeba and Hall 1989: 162).

1968 was an important year for Guinean political history, when in the Eighth Congress of the Parti Démocratique de Guinée (PDG) a cultural revolution was officially initiated by Touré. The revolution had many practical consequences; these cannot all be considered at length, but two are specifically relevant to this discussion. The first was the affirmation of the principle of the PDG's supremacy over the state and the second was the title *Responsible Supreme de la Revolution*, which Touré gave to himself. In this constellation the PDG and the revolution became synonymous, so that any oppositional voice to the party was marked as counter-revolutionary (Camara 2005: 71)

The revolution was also tied to the cultural sphere, as Kaba indicates:

> Somehow the evolution of art and literature in Guinea between 1958 and 1967 had appeared to Touré as being elitist, and hence contrary to the goals of popular integration and democracy. Within this context, Touré thought of the Cultural Revolution as a broad programme to return to the authentic African culture as it is lived by the masses, and foremost as it is understood by the party's leadership. This implied the search for an optimal level of political awareness and commitment, determined not by reaction to ideas from outside, but by a positive self-examination and a complete reliance on the party's view (Kaba 1976: 208).

The consequences of the revolution were not just an increased censorship on cultural production and its subordination to state policy, but also a general sudden rise in the presence of cultural events in the media. This was most evident in *Horoya*, which covered cultural events and topics more extensively than before.

Shortly after her arrival in Guinea, Makeba became active in the national music scene. She performed regularly in the annual festivals known as *Quinzaine Artistique et Culturelle Nationale*. When she performed at this festival in 1970, *Horoya* covered her concert as part of a daily report on the various performances. The report describes Makeba's singing in relation to Africa: "Miriam chante son Afrique qu'elle aime" [Miriam sings her Africa which she loves]. It addresses Miriam on behalf of the Guinean people and all the African people who express their love to Miriam and their solidarity with her:

> "Miriam, l'Afrique que libre t'aime et l'Afrique enchainee aussi, elle entend tes berceuses, tes complaintes. Miriam, tes freres les Africains que nous sommes nous t'aimons aussi. Ton succes, tes peines, tes joies, sont aussi notres car nous menons la

> meme lutte, pour notre patrie commune l'Afrique" [Miriam, freed Africa loves you and enslaved Africa loves you too. It hears your lullabies, your complaints. Miriam, your brothers, the Africans that we are, love you as well. Your success, your pains, your joy are also ours because we carry the same fight, for our common homeland Africa.] (Horoya 1970, March 21).

This passage recreates the symbol of Makeba as the voice of Africa. Makeba sings Africa but is also supported by Africa, who share with her the pains and joys. The image of Makeba as "the voice of Africa", the same as the title of her American album from 1964, is a common trope that can be traced back to her reception in the US (Sizemore-Barber 2012). However, while in the US the 'Africa' that Makeba embodied was tribal and atavistic, this report uses 'Africa' as a stand-in for the African people in a concrete historical moment, whose intimate relationship with Makeba is emphasized. The notion of struggle is also dominant and the shared destiny between the African people who are still under domination and those who are independent is stressed. It is reminiscent of a common pan-African dictum that "As long as one African is unfree, no African will be free".[17] This report indicates that, in Africa, Makeba functioned as a potent symbol that came to represent a form of pan-African solidarity.

In other instances Makeba was incorporated more sharply into the Guinean national discourse and was often depicted as Guinean. In 1973 *Horoya* covered the preparations for the annual national festival and in the headline of the report Makeba's name appeared alongside the other regional and national

[17] For example, Makeba attributes this statement to Touré in a Swiss documentary: Dami (1981)

Guinean groups. The headline is a quotation from Touré that states that all the groups "traduiront le langage de la Revolution, la volonte et l'orientation de notre Peuple" [will reflect the language of the revolution, the will and the direction of the people] (*Horoya* 1973, issue: 1973). In this context, Makeba is incorporated into the national discourse: she is not merely a symbol of a unified Africa but serves as an embodiment of the essence of the Guinean Cultural Revolution. In a report of her performance in the same festival, her South African origin is mentioned and she is named "la grande Amazone Sud Africaine de la lutte anti-imperialiste" [the grand South African Amazon of the anti-imperialist struggle] and "la grand imperatrice de la chanson Africaine" [the great emperor of the African song]. In the middle of the show she received an Honor award "en raison de sa contribution a la Revolution africaine et sa position courageuse dans la lutte contre l'apartheid, en Afrique du Sud" [for her contribution to the African Revolution and her courageous position in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa] (Horoya 1973, issue: 1985). Although Apartheid is mentioned explicitly, the report expanded the meaning of the struggle, stating that "nous menons ensemble contre l'ennemi commun l'imperialisme" [we lead together against the common enemy of imperialism] (ibid.). Solidarity between Makeba and the Guinean people is formed on the basis of a shared enemy, which is no longer a specific regional regime, but a global diffused enemy: imperialism. In the Guinean context apartheid was stripped of its singularity and was conceived of as a manifestation of imperialist forces. Finally, the reporter addresses Makeba in the name of the PDG members, the brothers of Africa and all progressive

humanity, and congratulates her: “sur le plan cultural de la lutte anti-imperialiste demeure le symbole du courage, de la constance et de la fidelite” [in terms of the culture of the anti-imperialist struggle she remains the symbol of courage, constancy and fidelity] (ibid.).

When examined together, these two reports present a ‘Makeba’ that cannot fit neatly into only one set of meanings. As an exiled South African with Guinean citizenship who is also an international pan-African star, Makeba stands simultaneously for Guinean revolution, anti-apartheid struggle, pan-Africanist revolution and anti-imperialist struggle. These political identities are not mutually exclusive, but they reinforce each other. They are stacked through a chain of synecdoches – apartheid is part of a broader pan-African revolution, which itself a part of an even broader anti-imperialist struggle – in order to form a unified body of solidarity. The term ‘revolution’, which is used for both ‘Guinean Revolution’ and ‘African Revolution’, binds the national politics with the pan-African, so that the Guinean revolution exceeds national borders and becomes significant to the broader African cause. These overlapping identities are intrinsic to post-independence Guinean culture. Under these terms, Makeba serves as a node of representations that on the one hand empowered Guinean nationalism, but on the other hand allowed it to transcend the local context and expand it to broader political movements, namely pan-Africanism and anti-imperialist struggle.

I would argue that Makeba plays on a delicate tension between being an insider and an outsider to Guinean culture. As demonstrated above, she was

incorporated into the discourse of Guinean Revolution and was often conceived as a partner to the goals of the Guinean nationalist project. However, at the same time her status as an international figure and a pan-African persona remained intact, and was pivotal in elevating Guinean political culture to broader political meanings. Thus, in order for Makeba to be able to fulfill this dual function within Guinean society she had to be positioned in a constant liminal state – between a Guinean nationalist and a pan-African star.

Chapter 4 - Music Analysis and Integration

Whereas the previous chapters laid the historical backdrop, based on textual sources and official documents, this chapter will focus on sonic materials, mainly the recordings made by Miriam Makeba for the national Syliphone record label. Makeba's recorded output in Syliphone was far greater than that of any other Guinean artist (Counsel 2009: 107) and included diverse songs in different languages and musical genres. The catalogue of the national broadcaster Radio Télévision Guinée (RTG)[18], compiled and digitized by Graeme Counsel, contains the complete recordings made by the Syliphone label, including unreleased recordings and recordings of live performances. An examination of the catalogue reveals that Makeba recorded 29 distinct songs, some of them released on more than one record.

Table 1 indicates how Makeba's recorded repertoire is distributed according to language. It shows that a majority of her songs were sung in Guinean languages, South African languages and English. Additionally, Makeba sang in other European languages, as well as in Arabic and other African languages. Singing in multiple languages was not unique to her Guinean records. Her albums from her US period contained songs in different languages, including Hebrew, Yiddish and European languages. However, the dominance of Guinean songs in her repertoire was unique to the Guinean context and prior to her arrival to Guinea she did not sing in these languages.

[18] The entire catalogue was digitized by Graeme Counsel as part of the British Library Endangered Archives project. I am grateful to Graeme for sharing his vast knowledge with me in e-mail correspondences. The full summary of his project is in Counsel (2015) and the entire catalogue can be accessed here: http://www.radioafrica.com.au/RTG_complete_catalogue.xls

Language	Number of Songs
Guinean languages (Maninka, Fula, Sousou)	8
South African Languages (isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, Shona)	6
English	6
Instrumental	3
Swahili	1
Spanish	2
Arabic	2
French	1

Whereas the distribution of languages in Makeba's songs provides a general indication of the kinds of cultures that are represented in her repertoire, it by no means exhausted the potential meanings the songs convey. As will be argued, musical features have to be considered in order to account for each song's cultural meaning. While it has not been possible to offer a comprehensive account of Makeba's recorded output during her Guinea years, the following analysis focuses on five exemplary songs that illuminate substantial cultural dynamics. The various analyses differ in their degree of resolution. Two of the songs have been chosen because they subvert the historical context and hence require more nuanced musical understanding in order to bring them back into

the historical context. Whilst the other three songs are not analyzed in the same depth, they remain significant for the argument presented here.

Performing Guinean nationalism

Some of Makeba's song were tied to the nationalist music of Guinea. This was evident both in her recorded repertoire and in her live performances. As Makeba entered the Guinean national scene, she began to work with a group of top-notch Guinean musicians called the Quintette Guinéen, who served as her backing band for most of her Guinean career.[19] The group was comprised of musicians that were recruited from the band Balla et ses Balladins, a famous national orchestra. The Quintette was comprised of Sékou "Docteur" Diabate (lead guitar), Famoro Kouyate (bass guitar), Ke Moko Kouyate (rhythm guitar), Amadou Thiam (drums) and Tumbas Abdou (drums).

An example of the Guinean nationalist styles in her music is her version of *Malouyame*, a song in Maninka. The song begins with a short improvised introduction of the *kora* (a 21 string harp of the Maninka) that turns into a constant accompaniment part called *kumbengo* (Knight 1971; Charry 2000).[20] After a few cycles the kora is joined by a Western strings orchestra that plays in unison a short melody in legato that repeats twice. It is then that Makeba begins to sing with a free-floating rhythmic feel and in highly ornamented manner

[19] At a certain point in her time in Guinea, her Guinean band was replaced by a band of European musicians. According to Makeba this was due the fact that the Guinean band members did not show up to rehearsals (Makeba and Hall 1989: 224). However, for her recordings for Syliphone the players were Guineans.

[20] The song was released on the single "Moôlouyame / West wind unification" (SYL 550).

reminiscent of the *mawwāl* of Classical Arabic music. This type of singing is common among the Maninka *Jelis* (hereditary musicians) and it serves as an introduction to the main melody of the song, which has a more fixed and structured rhythm. While I do not have an access a translation of the lyrics, I am familiar with the traditional version of this song from my kora studies in Gambia, where the song is called *Banile*. The word "Banile" does appear in Makeba's version near the end of the track. In Makeba's version the words "Guinea", "Touré" and "Sékou" are also heard during the song, which suggest that it is a post-independence adaptation of the traditional song. As Charry indicates, transformations of older accompaniments into new songs are common practice among the Jelis in the Mande world (Charry 2000: 150). Following independence the Jelis were recruited to the nationalist project and turned the meanings of their songs, originally dealing with pre-colonial traditions and old chieftaincies, to current political issues, the ruling PDG party and the figure of Touré himself (Counsel 2009: 100).

Whereas the strings orchestra gives the song a modern (perhaps even Western) flavor that departs from traditional Maninka musical aesthetics, it is the kora that dominates the arrangement. As Counsel notes, the kora became an important iconic sign for the Maninka culture both in Africa and internationally (Counsel 2009: 150). In this version Makeba conveys a sense of Maninka culture post-independence through the juxtaposition of her voice and the kora. Together with a singing style that adheres to the local aesthetic code, she participates actively in the nationalizing project of Maninka traditional music and in the

construction of a modern national culture. It is noteworthy that that national culture in Guinea was biased towards Maninka culture and other ethnic groups such as the Fula were underrepresented in the national culture (Counsel 2009: 572).

In 1970, Makeba and her group performed in the national festival, held in the Palais de Peuple, the major venue in Conakry. Her performance was captured in a documentary film called *Hirde Dyama* (Diakité and Jentsch 1970), an East-German/Guinean co-production that covered the festival. In a 1 minute scene, Makeba performs the song *Maobe Guinée*, a praise song in Fulani in honor of the PDG, to a hall filled with ministers, diplomatic staff and Touré himself.[21] The film presents Makeba wearing a traditional outfit and standing in front of her band, joined by five backing singers. The style of the performance is typical to modern Guinean music, with a Cuban flavor and a rhythmic accompaniment played in 3/4 meter, although it can be also heard in 4/4 (presumably this is how Makeba hears the rhythm as indicated by her foot-tapping, which emphasizes the quadruple meter). The possibility to experience concurrent rhythmic layers is a common feature in African music and one that has been covered extensively in Africanist music research (Arom 2004; Agawu 2003; Jones 1978). This performance symbolizes the tribute that Makeba pays to the Guinean national culture, to the ruling party and to Sékou Touré, the most recognized figure within the PDG and her host in Guinea. One can imagine the pride that the Guinean audience at the festival felt when hearing Makeba perform their

[21] The song was released on a single "Maobe Guinée / Forbidden Games" (SYL 541).

national culture. As an international star, a fact that was mentioned time and again in the local press, Makeba's appropriation of Guinean culture portrayed Guinean music as something worthwhile that had value outside of Guinea.

However, Makeba's performance of *Maobe Guinée* was not perfect. As can be seen in the film (00:13:03), at one point Makeba enters with a melodic phrase one beat behind time. This mistake creates a temporal gap between her and her backing band so that they are not synchronized. Luckily, her band reacts to this mistake rather quickly by adjusting the rhythm on the fly in order to synchronize back to her singing. Nonetheless, the mistake is still discernable. Since the rhythmic pattern of the drums is repetitive, deviations from the periodic cycle are highly felt. This does not suggest that Makeba's performance was not good and enjoyable, or that all the people in the audience heard the mistake and attributed it to Makeba. However, it could be suggested that, at least for some people who were familiar with the song and were experienced listeners, Makeba's wrong entrance is an unintended performative gesture that could have brought to mind the fact that she was not a Guinean singer but a South African performing a Guinean song. In that way, her liminal state between an insider and an outsider to Guinean culture – which, as was claimed in the previous chapter, was crucial for her dual function within the Guinean society – receives support from this performative failure.

The 1969 Algiers Festival and Africa

In addition to her participation in Guinean national culture, Makeba also contributed musically to a variant of pan-African ideology that was promoted by the Guinean government. As mentioned in chapter 2, this form of pan-African solidarity, trans-Saharan pan-Africanism, put more emphasis on a continental solidarity with the north African Arab countries than on a racial-based unity with blacks in America. This does not mean that African American-Guinean ties did not exist. For instance, Sékou Touré was the political patron of Stokely Carmichael, Makeba's husband at the time and a radical African American civil rights activist. However, this solidarity was not based on racial grounds, but on a shared anti-imperialist political orientation.

One year after her arrival in Guinea, Makeba adopted and expressed the trans-Saharan form of pan-Africanism in her participation in the Algiers 69' festival. In an interview for the official festival bulletin, Makeba addressed a question about the connection between South African music and music from other parts of Africa:

> I think the music of Africa is basically the same, it just differs because of the different languages. I find though that North African music is quite different from the music south of the Sahara, but then I find that the music in Guinea is somewhat related to this music here in North Africa; it has that Arabic chant about it which as you go south gets lost. (*1st Pan-African Cultural Festival News Bulletin*, n.d.)

In this passage we are exposed to a conception of shared essence between different musical cultures in Africa. At first glance it seems that Makeba places

herself in the essentialists camp, what Gilroy calls "those who see the music as the primary means to explore critically and reproduce politically the necessary ethnic essence of blackness" (Gilroy 1993: 100). Drawing on the concept of a shared oppressor, which functions as a binder between different liberation struggles, shared musical essence is used by Makeba to form a pan-African solidarity between different groups in Africa and across the Atlantic. However, since "the different languages" can put at risk the possibility of a pan-Africanist musical conception, language is dissociated from the conceptualization of music in order for allow the music of Africa to be "basically the same". But language diversity is not the sole challenge for envisioning a pan-African musical solidarity: North African music is also a potential barrier for a homogenous conception of African music. At first, Makeba states that the North African music is "quite different from the music south of the Sahara" and thus makes a distinction between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa that corresponds to a racial version of transatlantic pan-Africanism that excludes North Africa. However, she immediately corrects herself by stating that "the music in Guinea is somewhat related to this music here in North Africa". In this context, the music of Guinea serves as a mediator between the North African music and the more southern African styles. As a country that is both black African and influenced by Islam and north African cultures, Guinea is a preferred site for the resolution of a possible musical contradiction, which might undermine an ideology of trans-Saharan pan-Africanism. In doing so Makeba conforms her musical views to the ideology of trans-Saharan pan-Africanism that dominated the festival, but with

an exception. Whereas the pan-African vision of the festival authors, most notably the Algerian leader Houari Boumediene, was that pan-African politics should not be based on an abstract and ahistorical shared essence but rather on a shared experience of colonialism, Makeba envisioned a form of trans-Saharan pan-Africanism that is based not only on a shared oppressive history, but rather on shared musicality. By that, Makeba departs from racial conceptualizations of solidarity in order to promote a solidarity that is based on a geographic space and shared musical essence.

Four years after the Algiers festival, this approach was crystallized into sonic formation with the release of the song *Africa*, sung in Arabic by Makeba and accompanied by a North African male choir and a string band playing in a typical North African style. The song expresses solidarity and admiration for the Algerian War of Independence against the French that began on November 1, 1954 and ended with the independence of the country in 1962, and for the Algerian warriors that died. The rhythm section, presumably Makeba's regular Guinean band, plays in a modern Guinean style with bold Cuban elements and the sonic result is an unconventional fusion of sub-Saharan elements and modern Arabic music.[22] The song is constructed as a medley with diverse parts that differ tremendously. The composition is characterized by rapid shifts between various parts with different rhythms, tempos and expressive styles.

Four years after the recording, *Africa* was performed live during the pan-African games in Algiers in 1978. While the majority of scholarly research deals

[22] The song was released on a 45rpm Syliphone single "Africa / Mansane Cissé" (SYL 551).

with pan-African solidarity based on race, *Africa* raises a different kind of musical solidarity that emphasis pan-African bonds based on a continental identity and dissociated from race. The musical syncretism that connects the "Arabic chant" with the music of Guinea is further congealed through the figure of Makeba, a black persona singing in Arabic. This type of collaboration predates more contemporary forms of North Africa/sub-Saharan musical collaborations, such as the Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour's album "Egypt" (2004) and Thione Seck's "Orientissime" (2006). Both albums fuse North African orchestras with Senegalese musical elements. However, these instances are based on a religious identity – a shared Islamic faith – and, as McLaughlin noted, are cultural formations that attempted "to articulate a specifically Sufi modernity in response to post-9/11 Western critiques of Islam as well as reformist movements from within their own society" (McLaughlin 2011: 72). In contrast, Makeba's song is emplaced within a secular nationalist context that stresses the anti-colonial struggle against the French.

Touré Barika – Subversive Americanization #1

In 1970 Syliphone released Makeba's first single. The two songs were *Milélé*, a Congolese song, and *Touré Barika*, a praise song for the Guinean president in the local Maninka language. The following analysis will focus on the latter.

The liner notes on the back cover of the single emplace Makeba in Guinean culture by indicating that Guinea is her adopted country and that she is an honorary citizen of Dalaba, a region in the Fouta Jallon mountains where she

was given land during her first visit in 1967. The relationship of adoption, however, was mutual:

> Spectatrice passionnée à Conakry des grands spectacles de théâtre, de danse et de musique instrumentale et vocale, conquise par la consonance mélodieuse des langues, la richesse et la diversité du folklore. Miriam Makéba a adopté et [sic] la musique guinéenne et les musiciens guinéens. [A passionate spectator in Conakry of great theater, dance and instrumental music, conquered by the melodic sound of the languages, the richness and the diversity of the folklore, Miriam Makeba has adopted Guinean music and the Guinean musicians] (Touré Barika / Milelé SYL 525).

This description depicts Makeba not merely as a guest (or a refugee), but as an active agent who absorbs Guinean music and incorporates it into her music. However, the influence of Guinean culture was not a plain imitation of Guinean styles, but a creative act that fused local elements with her own past musical influences. Her version of *Touré Barika* is an example of this kind of creative work.

The song was previously recorded by Balla et ses Balladins under the shortened name *Touré.*[23] While I do not have access to a translation of the song, I do know that "Barika" means blessed in Maninka and this suggests that *Touré Barika* is a praise song in honor of Touré and part of large corpus of praise songs for the president. At that period almost every band had at least one song in its repertoire that was dedicated to Touré.[24] The existence of an earlier version of the song makes it possible to lay a comparative framework and to extract

[23] The song was released in a compilation album "Balla et ses Balladins – The Syliphone Years".

[24] See for example: Kakandé Jazz (Mangue Touré), Koloum Jazz (Hommage a Sékou Touré), Fetoré Jazz (Sékou Touré barika); Bembeya Jazz National (Touré); Kébendo Jazz (Président Sékou Touré djarama); Les Ballets Africains (Touré).

cultural meanings that stem from the differences between the two versions. As will be demonstrated, while these are two versions of the same song, there are substantial differences on the levels of arrangement and musical stylization.

The musical analysis will be inspired by the concepts and methodologies of music semiotics. Specifically, it draws on the work of musicologist Raymond Monelle. In his book *The Sense of Music*, Monelle presents a semiotic theory of musical topics. Following Umberto Eco, he distinguishes between two semiotic processes: *ratio difficilis* and *ratio facilis*. *Ratio difficilis* is "a kind of signification in which everything—the sign, the code, the signified is irreplicable, and every detail of the signifier is mapped on to the signified" (Monelle 2000: 15). For Monelle this kind of signification represents the popular view of how music works semiotically, and it relates to the notion that denied music external meaning. In contrast, *ratio facilis* is a "signification [that] is governed by conventional codes and items of expression are referred to items of content according to learned rules" (Monelle 2000: 16). Through processes of stylization, expressions that are not conventionalized gradually congeal into types and become tokens. In this way *ratio difficilis* becomes *ratio facilis*. For Monelle the most concrete examples of *ratio facilis* instances in music are musical topics (Monelle 2000: 15).

Topics are conventional musical symbols that are not invented ad-hoc for a particular composition, but grounded in the history of music. Their conventionality allows them to be enfolded in semantic levels of meaning that exceed the confines of the musical piece. They evoke meanings by triggering

chains of significations that can be analyzed according to C.S. Pierce's triadic semiotic taxonomy of icon, index and symbol. Amongst the topics that Monelle presents, the most relevant to our discussion is the indexical topic (Monelle 2000: 18). This kind of topic does not signify by virtue of an iconic acoustic resemblance (e.g. the imitation of birds with melodic lines), but by pointing to a certain style or a repertoire. An example is the French overture and Turkish music that was appropriated in the classical repertoire (ibid, 17). A further indexical signification occurs when the styles themselves function as indexes to a range of meanings, such as affective states, social classes and various ideologies. While Monelle's work is situated within the classical repertoire, here his theoretical framework will be used to analyze the songs of Makeba.

Touré Barika consists of a verse and a chorus that share a harmonic progression (I – IV – V – I) that is played repeatedly throughout the song without a change. The verses are comprised of two structural parts in the form of "call and response," a typical feature of African music. The call is a melody with a complex and dense rhythmic phrasing that occurs each time with slight melodic and rhythmic variations. The common feature of the verses is the descending movement of the melody. This kind of directionality is common to the songs of the Maninka. The response is a melody with a simpler rhythm compared to the call and is repeated without change.

The two versions differed in their instrumentation. Balla's version includes a brass section, two guitars, bass guitar and a variety of Cuban percussion instruments (congas, guiro and timbales), a lead singer and backing

vocals. The place of the brass section is minimal and reserved to unison melodic motives that are derived from the main melody. This is typical of Cuban music, as well as Ghanaian Highlife bands. In Makeba's version the band is more compact and includes two guitars, bass guitar, percussion and a drum set. This kind of instrumentation can be found in many music genres, including Soul, Rock and Blues, and is one of the most typical kinds of bands.

Balla's version is played in the scale of B major, although it is probable that the original scale was the more common C major and that the change stems from the recording speed. The melodic calls are within the range of the 3rd scale degree and the 2nd scale degree an octave higher (see Figure 1).

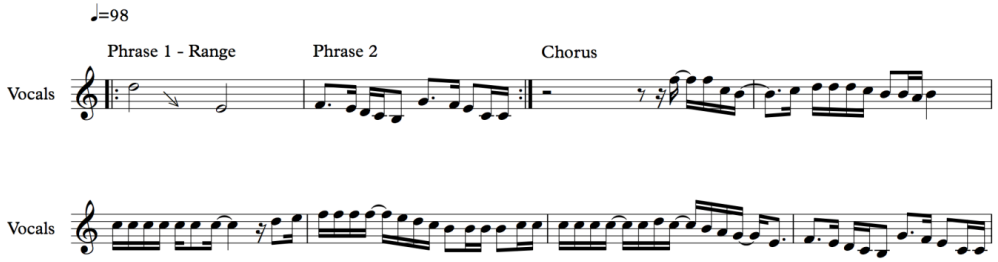

Figure 1 Balla's version melodic outline

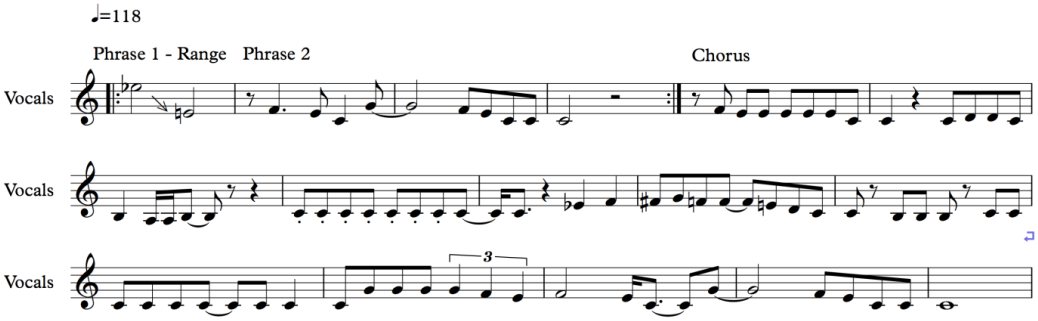

Figure 2 Makeba's version melodic outline

Makeba's version is in C major; however, the 7th tone of the scale is lowered a half tone as a way to create a Blues tonality. The 3rd degree is lowered

as well, albeit not consistently. Occasionally, the melody oscillates between the lowered 3rd degree and the natural 3rd. These alterations are particularly common in the Blues and in other American popular genres that developed from it. While an alteration of the 7th degree is also common in the singing of the traditional Jelis of the Maninka, Makeba approaches the alteration in a way that is akin to the American styles and not the West African (see Figure 2).

Despite the fact that the two versions share a basic harmonic structure, they realize it in different ways. In Balla's version, the bass guitar is the instrument that portrays the harmonic structure most clearly by playing a constant bass line that closely follows the chord notes. In Makeba's version the bass guitar does not emphasize the harmony so tightly, but plays a constant rhythmic pattern that follows the root of the chord whilst omitting some of the chord notes. Instead of the bass, the two guitars share the role of emphasizing the harmony, which is distributed along pitch and dynamic range: one guitar is playing softly and in the lower range, while the other plays higher and louder. The latter plays in a more improvised manner and with greater degrees of freedom in terms of harmonic and rhythmic variations. Importantly, it occasionally adds tension notes (the lowered 3rd and 7th degrees), resonating the alterations applied by Makeba's singing. By playing the lowered 3rd against the background of the basic three chords in the song, the guitar creates a more complex and tensioned harmonic background (C7#9, F7, G7b13). These kind of chords are common in Jazz, but were also utilized in popular music by figures such as Jimi Hendrix.

The differences in the harmonic realizations are most pronounced in the two guitar solos. In Balla's version the guitar solo is based on the major scale with not even a slight deviation. In contrast, the guitar solo in Makeba's version is based entirely on the minor blues scale (C-Eb-F-G-G#-A-Bb) and does not play the natural 3rd degree of the scale that is the core of the major tonality. In that way the Bluesy sound is further strengthened.

A rhythmic analysis also reveals substantial differences. Rhythmic structure is an important feature that contributes to the formation of the stylistic identity of a song. Ingrid Monson, following Guilbault (1993), recognized the symbolic meaning of rhythmic layers that are stacked in order to create distinct rhythmic wholes that index ethnic identities and styles in the African and African diasporic space (Monson 1999: 44). In Balla's version the rhythmic style is mainly constituted by the percussion instruments, specifically the congas and the guiro. Not only do the instruments index the Cuban influence, they also do it by virtue of musical features, playing common rhythms from the Cuban space. While other instruments contribute to the creation of a "Cuban" style, they are less significant. This is due to the ambiguous nature of their parts, which resist a clear-cut classification. The guitar parts, for example, play a part that is typical to more traditional styles and reminiscent of local instruments such as the Balafon and the Kora (Charry 2000: 295), but it can also be played in Cuban contexts.

In Makeba's version the dominant stylistic identity that is constituted by the rhythm section is that of African American Soul music that was popular at that time and was associated with artists such as Marvin Gaye, Curtis Mayfield

and Issac Hayes. The groove of Makeba's version conveys a more relaxed feeling by a stretching of the harmony over a doubled length of time compared to Balla's version. The drums play the Back Beat rhythm that is characterized by a snare drum that emphasizes the second and fourth beat. The bass guitar, which opens the song, joins the drums to create a distinct stylistic identity. In fact, except for the lyrics in Maninka and the cultural context of a praise song, the musical features conform fully to a 1970's African American musical aesthetic. Despite the fact that the rhythms in the single were far from being traditional African, the liner notes of the album associate Makeba's drummers with African traditional styles:"ces deux artistes possèdent toutes les combinaisons de percussions des grandes batteurs traditioneles d'Afrique" [These two artists have all the combinations of the great traditional drummers of Africa] (Touré Barika / Milelé SYL 525).

Both Makeba's and Balla's version of the song present musical influences (Cuban and African American) that should equally have been counted as foreign and thus, according to the official cultural policy, unwelcome in the Guinean music scene. However, in practice, Cuban culture was prominent within Guinean culture, not only in music. For example, a Cuban Film Festival was held in Guinea and was documented and reported extensively by *Horoya*. Guinean music from that time drew heavily on Cuban styles, while African American influences were almost non-existent. As Counsel points out, Cuban rhythms were often used in original songs composed by Guinean artists and the names of the Cuban rhythms were often indicated in the sub-titles. Not only were rhythms incorporated in

new compositions, but popular Cuban songs such as *Guantanamera* and *Mi Corazon* were recorded by Guinean bands on the *Syliphone* label (Counsel 2009). Counsel explains the gap between the official policy and the musical reality by alluding to the "pan-Africanist values of Sékou Touré" and to the fact that "Cuba [was] staunchly anti-imperialist… and [that] Cuban music had it roots in Africa (as did jazz), via the slave trade" (ibid.,). While Counsel's explanation regarding a shared ideological anti-imperialist orientation is convincing, the shared roots explanation is less plausible. As shown in Chapter 2, Sékou Touré often attacked the racial type of solidarity between Africa and the diaspora in a way that challenged the cultural continuity of the black diaspora. In the Guinean context under Sékou Touré's regime, the most important criterion for establishing a cultural affinity was an ideological orientation, namely anti-imperialist, rather than race. This kind of cultural-ideological affinity did not exist in regard to the US and other Western cultures that were counted as imperialist. It could be argued, therefore, that it is because of this shared ideological orientation, in the context of the Cold War, rather than shared race, that Cuban music was prevalent in post-independence Guinea, while African-American music was marginalized.

Against the backdrop of a highly Cubanized Guinean culture, the inclusion of an African American style in Makeba's version renders it very distinctive. By using the linguistic term 'markedness' and apply it to music (Hatten 2004), we can therefore claim that Makeba's version is the marked version in comparison with Balla's performance, which is the unmarked version. Similar to her performance of *Maobe Guinée* and *Malouyame*, discussed above, *Touré Barika*

associates Makeba with the Guinean national culture. The image of Makeba as an international star that was already established in the Guinean press is now nationalized, and Makeba is able to participate on the level of the local culture. It is also an indication of her close association with Touré who personally invited her to move to Guinea and was her patron. The Guinean government might have also benefited from this song, since a recording by such an acclaimed international figure as Makeba could glorify their leadership. However, *Touré Barika* contains layers of meaning that are not to be found in the two other songs, primarily the bold African American musical aesthetics. This was not the only song in which Makeba performed this kind of style.

Lovely Lies - Subversive Americanization #2

Whereas *Touré Barika* holds a tense duality between a national praise song and an African American musical style, *Lovely Lies,* a South African song (also known as *Laku Tshoni 'Langa*) that was released in 1971,[25] exemplifies a different kind of African-American influence: one that is not disguised behind a nationalist song. The song was composed in the early 1950's by Makwenkwe "Mackay" Davashe, a saxophonist and composer who wrote the song for the Manhattan Brothers, one of the most famous South African groups of the time (Ballantine 2000: 379). Davashe, who was the backing band's leader together with saxophonist Kippie Moeketsi, drummer General Duze, and pianist Sol Klaaste, was a prolific composer who was responsible for some of the group's most popular hits.

[25] See the single: "Teya teya / Lovely Lies" (SYL 539).

The first recorded version of the song (in 1954) was in isiXhosa and was called *Laku Tshoni 'Langa* ("The Sun is Setting"). This version featured the young Miriam Makeba, then just 22, who joined the all-male group at a time when the presence of women in the South African popular music industry was diminished and their status was degraded due to changes in migration policies that were introduced by the apartheid government (Ballantine 2000: 386). Against this backdrop, Makeba joined the group but more as a decorative addition under a clear gender-based hierarchical order than as an equal member. Her marginal position is reflected in the arrangement of the song.

The original song was a love song with lyrics in isiXhosa that depict a rural scene of cattle that come back from the field, a sunset, a moonrise and a woman who waits for her lover who did not come back. The rural frame changes when the song describes the woman searching for her lover in houses, streets, hospitals and jails. The movement between the rural and the urban was a common trajectory in South African society and was often reflected in music practices and songs (Erlmann 1990; Ballantine 2000). The jail is an important symbol that alluded to the culture of the *tsotsi* (the black gangsters) who had close links with the music industry (Weaver 2013), and often expressed a form of resistance to the rules and restrictions of the apartheid regime (Nkosi 2006).

Musically speaking, the song has a laid-back feel with the drummer using brushes instead of regular sticks, typical for the jazz ballad style. The guitar is the dominant accompaniment instrument in the mix while the clarinet improvises behind the singers in a free form Kwela (South African pennywhistle)-like

fashion. The lead singer sings the main melody of the verses alone, and is joined by the other male singers, who create a long constant harmony behind. In the choruses the lead singer and the backing vocals blend together and their vocals are balanced. Almost two thirds of the way through the song, Makeba enters for the first time. At this point the song takes a dramatic change, as the lead singer begins to recite the verses instead of singing. While the recitation is frontal in the balance, Makeba sings the melody in a quiet and gentle voice in the background, echoing the spoken words with melody. She is separated from the group and only blends in in the final sentence when the melody rises up to a melodic pick, and Makeba's high note pops up from the male voices. The harmony in this version is relatively simple, with the occasional use of the F# diminished chord that is a common substitution to the C7 dominant chord (see Figure 3), which conveys a jazzy sound to the song.

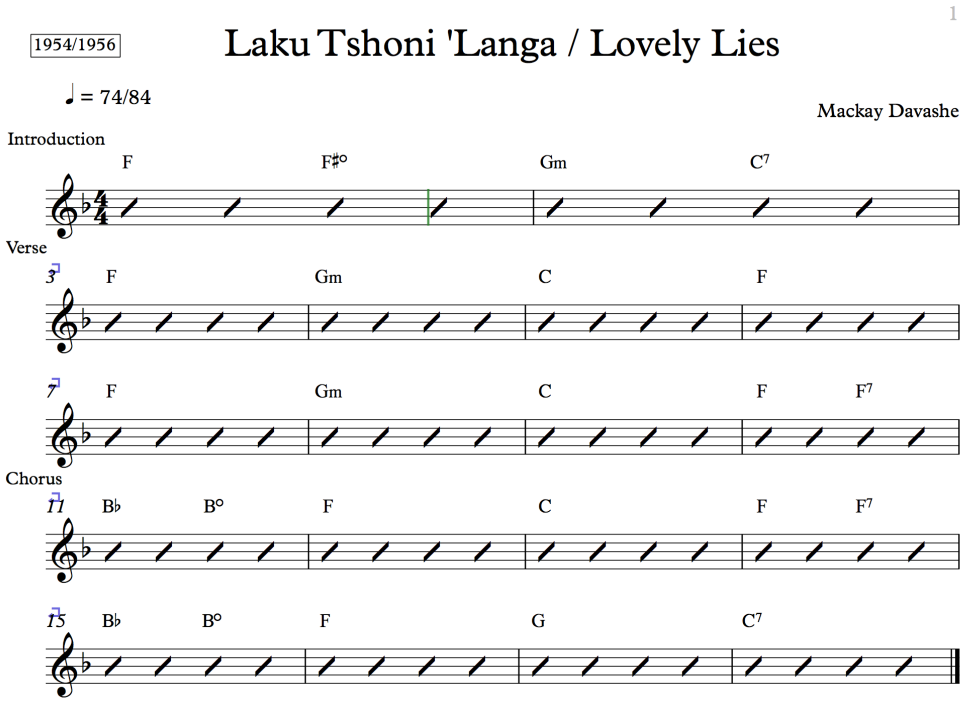

Figure 3 Chords chart - 1954/1956 versions.

In 1956 *Laku Tshoni 'Langa* was released on a Decca record under a new name – *Lovely Lies* – with new lyrics in English that were written by Tom Glazer. With the new lyrics, the meaning of the song was changed dramatically, from a love song to a song about infidelity that at its climax states, "The devil is a woman".[26] For Makeba, the English lyrics were inferior compared to the original isiXhosa version, which was much more meaningful and related to concrete social conditions of the period (Makeba and Mwamuka 2004: 35). However, this version is important in the history of South African popular music because it was the first South African hit to make the Billboard top 100.

[26] Reiser (2014) states that when Makeba became an international star she began to translate her African songs and offers *Lovely Lies* as an example of such a practice. However, in 1956 Makeba was not yet an international star, but rather a local star in South Africa.

The tempo of this version was slightly faster than the 1954 one (~84bpm compared to ~74bpm), which makes it more light but still preserves the relaxing feel of the previous version. In this version the piano is the dominant accompanying instrument, while the guitar is in the background and plays short chord strokes on the quarter note, typical to classic swing guitar playing (known also as "Freddie Green style" after Count Basie's guitar player). The clarinet plays in this version as well but in a more restrained manner, at a lower range than the original and lower volume. The piano is responsible for the main ornamentations and plays around the melody, which gives the song a more classic feel.

The overall structure of the song is preserved but with a few changes. The lead singer sings the verses alone, without the backing vocals. They join the leader only in the chorus ("the devil is a woman"). The dramatic change occurs when in the fourth verse Makeba takes the lead, but this time she sings without the spoken part. The chorus is again sung by the full choir and Makeba returns to another verse, again encompassing the full sonic spectrum. Her presence in this version is much more prominent and almost equal to the male lead singer.

The third version of *Lovely Lies*, and the only one discussed here that is also tied to the visual, is Makeba's performance in the film *Come Back, Africa*. This was directed by the Jewish American Lionel Rogosin and produced in the context of a transnational network of anti-apartheid solidarity, which included American and British activists, together with white and black South Africans. *Come Back, Africa* portrayed the life of blacks under the apartheid regime, gained international success and was presented at the Venice Film Festival (1959),

where it received the Italian Critics Award. Makeba managed to get permission to leave South Africa and attended the festival, her first time outside of Africa.

In one scene, Makeba sings *Laku Tshoni 'Langa* (the isiXhosa version) in a shebeen (home brewery), where she is invited by a group of men, among whom are two writers from *Drum* magazine, Can Themba and Bloke Modisane. Makeba, dressed in an evening dress, plays a shy girl who at first refuses their invitation but eventually agrees. Gradually, the vibrant and noisy shebeen becomes quiet and the song begins with a short jazzy introduction by the guitar. Makeba then begins to sing in a soft voice full of vibrato. The camera focuses on her face for most of the song, with only short glimpses towards the other members of the scene, who look mesmerized. The guitar is the only accompaniment instrument and Makeba sings the whole song with no backing vocals. The focus is on her, in terms of her dominance of both the acoustic and the visual space. Of the three versions, this is the one that places Makeba in the center and emplaces her as the lead singer. Historically it also marks her split from the Manhattan Brothers and South Africa and the beginning of her international career.

When Makeba left South Africa and arrived in the US in 1959, *Lovely Lies* moved with her as well. Although, as Weaver states (2013: 249), *Come Back , Africa* reached only a small audience in the US, the song *Lovely Eyes* had already gained popularity with the 1956 version. It was also included on her debut album, released in 1960, named simply *Miriam Makeba*. This version sonically recreates the intimate space of a club, similar to the *Come Back, Africa* version. This is achieved with a minimalistic arrangement and instrumentation, which

except for Makeba who is the only singer, includes only a guitar and a double bass. The click consonants of the isiXhosa language are more accented in this version, presumably due to the placement of the microphone close to Makeba. The tempo here is slow, similar to *Come Back, Africa* and it creates the feel of a ballad. The harmonic structure is expanded by the use of chord substitutions, which creates a fuller and more complex harmonic background. As can be seen from Figure 4, the chord palette is expanded with altered chords that are not found in the original version (such as C7b9b13, Cm7add9 and others). These chords emplace the song within a contemporary jazz atmosphere. In this case, however, the contemporary musical elements were insufficient to claim a sense of modernity for Makeba, who at the time was portrayed as rural. This gap can be explained by the fact that although the harmonic content is complex and similar to jazz tunes, the arrangement still conveys a simple and perhaps naïve feeling that conforms to the image of Makeba as a shy woman from Africa (Sizemore-Barber 2012). Additionally, the musicality of the isiXhosa language, with its clicking consonants that stand out for the Western ear, also further alienates Makeba.

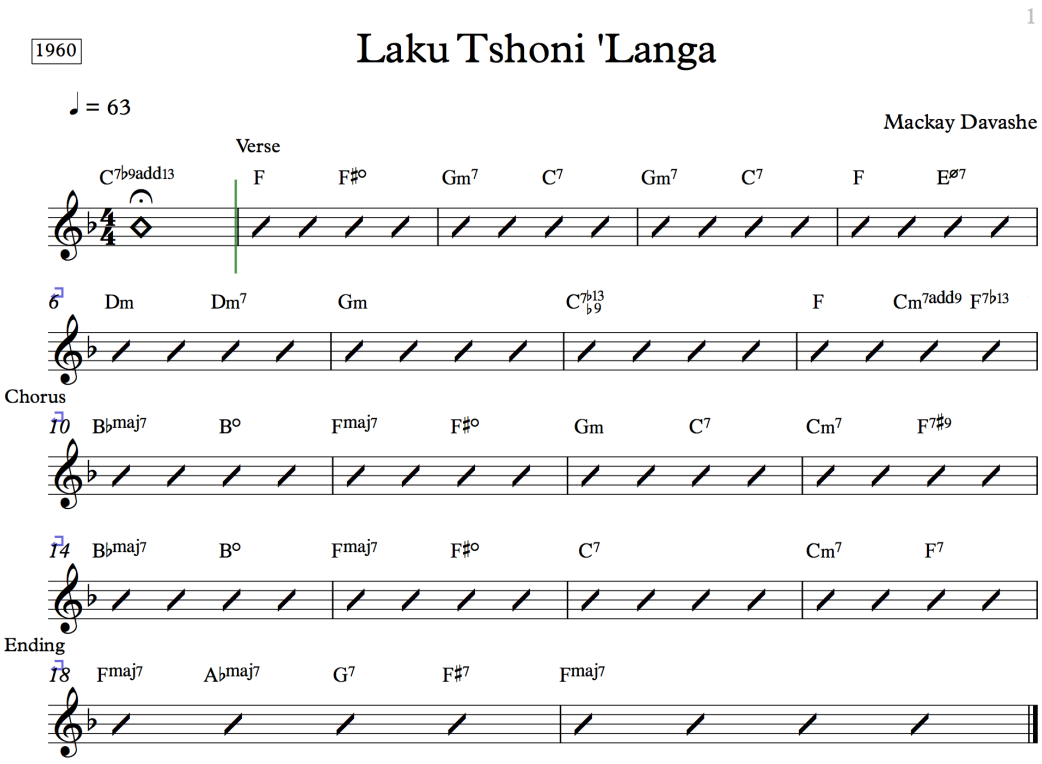

Figure 4 Chords chart - *Come Back, Afirca* version

On her album *The Voice of Africa* (1964), Makeba recorded the last version of this song during her American years, this time in the English version. The instrumentation is the same as in the previous recording and the general feel of the song remains intact. However, the guitar expresses even greater harmonic freedom by re-harmonizing basic harmonic structure, most notably in the cadence in the 9th bar that moves between three major7 chords as a way to establish unstable tonicizations (see Figure 5). The result is a more tense and sophisticated harmonic background over which Makeba sings. Her singing style is more dynamic and she plays within a range of expressions, especially in the chorus where she emphasizes the word “devil”.

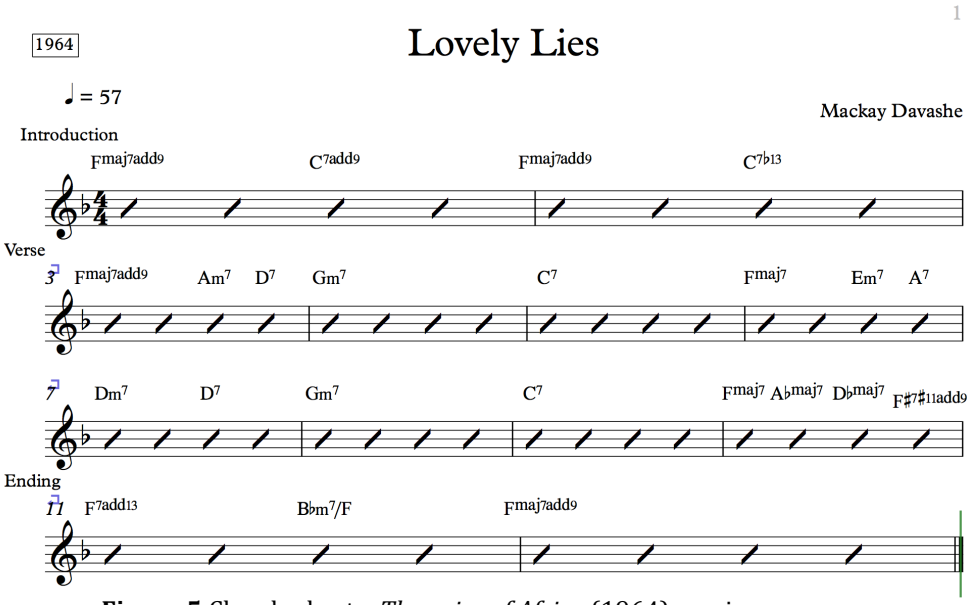

Figure 5 Chords chart – *The voice of Africa* (1964) version

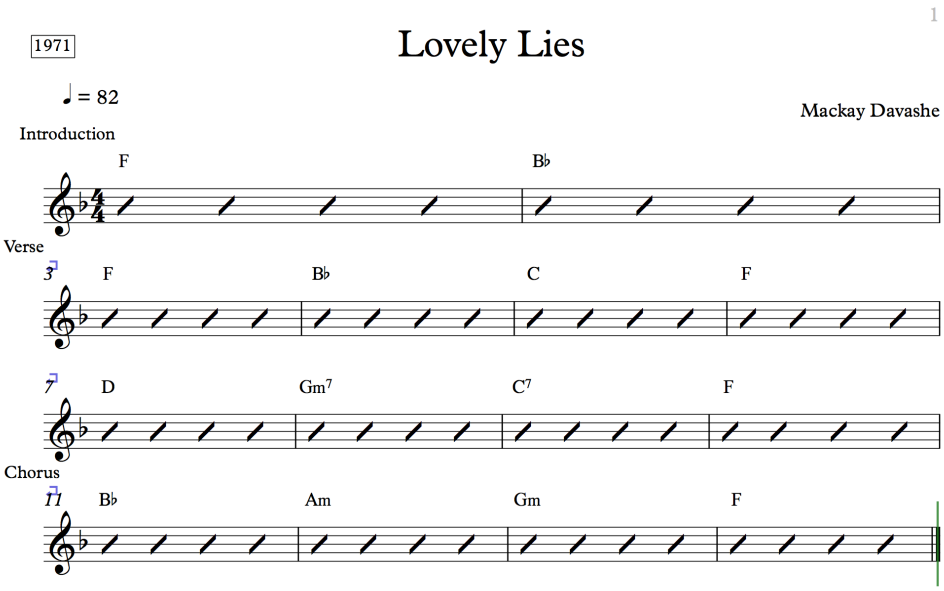

Figure 6 Chords chart – Guinea version (1971)

The last rendition of *Lovely Eyes* (the English version) was released in 1971 on a single with another song called *Teya Teya*, sung in Maninka. Following a short introduction by the rhythm section, Makeba begins to sing. From the beginning a slow Motown-Soul groove is established by the back-beat of the drums, together with a syncopated bass line and a guitar part that plays chords in an RnB fashion. These elements set the stage for Makeba who enters with the melody. It is clear from the moment she begins to sing that this version is unlike any other previous version of the song, to the extent that it can hardly be recognized. Instead of the straight melody that emphasizes the down beats and the swing offbeats, in this version the melody almost sounds like an improvisation. It floats over the rhythm without adhering to the recurrent pulse of the beat. The melody itself is changed, most evidently in the second verse where Makeba reaches up to the b7 note in the chords, which changes the chord quality to a dominant 7 instead of the original natural tonic (or major7 chord). This creates a bluesy sound that is reinforced by the guitar and the bass, which plays the dominant 7 as well. The harmony is simplified in comparison to the previous version with mainly dominant 7 chords in the verse, which eliminate the jazzy sound and replace it with a bluesier urban feel (see Figure 6). The chorus is reharmonized with three chords (Bb; Am; Gm) that create a diatonic descending bass line that is typical to soul music and less common in jazz. Makeba's singing also conforms to the soul style by singing in a rough voice, unlike the more restrained jazz-lounge kind of singing that characterized her previous versions.

From musical meanings to historical context

The above analysis of the songs I have selected has pointed to the diverse ways in which Makeba's music is entangled with cultural and political dynamics in Guinea. The songs *Malouyame* and *Africa* represent the manner in which Makeba participated in the *Authenticité* paradigm of national culture and in trans-Saharan pan-Africanism, respectively. These two examples demonstrate the musical means by which Makeba's songs contributed to and reinforced the state ideology and gave it a musical expression. This form of ideological work was also recognized by the Guinean press, who portrayed Makeba's artistic merits as inseparable from the political struggles of Guinea. Relying solely on these examples, one might readily claim that Makeba's music was fully subordinated to her host country's political hegemony.

However, these forms of participation do not exhaust the full meanings that her music conveys. It has been argued that her musical activity in Guinea was neither confined to a mode of imitation of national styles nor was a mere reflection of the overt state ideology. The crux of the matter lies in the bold contemporary African American influences that are prevalent in songs such as *Touré Barika* and *Lovely Lies*. These songs resist an interpretation that fits the state ideology, which cannot accommodate and account for the African American cultural influence.

Researchers on Guinean culture have tended to stress the limited freedom of expression and strict censorship imposed by the Guinean government on cultural creation (Kaba 1976; Counsel 2015; Camara 2005). Resistance to the

government, even in implicit ways, led to imprisonment and sometimes even death.[27] Accounting for these circumstances, Nomi Dave has coined the term "politics of silence" (Dave 2014) to describe the silence of Guinean musicians with regard to local politics. While Dave focuses on the contemporary music scene in Guinea, she draws a line between the present state and the political conditions under Touré's regime, stating that the apparent apolitical climate stems "from long-standing norms of silence and guardedness in Guinea" (ibid: 1). Her main focus, however, is on the lyrics of the songs. While it is true that subversive political issues are almost non-existent in Guinean music on a verbal level, Dave's definition of the political is rather limited. In a cultural context that is strictly regulated by the state, non-verbal cultural formations such as music can serve as the primary site of ideological contestation. However, these forms of ideological work cannot be reduced to the dichotomy of resistance versus compliance. Makeba's music exemplifies the paradoxical nature of the two terms. On the one hand, she was part of the Guinean hegemony: she had close ties with Sékou Touré; she represented Guinea in the UN and in numerous festivals; and some of her songs conformed to the cultural hegemony. On the other hand, her music does not fully conform to the explicit state ideology. The fact that Makeba was part of the Guinean nationalist discourse is exactly what allowed her to express musical elements that would not have been recognized as acceptable otherwise in the hegemonic Guinean culture.

[27] See Chapter 6 in Camara (2005) for some incidents as well as the website: www.campboiro.org that is dedicated to bringing the voices and stories from Camp Boiro, a notorious prison for political prisoners.

Discussion of cultural resistance often use James Scott's concept of the "hidden transcript" (Scott 1990). This concept was also recently applied to the ideological work done by music. For example, Allen (2003) showed how "cryptic lyrics" were used in South African songs in order to hide subversive messages against the apartheid regime. In the case of Makeba's songs, the transcript is hidden not in the lyrics (which in the case of *Touré Barika* fully comply with the acceptable codes), but in the music. The fact that Makeba acts from a subject position that is identified with the hegemony does not prevent her from contributing new meanings to the Guinean society.

African American music was a powerful medium for blacks in West Africa. As is evident from Diawara's account, West African youth from Mali adopted the hair style, clothes and music of the Soul culture, and musicians such as James Brown, Otis Redding and others were very popular (Diawara 2000: 99-100). This kind of musical appropriation was denied the Guinean youth at that time, but was able to be contained through the mediation of Makeba's songs.

Makeba's presence in Guinea allowed her to stretch her own creative boundaries that were limited by the demands of the American market, which emplaced her under the rubric of a folk singer. Ironically, in a country such as Guinea, where hard censorship was imposed, Makeba was freer to experiment with different musical possibilities and to adopt contemporary musical influences without external pressures and demands to fit to the Western stereotype of rural African. For Guinea, the presence of Makeba brought a new spirit in the form of American music. She expressed African American elements

that were alien to the Guinean soundscape. Not only were her own songs in an African American style, but her backing band began independently to record instrumental musical pieces that drew heavily on African American influences. Under the name Miriam's Quintette they recorded three experimental tracks. The first is a piece called *Miriam's Quintette Song*, which is actually a cover version of the late 1960s American soul-jazz hit 'Mercy, Mercy, Mercy', by the pianist Joe Zawinul (Makeba 1971). The second is a track called *Solo Quintette*, a blues tune that is unique for its inclusion of the kora (21 stringed West African harp) (Discothèque 71 1972). The third is *Mansane Cisse*, a popular song from the traditional repertoire of the kora that was recorded over an American modern swing rhythm. Makeba was also pivotal in the dissemination of African American culture in Guinea through a dance club that she owned in Conakry. As is evident from a Swiss documentary that was filmed in the early 1980's, the music that was played in the club was contemporary African American music. For example, the music played during her interview in the club was the disco hit *Celebration* by the African American group Kool and the Gang (Dami 1981, 01:42:32).[28]

These kind of African American influences were relatively emancipatory because they created spaces that were able to liberate the audience, even momentarily, from the limiting discursive ideology and to trigger a cosmopolitan identity and pleasure. This kind of ideological work is subversive because it undermines the totalistic conceptualizations that tied culture exclusively to the

[28] For more on the international and eclectic character of her club, see Makeba and Hall (1989: 215). I am indebted to Dr. Louise Bethlehem for this reference.

demands and objectives of the state. In the context of Guinean culture, when political and cultural activities were under strict censorship, the inclusion of American music is by itself an alternative to the dominant ideology. It exemplifies a kind of political power that, as Lara Allen explains, "lies fundamentally not in protest anthems or praise songs, but in the space it creates for small personal pleasure and enjoyment." (Allen 2004: 6).

By examining the meanings that are embedded in Makeba's music, a new form of historical knowledge emerges in regard to Guinea: namely, the uncovering of cultural spaces that were not subordinated to the official ideology, which was not possible, or at least tremendously limited, with the available linguistic sources. Subsequently, mainstream historiography that mostly relied on linguistic sources failed to account for these cultural dimensions. Makeba's music offers a hermeneutic window through which historical dynamics can be reconstructed. It thus serves as an example of the ability of music-based analysis to contribute historical meanings and to complement historical inquiry that is grounded in forms of textuality.

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