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Pasler, Jann

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Music and African Diplomacy at the Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres, Dakar, 1966

Jann Pasler
Distinguished Professor, UC San Diego

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Abstract

To celebrate independence from France and promote better understanding between “continents, races, and cultures,” in 1966 Senegal produced the World Festival of Negro Arts. Forty-five nations participated. At its core were diplomatic goals involving music. Not only could music help Africans recover their pre-colonial heritage, it encouraged dialogue among cultures and cultural development fueling liberation from the colonial past. Listening for what was shared, as in jazz, and cooperating internationally, as in the Gorée spectacle and recordings competition, encouraged mutual understanding, the basis of alliances world-wide, essential for prosperity. By including African Catholic music, anglophone as well as francophone contributions, and radio broadcasts across Africa, the festival promoted inter-African alliances, necessary for lasting peace in Africa. Here, amid the cold war and this diverse soundscape of musical activities in Dakar, an African mode of diplomacy found its voice and its power. Dialogue, exchange, and cooperation would inspire a new future.

Keywords

African diplomacy – cultural diplomacy – World Festival of Negro Arts Dakar 1966 – international cooperation – radio – unesco – postcolonial musical identities – inter-African alliances

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At the heart of the first World Festival of Negro Arts (1–24 April 1966) were diplomatic goals: liberation from the colonial past through cultural development, world-wide alliances essential for prosperity, and lasting peace within African countries. The idea arose as a way to celebrate Senegal’s independence from France in April 1960. From the beginning, UNESCO was a partner.¹ In his speech at the United Nations in October 1961,

¹This article, conceived for *Diplomatica*, has expanded considerably on an earlier version, in French, delivered at the conference, *Le 1^{er} Festival mondial des Arts nègres: Mémoire et Actualité (1966–2016)* on 8 November 2016 in Dakar, Senegal, and published as “La Politique post-coloniale, la musique, et la radio au Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres: Dialogues de cultures et coopération internationale.” In *Le 1^{er} Festival mondial des Arts nègres: Mémoire et actualité*, eds. S. Mbaye and I. Wane (Paris: Harmattan, 2020). I would like to thank Marthe Ndiaye, Oumar Boun Attab Sarr, and Djbril Guèye at the Radiodiffusion Télévision Sénégalaise (RTS); Fatoumata Cisse Diarra, director of the Archives Nationales du Sénégal

Léopold Sédar Senghor, poet and president of Senegal, launched the Festival's theme, "universal civilization," respecting and incorporating "the values of all diverse civilizations."² He also articulated its political method: "dialogue," "an essential element of African traditions" and "an instrument of international cooperation."³ Sénégal was "the country of dialogue and exchange,"⁴ as Senghor explained. Through them come mutual understanding. For Festival director Alioune Diop, "The peace of diplomats is not the only peace... Throughout history, communities that have come to understand one another experience deep peace, the basis of a new common civilization."⁵ In Muslim Senegal, dominated by Wolofs, both Senghor and Diop grasped this in part through religion, Senghor a Catholic Serer, Diop a Muslim convert to Catholicism.⁶ Still, Diop believed "nations can be condemned for their beliefs or customs, but never for their art."⁷ Seeking better understanding between "continents, races, and cultures,"⁸ the Festival thus gave a prominent role to "Negro artists," invited to share and reflect on African culture. For Senghor, who had been pursuing alliances of all kinds since the 1950s, the Festival had important implications for the country and the future of Africa.

Although little attention has focused on it until recently, music was integral to the Festival.⁹ Already in 1961, Diop's Société Africaine de Culture (SAC) commissioned

(ANS); Adèle Torrance at the UNESCO Archives; and Roland Colin for sharing his personal archives. My thanks also to two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments and suggestions.

Soon after a Senegalese committee was formed to represent the nation at UNESCO, Alioune Diop wrote its director about putting on a Festival to celebrate Senegalese independence. He asked UNESCO to "take active part in the Festival and its preparation." Alioune Diop to Vittorino Veronese, 16 November 1960. Archives of UNESCO, Paris, [Central registry dossier](#), Official relations with Senegal, X07.21.

² At the end of his "Préface" to Herbert Pepper's three-record set, *Anthologie de la vie africaine: Moyen Congo, Gabon* (Paris: Ducretet-Thomson, 1958), L.S. Senghor connects "the elaboration of universal civilization which is now taking shape before our eyes" and in which "Africa will not be absent" to the European ideal of international relations that emerged in the early 19th century: "And now, audiences, listen to the voices of Black Africa that were missing in the concert of nations." But Lloyd Kramer points out in *Nationalism in Europe and America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities since 1775* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), "Recognizing that most new states in Africa could not represent the kind of coherent or unified national cultures that romantic nationalisms had *imagined*, Senghor stressed the multiple traditions and forms of knowledge that would have to coexist in multicultural African nations" (178).

³ "Senghor parle demain devant les Nations Unies." *Dakar-Matin*, 30 October 1961. These ideas returned in "L'Allocution du Président Senghor à l'inauguration du 'Colloque sur l'Art nègre dans la vie du peuple.'" *Dakar-Matin*, 31 March 1966.

⁴ "Le discours du chef de l'Etat." *Dakar-Matin*, 31 March 1966.

⁵ Diop, A. "L'Art et la paix," *Le Premier Festival mondial des arts nègres* [program], 16. Diop founded the journal *Présence Africaine* (1947) and the Société Africaine de Culture (1956).

⁶ For a recent Senegalese perspective, see Kane, A.E. "Réflexions sur le dialogue interreligieux." In *Culture du dialogue, identités et passage des frontières*, eds. H. Vincent and L. Mfouakouet (Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2011).

⁷ Diop, A. "L'Art et la paix," 17.

⁸ "Réception du Pen Club présidé par Ousmane Socé Diop." Radio Sénégal, 13 April 1966, RTS Bandothèque (tape library), 66B10.

⁹ On the impact of the Festival on jazz and urban music in Senegal, see articles by I. Wane and M. Kassé in *Le 1^{er} Festival mondial des Arts nègres*, 285–96, 333–44. Murphy, D., ed. *The First World Festival of Negro Arts: Contexts and Legacies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016) addresses Festival art,

Jean-Baptiste Obama, Camerounian priest, musicologist, and composer, to write for its future opening a “manifesto” on traditional African music, its social function and philosophical significance. In Africa, as Obama later put it, “nothing is done without music... the mystical bond of all truly African societies.”¹⁰ In the 1963 preliminary budget for a week-long Festival, music represented 53 percent of the total costs, far more than the other arts.¹¹ During the Festival, music was omnipresent in greater Dakar – at concerts and art exhibitions, in theatrical and danced spectacles, parades, official ceremonies, Catholic Masses, and public squares, bringing people together physically and symbolically, sometimes in exuberant joy as Sergio Borelli’s long-ignored 50-minute film from 1966 well captures.¹² With balafon performers welcoming 15,000 visitors at Yoff airport,¹³ musical ensembles playing all over the city, and radio programs broadcasting throughout Africa and as far as France, music was also part of its diffusion beyond organized events and for people of all kinds, defying the presumption of a top-down event essentially for elites. Desiring a sound emblem of the Festival, a catchy tune all would remember, Senghor asked saxophonist Bira Gueye for an original composition. In the griot tradition, the text in Wolof praised Senghor and Senegal. With Gueye’s saxophone solos and singing by a woman, Mada Thiam, it presented a hybrid image of modern Africa.

However, with artists and musicians from 37 nations (30 African) and 27 presenting large spectacles,¹⁴ came significant challenges. What and who would be chosen to represent their countries, and for which purposes? In Dakar, how to achieve balance among diverse performances in the same venues, inevitably competing for attention and approbation? Given that France sought to maintain its influence and the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in Cold War, could musical encounters diffuse conflicts, reinforce or set the foundation for political alliances, serve as a form of reconciliation amid differences? How might they support Senegal’s external politics under Senghor: “non-alignment at the same time as cooperation [...] reinforcing horizontal solidarities that link

dance, theater, and film, but not music.

¹⁰ Obama, J.-B. “La Musique traditionnelle, ses fonctions sociales, et sa signification philosophique.” In *Société africaine de culture. Colloque sur l’art nègre: Rapports* (Paris: Société Africaine de Culture, 1966) I: 187, 203, 207. Earlier see his “Musique africaine traditionnelle.” *Africa* 17 (3) (May–June 1962), 125–32.

¹¹ For music, 16,286,000 CFA for two jazz shows, 714,150 for “transport costs and insurance for jazz instruments,” and 28,254,000 for “musique folklorique,” (three or four ensembles). The budget of 86,000,000 CFA (\$360,000) – which also included 10,000,000 for secretarial in Dakar and Paris, 3,062,000 for travel expenses in Africa, as well as 25,000,000 for sculpture and 2,620,000 for painting – was to be shared with UNESCO, Museums of France, and AMSAC. Visiting ensembles would cover their own expenses. Réunion du Comité restreint, “Budget préliminaire pour une semaine de spectacles,” 16 January 1963. ANS, Affaires culturelles, 307.

¹² Long, diverse musical examples of high quality are here captured, a beautiful portrait of the Festival, now available on <https://vimeo.com/135843095>.

¹³ See the photo in the Festival souvenir program (Paris: Delroisse, 1966), 24, 26.

¹⁴ Statistics from Souleymane Sidibé after the Festival. “Le premier bilan du Festival mondial.” *Dakar matin*, 25 April 1966.

us to other African people and vertical solidarities that connect us to developed nations, firstly, the former colonizer”?¹⁵

Through cultural dialogue, international cooperation, and inter-African alliances – the three themes of this article – music empowered the diplomatic goals of the Festival, shaped by Senghor’s politics of non-alignment. Initiating discussion of the first were debates on cultural identity in music at a bilingual, international symposium, organized by UNESCO and the SAC (30 March – 7 April).¹⁶ Scholars contemplated what African musical traditions shared and what transformations modern genres might bring. Cultural dialogue then came alive in performances, both official ones by participating countries, and informal jam sessions by local and visiting musicians. Dialogue could also be heard in hybrid events and in genres such as Senegalese classical music, Catholic liturgical music, and urban entertainment. For Senghor, cultural hybridity expressed the creator’s freedom, so important in preserving African independence and a key element of non-alignment.¹⁷

Second, performances necessitated cooperation, both interpersonal and international – another tenet of non-alignment – sometimes involving collaboration. In the historical “opera” about Gorée, a Franco-Senegalese-Haitian-American production, French and American music made audible the experience of monarchy, slavery, and independence. Rooted in both French policy and African traditions, cooperation often served larger goals. Cultural presentations presented opportunities for new diplomatic ties or expanded trade relationships, economic growth becoming increasingly important in post-colonial Africa.¹⁸ Before, during, and after the Festival, Senghor used cultural agreements to reinforce political and economic ones, even with countries unable to send performers.

Third, building on cooperation, organizers hoped that the participation of African musical ensembles, both francophone and anglophone, would implicitly question the divisive categories of colonial order and encourage support for the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In confronting “various expressions of the Negro arts,” the Festival wished to draw attention to the complex nature of African cultures, as in Haiti where “all human races have left their traces.”¹⁹ Music provided opportunities to listen for these traces and contemplate their meaning. From hearing aural connections, ideally Africans would recognize what they share, binding them as a people. Perhaps most ambitious in this regard was radio, whose role in the Festival is here examined for the first time.

¹⁵ Senghor cited in “Retour du Président Senghor d’Amérique.” *L’Unité africaine*, 13 October 1966.

¹⁶ UNESCO contributed \$3,000 for interpreters and \$20,000 for participants’ travel and accommodations. Maheu, R. Letter to Senghor, 9 March 1966. Archives UNESCO, [Central registry dossier](#), Official relations with Senegal, part 2..

¹⁷ Senghor, L.S. *Liberté I*, 103, cited in Jaji, T. *Africa in Stereo, Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 82–83. On the principal themes of political non-alignment, see Hadsel, F. “Africa and the World: Nonalignment Reconsidered,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 372 (July 1967), 96–97.

¹⁸ Hadsel, F. “Africa and the World,” 100–2.

¹⁹ “Les troupes du Gabon et de Haïti sur la scène du Théâtre Daniel Sorano.” *Dakar-Matin*, 13 April 1966.

This article seeks to shed light on how “symbolic acts”²⁰ (musical works and performances), explicit policies (dialogue, cooperation, and alliances), and musicians themselves contributed to an African mode of diplomacy. Rich historical detail comes from close study of not only Festival documentation at the National Archives of Senegal, including rare materials on the recording competition, but also previously unexamined archives at UNESCO. The country’s daily newspaper, *Dakar-Matin* remains, as for others, an essential source of national and international journalism, but so too *L’Unité africaine* of Senghor’s socialist party (UPS), Diop’s *Présence Africaine*, and the popular magazine *Bingo*, with its music and record reviews. Especially important are long-ignored aural media: the considerable audio archives of the Festival at RTS’s Bandothèque and the Institut national de l’audiovisuel (INA), Paris; the two Festival LPs; little-studied films; and interviews with musicians and cultural leaders in Dakar who provided indispensable first-hand accounts. Senghor knew well that the “civilization of the universal” depended on diplomacy, an art of relations, and that cultural exchange was an indispensable partner, the “foundation and goal of development.”²¹

Cultural Identity and the Dialogue of Cultures

For many Africans, music’s meaning derives from its social function. In his preface to Herbert Pepper’s record set, *The Anthology of African Life* (1958), Senghor emphasized “the inseparability of African music from other arts and the life of the African people.”²² Reflecting on Black-African art (1959), Roland Colin, personal adviser to the president, observed, “rhythm engenders fraternity and creates community consciousness since all men are harmoniously brought closer through its patterns.”²³

The “function and meaning of Negro-African art in the life of the people” became the focus of the international symposium, its topics decided in a pre-conference at UNESCO in 1964. Twenty years earlier, Diop sought to inspire in Africans “faith in the idea,” in “ideals,” and the value of “intellectual collaboration” with Europeans.²⁴ He helped organize the first congresses of Black writers and artists in Paris (1956) and Rome (1959). Engelbert Mveng, a Jesuit Camerounais artist, opened the Festival symposium by defining Black-African art as “first, a creative activity in which man transforms himself in

²⁰ Ahrendt, R. “The Diplomatic Viol.” In *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*, eds. F. Ramel and C. Prévost-Thomas (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 94.

²¹ Senghor, L.S. Letter to Roland Colin, Dakar, 19 January 1962, written in response to Colin’s “Propositions pour une politique de développement de la culture Africaine.” Dakar, 12 January 1962. Archives Roland Colin, Paris.

²² Senghor, “Préface.” In Pepper, H. *Anthologie de la vie africaine*.

²³ Colin, R. “Situation de l’art nègre.” Lecture at the Centre Culturel Saint-Dominique, Dakar, 23 April 1959, ANS, Affaires culturelles, 307. Published in *Afrique nouvelle*, 22 and 29 May 1959, and *Présence africaine*, (June–July 1959), 52–66.

²⁴ Diop, A. “*Niam n’goura* ou les raisons d’être de *Présence Africaine*.” *Présence africaine* (November–December 1947), 13–14.

transforming the world [...] an operation that unifies man's destiny with that of the world." Moreover, it bears a message, that of the "African soul."²⁵

Discussions, scholarly and well-researched, examined African tradition (18 contributors), Black-African art's encounters with the West (5), and problems of modern Black art today (17). Addressing these in music were Kwabena Nketia from Ghana; Jean-Baptiste Obama, Francis Bebey, and Samuel-Martin Eno Belinga from Cameroon; Herbert Pepper, Louis T. Achille (Martiniquais), and Simon Copans (American) from France; and Georges Lapassade (French) from Tunisia. Among ethnomusicologists, Pepper emphasized "the synthetic aspect of Negro-African expression," the unity of its forms, and its relationship to other natural phenomena.²⁶ Achille observed that Black art is "an art of *participation* and *collective expression* at least as much as an art of *contemplation* and *individual creation*."²⁷

Folklore in Europe, from the 19th century through the Vichy regime, had referred to reified, largely rural traditions, used to promote national identities. UNESCO supported its preservation, study, and dissemination since approached in 1949 by the International Folk Music Council. Pepper was a member, and by 1966 so were Belinga and Nketia. African contributors to the Festival symposium, however, focused on the complexity rather than the "purity" of "traditional music" and aimed to show what it reveals about cultural similarities and differences across Africa and its diaspora. Several expanded on historical roots and genres, dialoguing with European ethnomusicology.²⁸ But, because different styles of traditional music, multiple scales, varied conceptions of vocal and instrumental performance, social contexts and the traditions which govern them are linked to localities, these inevitably posed challenges to understanding, especially for outsiders. At the same time, with this music "surviving the assault of Western forms of acculturation," its diversity was "key to its power and vitality as a living art form in the pre-colonial era."²⁹ Study of these genres, therefore, might serve as a means of recovering Africans' pre-colonial heritage. Achille ascribed a specific meaning and social function to spirituals, which gave slaves in America "the strength to resist oppression... and encouraged freedom." Fueling both self-understanding and independence, this music promotes "racial integration" and serves as a "weapon of liberation and peace."³⁰

Critiquing western presumptions, Obama rejected an overly close relationship between traditional music and national identity. He noted, "The ethnomusicological map of Cameroon coincides... with the musical map of all Africa." Moreover, he proposed musical similarities across regions, examining speech and melody linked to African instruments, timbre, and harmonic counterpoint and highlighting "African polyrhythm." He and the composer Bebey also addressed traditional music in the present. To

²⁵ Mveng E. "Signification africaine de l'art." *Colloque I*: 7-10

²⁶ Pepper, H. "La Notion d'unité, notion clé de l'expression négro-africaine." *Colloque I*: 238-40.

²⁷ Achille, L.T. "Les Negro spirituals." *Colloque I*: 365

²⁸ For example, Eno Belinga, M.S. "La Musique traditionnelle d'Afrique noire." In *Colloque II*: 189-98.

²⁹ Nketia, K. "La Musique dans la culture africaine." In *Colloque I*: 147-51, 191.

³⁰ Achille, L.T. "Les Negro spirituals," 368-69, 373.

modernize it, Obama suggested new instruments, a “neo-Gregorian” notational system, and use of modern media.³¹ Bebey noted that traditional and modern African music today are not necessarily distinct, the former sometimes sounding very modern and ever-relevant, “an art linked to the whole world, in a universe that vibrates to the rhythm of all its elements.”³² In African cities, he suggested that the individual now has options: to sing or play the purest traditional music, assimilate Western styles (like J.S. Bach or Tino Rossi), or “accept the cohabitation in himself of new forms and his own traditional musical background.” But why not “integrate traditional music into the life of the new African people,” Bebey asked, and, through education, “introduce man to [...] his own values” through music, which in Africa is “the art of expressing life by means of sounds”?³³ Such perspectives thus rejected western binaries opposing tradition and modernity and called for openness to their dialogue at the Festival.

Underlying discussions were Diop’s earlier call for a “new order.”³⁴ Because “civilizations are born from dialogues,” essential to the Festival was “the spirit of dialogue, that which allows Africa... to encounter itself intimately... and make its message heard.”³⁵ Dialogue, from the Greek for the word that means “to transverse,” leads to communication, the search for commonalities, and the possibility of transformation in self and other.³⁶ At the symposium, Mveng proposed that the “vocation of Negro art today is through dialogue... among the instruments of this dialogue, art and culture have always been privileged means.” “Negro art” represents “humanism in dialogue with the whole world.”³⁷ Senghor concurred, adding that, “to dialogue with others, to bring new values to the symbiosis of complementary values by which the Civilization of the Universal is defined, we need... our recovered identity.”³⁸ Dialogue thus begins with both “confrontation and return to sources.”

Concerts and performances were called on to give concrete form to these ideals. Besides individual artists like Bachir Touré, Lydia Ewandé, Josephine Baker, and Marguerite Taos Amrouche, the Festival presented (1) “national” folklore ensembles from Cameroon, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Haiti, Mali, Sierra Leone, the United Arab Republic, and Zambia – some preexisting, others assembled for the event; some with “pure” or “ancestral” traditions, others mixed genres; (2) songs and dances from Brazil, Congo Kinshasa, Niger, Upper Volta, the West Indies, and Zambia; (3) ballets from Congo-Léopoldville, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Morocco, Niger, and Senegal; (4) instrumental ensembles from Congo-Brazzaville, Mali, Nigeria, Tobago, and Trinidad; and (5) folk drama with music from Morocco and Nigeria. This variety expressed ethnic

³¹ Obama, J.-B. “La Musique traditionnelle, 193–230.

³² Bebey, F. “La Musique africaine moderne.” *Colloque I*: 504, 511.

³³ *Ibid.*, 500–13.

³⁴ Diop, A. “*Niam n’goura*,” 13.

³⁵ “Le discours du chef de l’Etat.” *Dakar-Matin*, 31 March 1966.

³⁶ For further discussion, see H. Vincent and L. Mfouakoue, eds. *Culture du dialogue, identités et passage des frontières*.

³⁷ Mveng, R.P. “Signification africaine de l’art.” In *Colloque I*: 19. Mveng, R.P. “Ce qu’ils pensent de l’art nègre.” *Bingo* (April 1966), 13.

³⁸ “L’Allocution du Président Senghor.”

and regional differences without addressing intercultural mixing because each was there to represent, and therefore construct for others, a national identity. In all, there were 454 Senegalese participants, 143 Moroccans, 122 Cameroonians, 104 Ivoirians, 73 Nigerians, 61 Liberians, 56 Malians, 54 Dahomeans, 50 Egyptians, 50 Ghanians, 49 Gambians, 24 Haitians, among others.³⁹ This diversity was prepared by Senghor's previous agreements with various nations and his visits, for example, in 1964 to Brazil and Trinidad, and in January/February 1966 to Great Britain, Cameroon, and Chad.⁴⁰

The major vocal and instrumental ensembles performed at five venues in Dakar: the Daniel Sorano Theater, Daniel Brottier Center, Liberty Stadium, Friendship Stadium, and the Cathedral of African Remembrance – aural equivalents to the five Festival exhibition spaces for the visual arts. Here, the public was able to experience “the civilization of the universal” through its aural traditions. To assure a range of publics, most national presentations were performed at *both* the 1500-seat Sorano Theater and a newly constructed 15,000-seat stadium, each with modern sound equipment enhancing the listening experience. To encourage popular participation and attendance by allowing all civil servants in Senegal to leave their jobs at noon during the Festival, the president offered a loan of three months' salary, repayable in twelve months.⁴¹

Less known, because not on official programs, was the “animation of the city” at more than a dozen sites by local and regional ensembles from Senegal, a reminder that organizers did not ignore urban masses and rural participation. *Dakar-Matin* listed these performances daily; *L'Unité africaine* sometimes reviewed them. These ranged from secular to religious groups, recognized to little-known amateurs. On 31 March a folk ensemble from Louga, that had represented Senegal in Helsinki in 1962, performed in Dakar for the first time since 1964 and two Catholic choruses from Dakar sang at 4:30 p.m. on the Place de l'Indépendance. On Wednesday 13 April, the general public could hear the folk ensembles of the United Brothers of Casamance, Aye Diakhna, the North Islands, Cape Verde, and Sine-Saloum throughout Dakar – at Place de l'Indépendance, Place de Soumbédioune, Place de Sfax, Le Repos Mandel, Place du Al Akbar cinema, and the Printania Parking. At the Cité H. L.M. II, a “big folk evening” was offered by the “Madison” orchestra with Bira Gueye and Mada Thiam. On 21 April, outside the Niary-Tali factory, religious songs were performed after which the “Harlem Jazz” orchestra performed at a popular ball in front of El-Mansour Cinema. On Sunday 17 April, folklore shows or tam-tam performances took place at thirteen sites, including in Rufisque, Yoff, and Gorée. Such performances turned Dakar itself into the soundscape of the Festival.

Encounters between Black art and other cultures sometimes gave rise to hybrid experiences, dialogues like those Colin considered a prelude to “alliances on which will rest necessary universal *métissage*.”⁴² Congo-Léopoldville featured traditional songs and dances alongside African-style jazz ensembles, such as the 15-member O.K. Jazz.

³⁹ Sidibé, S. “Conférence de presse du Commissaire au Festival,” Radio Sénégal, 29 March 1966, RTS, Bandothèque, 66B06.

⁴⁰ Catalogue indication, RTS, Bandothèque, 64B14.

⁴¹ Personal interview with Ousmane Sow Huchard, 10 November 2016, Dakar.

Trinidadians and Tobagians followed their calypso rhythms with jazz and European classical music. Yet the presence of European music at the Festival was very limited, offered principally by non-African performers. Marian Anderson being ill, Martina Arroyo, prima donna of the Metropolitan Opera of New York, and pianist Armenta Adams, both known internationally, gave recitals of classical music at the cathedral, attended by the US ambassador and Senegalese officials. Ghislaine Victorious, West Indian singer from the Paris Opéra, sang operatic arias from Rossini to Gershwin at the Sorano Theater.

A notable exception were the brothers Antoine and Antonin Kété, piano and cello teachers at the recently created Dakar School of Arts. In a filmed interview from 25 March 1966, Senghor notes that African students there studied traditional European forms, like the symphony and the concerto, into which they incorporated Black-African material. A performance by the Kété brothers serves as example.⁴³ After their concert at the Sorano Theater on 25 February 1966 – with Chopin, Brahms, Schubert, and African-inspired music, followed with first-time solos by the Ensemble instrumental du Sénégal – the Kété brothers performed for the Festival finale on 24 April. Here, dressed in Senegalese attire, they played their *African Suite* (1962), composed while studying in Paris, and a *Senegalese Rhapsody*, “a panorama of Senegalese themes” with “imitation of the tam-tam.” The musical ensemble of the Senegalese Armed Forces, conducted by Jean Avignon, ended this concert also with hybrid works: *Reflets du Sénégal*, referring to the song of muezzin and tam-tams, and *Senegalese Hours*.⁴⁴

The Catholic Church participated in this dialogue, representing musically how and why it remained integral to African culture after independence. Beyond the connection to Senghor and Diop, its inclusion recognized the Church’s receptivity to African musical traditions since Vatican II’s invitation in 1963 to incorporate indigenous musical instruments and idioms in liturgical services.⁴⁵ Seeking “unity in the Faith,” the Cathedral hosted two gospel recitals by Marion Williams.⁴⁶ Most other performers presented musical hybrids. The *Messe des Piroguiers* (1948), composed by Eliane Barat-Pepper for Banda choirs from Oubangui-Chari, was accompanied by a tam-tam [*linga*] and sung by the Chorale of Saint Anne du Congo; a Senegalese mass by Pedro Santos of the School of Arts in Dakar mixed tams-tams, balafons, calébasses, and choir; the adapted psalms of an Easter mass on a Serer air were sung by monks from the Abbey of Keur Moussa, led by Father Catta.⁴⁷ A Casamance mass by R.P. Sagna – with “music from diola folklore and

⁴² Colin, R. “Notes sur le projet de Festival mondial des arts nègres,” 7 February 1962, ANS, Affaires culturelles, Festival des arts nègres..

⁴³ Sendela, R. *Poète et président: Léopold Sédar Senghor*: <https://www.ina.fr/video/CAF86013982>

⁴⁴ Kelefa, J. “Ils clôtureront le Festival,” *L’Unité africaine*, 21 April 1966.

⁴⁵ Pope Jean XXIII, *Sacrocanctum Concilium* (1963). See also Pasler, J. “Les Précurseurs africains des réformes musicales du Concile Vatican II.” In *50 ans après Vatican II, l’Afrique et l’héritage d’Alioune Diop: le dialogue des religions et les défis du temps présent*, eds. C. Becker, J. Lopis-Sylla, and A.-R. Ndiaye. Special issue of *Présence africaine* 195–96 (2019), 173–200.

⁴⁶ “La célèbre chanteuse de Gospels: Marion Williams.” *Dakar-Matin*, 13 April 1966.

⁴⁷ Correa, E. “La ‘Messe sénégalaise’ de Pacques: un essai dans le cadre de la réforme liturgique.” *Dakar-Matin*, 9 April 1966.

hymns in Portuguese Creole sung to the tune of Negro spirituals” – recounted “the activities of daily life closely integrated into the natural environment.”⁴⁸ During Easter week, one could also hear “Africanity” expressing “adoration of God” in performances from Cameroon: a Protestant choir singing in diola and accompanied by traditional instruments at Dakar’s Protestant temple, as well as 45 choristers from the Cathedral of Yaoundé who sang *La Passion du Christ* (Eyango/Ngumu/Mveng). Here “the virtuosos of the violin, the piano, and so many other imported instruments” made “an alliance of western classical music with drums, balafons, bells, *ebdum*, *mendzou*, tam-tams, and pieces of bamboo.”⁴⁹ The Leonardo dePaur choir from America sang another Passion and “The Black Disciples” from London’s Negro Dramatic Workshop mimed and danced a “blues” version of the Mystery, with a small orchestra in “modern blues” style, its musical adaptation of baroque choral traditions by Guyanese jazz musician Mike McKenzie.⁵⁰ These concerts and African responses to Vatican II’s liturgical reform not only made audible “religious music in the dimensions, framework, and rhythm of Africa,” they underscored Christians’ embrace of negritude and the musical benefits of intercultural dialogue.⁵¹

Urban entertainment music and spontaneous collaborations too served as a form of diplomacy. Every evening intercultural musical dialogues took place at Boul’Mich where the Dakar University Sextet, led by Soleya Mama, invited Festival musicians to play with them, as well as those of O.K. Jazz.⁵² Also daily at 9 p.m. at Camp Mangin, Senegalese modern orchestras, such as the Star Band, Saloum, and Super Star, as well as O.K. Jazz, Bantu Jazz, and Nigerien Jazz animated dance evenings, encouraging public participation.⁵³ Some popular musicians, like Amara Touré from the Star Band, were inspired by the Festival’s concerts, especially Brazilian samba. Because “very close to us” and “easier to perform than jazz,”⁵⁴ such music nourished cross-cultural influences and the musical mixing of popular urban genres, arguably as important as other kinds of hybridity in encouraging African solidarity.

⁴⁸ “Messe casamançaise à la Cathédrale de Dakar.” *Dakar-Matin*, 22 April 1966; “La chorale du Petit Séminaire de Ziguinchor à la Cathédrale.” *Dakar-Matin*, 26 April 1966.

⁴⁹ Soellé, E. “Les Chorales religieuses du Cameroun vous donneront rendez-vous ce soir.” *Dakar-Matin*, 15 April 1966 ; Soellé, E. “La chorale oecuménique camerouraise...” *Dakar-Matin*, 20 April 1966.

⁵⁰ Soellé, E. “Les Disciples Noirs présentent le Mystère de la Passion à la Cathédrale de Dakar,” *Dakar-Matin*, 9 April 1966. See also Bush, R. “Culture, Race, and the Welfare State: The British Contribution to the 1966 First World Festival of Black and African Culture.” *Research in African Literatures* 50 (2) (2019), 19–34, on how this work by Trinidadian actors was produced after the first Race Relations Act in the UK, on integrating resident immigrants, and the first Commonwealth Arts Festival, both in 1965.

⁵¹ On new liturgical music in Africa, see Bebey, F. “La Musique africaine moderne,” 509–11, and Pasler, J. “Les Précurseurs africains des réformes musicales du Concile Vatican II,” 193–95.

⁵² Sow Huchard, O. *La Culture, ses objets-témoins, et l’action muséologique* (Dakar: Le Nègre international, 2010), 219n159.

⁵³ In “Dance at the 1966 World Festival of Negro Art: Of ‘Fabulous Dancers’ and Negritude undermined,” H. Kringelbach, without substantiation or evidence, suggests that traditional dances at the Festival were not well-received and assumes that “dance parties must have been organizers’ compromise to address the abundant critiques of elitism Senghor faced” (Murphy, D., ed. *The First World Festival*, 81).

⁵⁴ Adrien Benga, N. “Dakar et ses tempos: Signification et enjeux de la musique urbaine moderne.” In *Le Sénégal contemporain*, ed. M.C. Diop (Paris: Karthala, 2002), 292.

International Cooperation

Senghor called 1966 “the year of international cooperation.”⁵⁵ This principle, essential to the Festival’s organization, meant working together toward shared goals, despite differences. It had defined the foreign policy of Senegal and France before and after independence. Since 1953, France had signed cultural cooperation agreements with several African countries. In 1959, Charles de Gaulle created a Ministry of Cooperation to participate in “development” in new Francophone nations, especially in Africa; this “work of friendship between France and Africa” assured a continuous influence. As Senghor told the United Nations in 1961 and the press in 1962, not only are we “historically linked by friendship with the French and all Africans,” “our relations of cooperation will be maintained and strengthened with not only France, but also other European and North American partners.”⁵⁶

On the organizing committee directed by Alioune Diop, with Aimé Césaire as vice-president, there were as many French members as Senegalese. Jean Charbonnel, French Secretary of State for Cooperation in 1966, considered the Festival significant in “the future of cooperation.”⁵⁷ The French Ministry of Cultural Affairs, also created by de Gaulle in 1959, offered the Festival the participation of its minister, André Malraux, performances of Césaire’s *La Tragédie du Roi Christophe*, and subsidy of a sound-and-light spectacle on the history of Gorée, an island occupied by the French starting in 1677 and whose residents had long been French citizens. The French Cultural Center contributed an exhibition, “African and Malagasy musical instruments.” After the Festival, the Grand Palais in Paris mounted the Black Arts exhibition, originally shown at the Dakar Festival, an emblem of “Franco-African cooperation.” The Ministry of Cooperation signed new agreements to loan Senegal money and subsidize its telecommunications, construction, and other needs – cultural diplomacy paving the way for substantial material support.⁵⁸

As the Festival took place during the Cold War, it was important to involve the major powers without fueling rivalry. As Senghor once put it, non-aligned nations can be a “reconciling presence.”⁵⁹ With much recent scholarship focused on American contributions to the Festival, short shrift has been given to relations it encouraged with the Soviet Union. The country did not send musicians, but to suggest cultural commonalities, *Dakar-Matin* referred to “similarities between African popular dances and those of Russia.”⁶⁰ However, two Africanist scholars came for the symposium, two

⁵⁵ Senghor, L.S. “The Message of Africa.” *Le premier Festival mondial des arts nègres* [program], 15.

⁵⁶ “Senghor parle demain aux Nations Unies;” Senghor, L.S. “Le Discours-programme.” *Dakar-Matin*, 19 December 1962. Since 1929, as students at Lycée Louis le Grand in Paris, Senghor was friends with Georges Pompidou, prime minister in 1966.

⁵⁷ “L’Aide de la France aux Républiques amies ne sera pas diminuée.” *Dakar-Matin*, 20 April 1966; “La Coopération entre la France et l’Afrique est une nécessité.” *Dakar-Matin*, 22 April 1966.

⁵⁸ “La nouvelle convention financière signée entre le Sénégal et la France,” *Dakar-Matin*, 5 July 1966.

⁵⁹ Brown, I. “Studies on Non-alignment.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4/4 (December 1966), 520.

⁶⁰ “Séjournement à Dakar...” *Dakar-Matin*, 13 April 1966.

poets, Dolmatovski and Yevtushenko, both having toured Africa, and a filmmaker. Suggesting that artists can share tastes and sympathies, despite political tensions, Yevchenko and Langston Hughes connected as poets at the Festival, as William Greaves documents in his 1966 film.⁶¹

Bilateral cultural diplomacy took several forms, less common than with other countries. Senghor's poems were translated into Russian⁶² and *Dakar-Matin* reported that the Festival aroused "keen interest in the USSR": the Russian Association of Friendship for African Peoples celebrated the anniversary of Senegal's independence, 300 Soviet tourists attended the Festival, and Russia lent a cruiseship to help with last-minute housing needs. For its part, Radio Senegal aired a program on Moscow (9 April), and the Festival sponsored a "Senegalese-Soviet poetic night," albeit after the Festival on 26 April. And winner of the prize for the best film on Black art was a Guinean student from the Moscow Cinematographic Institute. After the Festival, Maurice Sonar Senghor, director of the Sorano Theater, was invited to Moscow. There he reported, "cultural cooperation between our countries is developing well" and announced that his "theater will produce a spectacle by a Soviet author."⁶³ Wanting to establish "fruitful cooperation with peoples from abroad," L.S. Senghor wrote in a Soviet journal, *Asia and Africa Today*: "All peoples, all races of the world, must enrich each other."⁶⁴

Unlike the Soviet Union, the United States had a substantial Black population with whom to encourage dialogue and solidarity. A private, volunteer committee organized American participation at the Festival, with financing from the US State Department, US Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, corporations, and private donors.⁶⁵ President Kennedy was supportive as early as 1963 when this committee was being formed.⁶⁶ The selection committee eventually was placed under the patronage of Lady Bird Johnson, its Honorary President. She congratulated Senghor for sponsoring the Festival "which will rightly highlight our common cultural background ... go beyond the realm of culture, and serve as an example of international cooperation."⁶⁷ Announcing her role, *Dakar-Matin* published a photo of Johnson with Duke Ellington.

⁶¹ Recounted in Murphy, D., ed. "Introduction." *The First World Festival*, 22.

⁶² "Traduction soviétique des poèmes du Président Senghor." *L'Unité africaine*, 24 March 1966.

⁶³ "La Coopération culturelle soviéto-sénégalaise se porte bien." *Dakar-Matin*, 29 July 1966.

⁶⁴ "L'Asie et l'Afrique d'Aujourd'hui." *Dakar-Matin*, 20 April 1966.

⁶⁵ Virginia Inness-Brown and John A. Davis co-chaired this committee, which included Leonard dePaur and Marion Anderson, in 1965 joined by Martina Arroyo. On its music committee were Louis Armstrong, Harry Belafonte, and Leontyne Price. The US intended to send c. 104 participants. See n. 68 below and the Archives of the New York Public Library (archives.nypl.org), Schomburg Center, First World Festival of Negro Arts.

⁶⁶ G. Mennen Williams to L. Senghor, 18 July 1963, ANS, Festival des arts nègres, 37. As Alyson Payne pointed out in the abstract for her 2018 paper at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, "Music as Cultural Diplomacy during the Kennedy Administration: The Inter-American Music Festival of 1963," Jackie Kennedy was honorary chair for the second Inter-American Music Festival (IAMF) in 1961. Although this Festival focused on "difficult avant-garde compositions," it too promoted "solidarity" in a region crucial to US interests.

⁶⁷ "Mme Johnson, Présidente d'honneur du comité américain." *Dakar-Matin*, 2 March 1966.

The process of selecting representatives of African-American culture began early. By December 1964, potential participants included jazz musicians (Randy Weston, Quincy Jones, Miles Davis), Leonard dePaur's choir, and Marian Anderson. Talk of commissioning a work by William Grant Still never materialized.⁶⁸ Jazz drew particular interest. The Senegalese public had long followed it on radio (as early as 1950, "Le jazz club de Dakar" at 8:30 pm on Tuesday evenings). The local press and popular magazine *Bingo* published regular reviews of jazz records and in 1957 an article on the music of Black Americans, including Louis Armstrong. Supported by Senghor and Kennedy, Armstrong gave two concerts in Dakar in January 1961. In a radio interview, he declared that the purpose of his journey through Africa was "to celebrate the independence of African countries."⁶⁹ At his open-air concert, the diplomatic corps and various Senegalese and American elites attended, suggesting an alliance bonding the new nation and the United States.⁷⁰ Crowds of Africans from working-class neighborhoods came to attend his later concert at the El-Mansour Cinema, with folk ensembles outside playing for him, evidence of his popularity.

A year later, Roland Colin recommended that Festival organizers bring jazz to confront vocal and instrumental African music. Best would be to seek out "the jazz ensemble or 'traditional' singers who have kept the greatest purity both in their techniques and their repertoire [...] the most 'modernist,' but authentic jazz band, for example, the Modern Jazz Quartet."⁷¹ The 1963 budget, noted earlier, included funding for two American jazz shows.⁷² With jazz a recurring theme in Senghor's poetry and recognition of it as an original invention, albeit derived from "European and melodic elements" (as Malraux claimed at the symposium), not surprisingly it could represent "transnational black solidarity" at the Festival.⁷³ Interviewed before the opening, an economics student most looked forward to jazz and spirituals at the Festival.⁷⁴

Anticipating the participation of Louis Armstrong, Josephine Baker, Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, and Mahalia Jackson, the printed program devoted long biographies to them. However, of these, along with Katherine Dunham, Langston Hughes, and Alvin Ailey Dance Theater, only Ellington and Baker attended.⁷⁵ In his account of Ellington's concerts

⁶⁸ United States Committee of the First World Festival of Negro Arts. *Procès verbaux*, 11 December 1964, ANS, Festival des arts nègres, 37.

⁶⁹ "Louis Armstrong à Dakar." *Dakar-Matin*, 11 January 1961.

⁷⁰ On Armstrong's tour of Africa, see Higginson, P. et al. *Scoring Race: Jazz, Fiction, and Francophone Africa* (Rochester NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2017); on the appeal of African-American popular music in Africa, see Jaji, T. *Africa in Stereo*.

⁷¹ Colin, R. "Notes sur le projet de Festival mondial des arts nègres," 7 February 1962.

⁷² Réunion du Comité restreint. "Budget préliminaire."

⁷³ "Discours de M. André Malraux à l'ouverture du colloque." *L'Unité Africaine*, 7 April 1966. In *Africa in Stereo*, Jaji examines jazz in Senghor's poetry as sign of the Black soul and symbol of Franco-Senegalese *métissage*" (74, 82, 90).

⁷⁴ Kelfa, J. "Ce qu'ils pensent du Festival." *L'Unité Africaine*, 24 March 1966.

⁷⁵ Murphy, D., ed. "Introduction." *The First World Festival* (21, 29–31). He proposes personal, aesthetic, and political reasons motivating these choices.

at the Festival, a journalist underlines what his music represented for the Senegalese, his musical choices embodying intercultural dialogue giving rise to original contributions that suggest larger significance: “Duke Ellington’s firey trumpets have just broken down social barriers once more... Without ever losing sight of the African origins of jazz, Ellington inserts imaginative harmonies and European rhythms into this art, uniting the most disparate elements in a new folk form.” Ellington, “reaching deep into African sources of music, learned to syncopate [...] to support the cadence and the rhythm” and adopted “a technique of African origin: the break, which consists in completely interrupting the rhythm to give a feel for the measure.”⁷⁶ After his performance, the journalist thanked Ellington “for coming to prove that, through the universal language of music, the Negro soul can create happiness acceptable to all mankind.”⁷⁷ Also reinforcing an association between jazz and Africa at the Festival was a British film with jazz, *La Tentation de Jezabel*.

Written by the Haitian Jean Brierre and produced by the French filmmaker Jean Mazel, the *Spectacle féerique de Gorée* recounted a history shared by Senegal, France, and the US, with music from all three.⁷⁸ Each evening around 300 Senegalese, mostly amateurs, among others, performed this spectacle that attracted 23,400 spectators. The first scene, “At the time of the quiet fishermen,” set in the late 16th century, opens with the tam-tam alone. To accompany the embarkation of slaves, the libretto called for the *Marche des galères turques* by the 17th c. French composer Lully; to evoke “the ambiance of an 18th-century fête galante,” the production included an extract from a recording of the *Symphonie pour les soupers du roi* by Delalande, another composer associated with Louis XIV. To express the grief that “yellow fever” brought to Gorée in 1878, the spectacle features a song of mourning from a recording by the African-American chorale of Fisk University, founded in 1878. To illustrate “the path traveled by the black man during his walk to freedom,” the show included “voodoo music” (during “a cry for freedom”), a jazz group “New Orleans Archaic” (with reference to the First World War), and a spiritual sung by the choir of the Harvey Baptist Church of New Jersey (“God is wonderful”). The spectacle ended with the US national anthem.⁷⁹ Several selections were reproduced on a Philips souvenir recording (R774862), including four songs from the “new nations” (Nigeria, Congo, and Ghana) by the Leonard dePaur choir, accompanied by African drums (Illustration 1). The several hundred American tourists attending the Festival especially enjoyed this spectacle. Soon thereafter, Senegal and Club Méditerranée agreed to jointly restore Gorée as a tourist destination; the US and Senegal signed economic agreements; and France and the United States made five “secret agreements” related to the American presence in France, later aborted.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Soellé, E. “Le public dakarois attendait Duke Ellington avec impatience.” *Dakar-Matin*, 5 April 1966.

⁷⁷ Soellé, E. “De triomphe en triomphe : Duke Ellington,” *Dakar-Matin*, 6 April 1966.

⁷⁸ See excerpts performed on the Gorée beach in Borelli’s film, <https://vimeo.com/135843095>. Davis, R. “Making History: Performances of the Past at the 1966 World Festival of Negro Arts.” In Murphy, D., ed. *The First World Festival of Negro Arts* (108). He points out that its “selective frame of historical reference” avoided reference to contemporary politics in Africa and the US.

⁷⁹ “Scenario.” ANS, Festival des Arts Nègres, 29.

⁸⁰ “Washington publie les 5 accords secrets...” *Dakar-Matin*, 20 May 1966; “Signature hier d’une convention US-Sénégal” and “Gorée sera aménagée en site touristique,” *Dakar-Matin*, 30 June 1966.

Illustration 1: Commemorative recording of the Festival (Philips, 1966)



Concurrent with American cooperation at the Festival, however, were deep political problems, not ignored in Dakar despite the US' substantial financial contribution. In 1964, the United States had passed a civil rights law, but local injustices continued. Even if American participants may have been chosen to downplay these, the Senegalese press published regular reminders. When the American committee's president arrived, on March 29 *Dakar-Matin* published an article on Martin Luther King, Jr. and his campaign in France for racial integration.

Illustration 2: Front page of *Dakar-Matin* (6 April 1966) showing political tensions of the cold war and African alliances

conflicts dominating local papers, Festival news and photo-ops inevitably took on larger meaning. Consider, alongside this news of American political problems, a photo documenting Senghor's relative strength – his press conference on culture's role in African unity – above one of him congratulating Duke Ellington, funded by the US State Department, in front of the American ambassador. With this image of Senegalese-American alliance, the context suggests that, despite Senghor's socialism and America's imperialism, the relationship was mutually needed and of mutual benefit.⁸¹ To strengthen it, five months later Senghor traveled for the second time to the US where he was received by President Johnson at the White House, was honored with an honorary doctorate from Howard University, and visited Native Americans in Santa Fe, UCLA, and Duke Ellington in San Francisco, occasions for continued diplomacy.⁸² The Festival thus contributed to strengthening political alliances that Senghor pursued and nourished long thereafter.

Inter-African Cooperation and the OAU

As Senghor put it, “Our negritude” makes us proud to belong to “several races;” “Africanity” is the product of “Arab-Berber and Black-African attitudes [...] with universal and common values crossing Islam and Christianity.”⁸³ Senghor hoped this “civilization of the universal” would be palpable to the senses at the Festival. Furthermore, he sought to “reinforce the connections that exist between francophones and anglophones in Africa.”⁸⁴ This meant taking on both the diversity of African languages and the legacy of European ones. In their programming at major venues, organizers prioritized balance and equity, prerequisites in the pursuit of African unity. The opening gala at Sorano Theater featured a “popular opera” from anglophone Nigeria, considered the “cradle of Black art.” In total, along with 10 francophone spectacles with music, there were 8 anglophone, 1 lusophone, and 1 arabophone.

Especially significant was the participation of Ethiopia, the only African nation never fully colonized and a “symbol of African independence.”⁸⁵ Senghor and Emperor Haile Selassie, “dean of African heads of state” since 1928, were “among the main artisans” and remained “the most faithful defenders” of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a consortium of 36 nations started in 1963 in Addis-Ababa, capital of the nation and the OAU. From countries that bordered the sea and thus “attentive to fruitful external currents,” they both believed in “non-alignment, no interference in the internal affairs of other States, and dialogue as a solution to disputes that may arise between countries.”⁸⁶ It

⁸¹ On the role of such musicians during the Cold War, see Von Eschen, P. *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁸² Special issue dedicated to Senghor's American visit. *L'Unité Africaine*, 29 September 1966.

⁸³ “Conférence de presse du chef d'Etat” Radio Sénégal, 5 April 1966, RTS, Bandothèque, 66B10.

⁸⁴ “Retour du Président Senghor d'Amérique.” One should also note earlier discussions promoting “African unity” at the Second Senegalese-Gambian Interministerial Conferences in November 1961. Doudou Thiam, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal, RTS, Bandothèque, 61B42.

⁸⁵ “Bienvenue à sa Majesté Haïlé Selassié, empereur d'Ethiopie.” *L'Unité africaine*, 14 April 1966.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

was thus significant that a policy evolving out of the need for newly independent countries to be “acknowledged as the *source* of choice and action” was shared with a monarch.⁸⁷ In a show of friendship, Ethiopia sent 50 artists and musicians to the Festival, numerous recordings for the prize competition, traditional and modern art, and the five-act tragedy, *Hannibal*. Besides parades and official ceremonies for this “king of kings,” accompanied by national anthems, the songs and dances “in the purest Ethiopian style” allowed Senghor to show respect for these traditions, among the oldest in Africa. Reviewers heard in them “refrains recalling the songs of the Peulhs from the Senegal River Valley, whose history has roots similar to the Ethiopian ones.”⁸⁸ Senghor took advantage of the visit to show Sélassié Senegalese industries, paving the way to increased trade.

Cooperation in the African spectacles was largely internal, drawing on village traditions and performers from throughout their countries and bringing together all the arts. Musicians collaborated with dancers, acrobats, storytellers, set and costume designers.⁸⁹ Such diverse contexts for music-making called out for comparative listening across cultures and between African and western genres. Yet, given their diverse languages, traditions, and styles, both audiences and musicians had little to orient them to what was shared, where true dialogue could begin. Speakers at the pre-Festival conference pointed to similarities in African music and Nketia suggested possible fusions from such encounters. He also admitted that African music was in no sense “uniform” and thus hard to comprehend on first hearing.⁹⁰ In answer to published interviews in *Dakar-Matin*, many attendees appreciated what they perceived as “authentic” and “original,” but only one interviewee heard connections between the spectacles – the “rhythms” of the Haitian ensemble resembling those of Mali, Congo-Léopoldville, and Ghana.⁹¹ Moreover, the press did not document any interaction or collaboration between African traditional musicians at the Festival. Beyond recognizing its cultural value, the role played by traditional African music in the project of African unity thus seemed elusive, if not marginal – a paradox, given its importance in African society.

Still, as documented in the press, Festival performances contributed significantly both to forging new diplomatic ties and deepening existing political alliances. On 6 April, as discussed in Illustration 2, three days before the Ivorian performances, *Dakar-Matin* announced that conversations organized by the cooperative forum, the Conseil de l’Entente, had just begun in Abidjan. This involved four African heads of state (Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, and Dahomey), all represented at the Festival.⁹² That same day, planning advanced for a meeting of the Organisation Commune Africaine et

⁸⁷ On international discussions about non-alignment in 1966, including as “diplomatic freedom of action and choice,” see Brown, I. “Studies on Non-alignment,” 517–27.

⁸⁸ “La participation éthiopienne au Festival des Arts Nègres,” *Dakar-Matin*, 7 April 1966.

⁸⁹ To understand how this worked and wherein might lay possible frictions, one would need to consult archives in the various participating countries and personal memoirs beyond the scope of this article.

⁹⁰ Nketia, K. “La Musique dans la culture africaine,” 148–49.

⁹¹ “Interview express.” *Dakar Matin*, 25 April 1966. See Illustration 4.

⁹² “Les Entretiens du Conseil de l’Entente vont commencer à Abidjan. *Dakar-Matin*, 6, April 1966.

Malgache. And, while reporting new “trade relations” between Senegal and Morocco, *Dakar-Matin* recounted that, “in a great burst of African sympathy and friendship,” the Moroccan ballet company had made “a tribute to performers in the spectacle” at Gorée. This production had been inspired by one that director Mazel had earlier made on the old ramparts of Marrakech, evoking its illustrious past. Two weeks later, in introducing Moroccans’ theatrical performance at Sorano – four tableaux of “Moroccan folklore” – their Minister, accompanied by the royal prince, explained that Moroccans were not only Arabs, but also Africans and the marriage ceremony depicted on stage “symbolized the marriage of Senegal and Morocco.” Their four-horse *fantasia*, accompanied by music and dance, followed with two performances at the Friendship Stadium. It “conquered the crowd,” one of the most applauded events of the Festival. The next day, Senghor received the prince, and his cabinet met to discuss “Moroccan-Senegalese negotiations to reinforce the friendship and development of the two states.”⁹³ Also during the Festival, the Moroccan-Senegalese Commission had been meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Dakar. Building on agreements in place since 1963, the Moroccan minister Alaoui noted that “spiritual and cultural ties” always come before commercial and economic ones: “It’s because we have cultural agreements that we can sign a commercial one. [...] Economic exchanges reinforce cultural ones, and vice versa. [...] The Moroccan king supported participation in the Festival to show both our feelings about the Senegalese people and our Africanity.” Soon thereafter, to discuss these agreements and further consolidate the OAU, Senghor went to see King Hassan II in Marrakesh. Besides extending commercial relationships and affirming their shared pursuit of cooperation, solidarity, and bilateral agreements, they discussed the idea of creating a kind of “common market between Morocco and Senegal.”⁹⁴

Meanwhile, despite Tunisia not participating, Black Tunisian music was discussed at the Symposium⁹⁵ and “in the context of cultural agreements that Senegal had signed with the North African state,” Tunisians invited the Sorano Theater Company to tour Tunisia with a show that included “negro-spirituals,” popular in Dakar. “From such contacts,” their director remarked, “would emerge a spirit of cultural cooperation that is necessarily the basis of African Unity.” In May, the Senegalese president traveled to Tunis to talk with his counterpart, Habib Bourguiba, about “problems common to both countries.” “We two

⁹³ “Salle comble dimanche à Sorano pour applaudir la troupe théâtrale du Maroc” and “Au Conseil de Cabinet...” *Dakar-Matin*, 19 April 1966; Ba, A. “L’envolée de la fantasia marocaine...” *Dakar-Matin*, 20 April 1966.

⁹⁴ “Longs entretiens hier entre le Roi Hassan II et le Président L. Senghor.” *Dakar-Matin*, 25 May 1966; “La Commission mixte Maroc-Sénégalaise a décidé d’intensifier les relations commerciales entre les deux pays.” *Dakar-Matin*, 21 April 1966; “Après la réunion de la Commission mixte Maroc-Sénégalaise.” *Sénégal d’aujourd’hui*, 30 April 1966, 47, 48. “Longs entretiens hier entre le Roi Hassan II et le Président L. Senghor.” *Dakar-Matin*, 25 May 1966. Mounie, C. “Le spectacle féérique de Gorée sera l’un des clous du Festival.” *L’Unité africaine*, 31 March 1966; “Le chef d’Etat est de retour à Dakar.” *Dakar-Matin*, 26 May 1966.

⁹⁵ Lapassade, G. “Un Art marginal (Essai sociologique sur le dépérissement de l’art musical nègre dans le Maghreb).” In *Colloque II*: 201.

people are African people,” insisted Senghor.⁹⁶ Afterwards, he continued to Egypt and Lebanon, also promoting “cultural, commercial, economic, and financial agreements.”⁹⁷

To explain the absence of some countries, Sidibé admitted that invitations went out late, the distance and expense were too great for East Africans (Rwanda sending only a few representatives), and others lacked time to organize or raise funding.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, some African countries were “reconsidering” their views on non-alignment.⁹⁹ On Senghor’s 1964 visit to Labé, Guineans had performed for him a *Ballet to the glory of African unity*.¹⁰⁰ But, although an original member of the OAU, Guinea had contentious relationships with France and Senegal, despite many expats living there, and did not participate in the Festival.¹⁰¹ Increasingly, President Sekou Touré believed that “the doctrine of peaceful coexistence was a reactionary and unacceptable compromise” amid ongoing imperialism.¹⁰² In July 1966, Senghor ruptured bilateral cooperation with Guinea.

President Ben Bella of Algeria, also a founding member of the OAU absent from the Festival, preferred to be “aligned with nobody, not even with non-alignment.”¹⁰³ During the Festival, despite “serious political differences with Senegal,” *L’Unité Africaine* published a long, two-part article on Algeria on the front page with Ethiopian coverage. Senghor’s advisor explained the country’s anti-French “cult of the Algerian personality” and needs for “self-management” after independence, but pointed to its recent turn for more “collective, democratic methods and international cooperation,” albeit with “revolutionaries and progressives.”¹⁰⁴ In 1969, Algeria produced and funded its own Pan-African Cultural Festival, with the OAU lending symbolic support. With a symposium, performances, prizes, and 35 African nations participating, this shared much with Dakar’s Festival, including the use of culture to “recover pre-colonial identities,” reinforce “national character,” and explore affinities. Its focus, however, was on revolutionary movements and criticism of *negritude*. Southern Africans and American Black Panthers attended as well as Guinée, “one of the largest and most politically vocal.” Besides reference to jazz performer Archie Shepp’s invitation for Tuareg musicians to join him on stage, music also remains uninterrogated in Dakar’s successors.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁶ “Le Président L. Senghor s’envole ce matin pour Tunis.” *Dakar-Matin*, 14 May 1966; “Le chef d’Etat est de retour à Dakar.” See also “En Tunisie avec négro-spirituels.” *L’Unité africaine*, 26 May 1966, and “Entretiens Senghor et Bourguiba, 14/15-05-66,” Bandothèque, RTS, 66B16.

⁹⁷ “Le chef d’Etat est de retour...” *Dakar-Matin*, 26 May 1966.

⁹⁸ Sidibé, S. “Conférence de presse,” 3.

⁹⁹ Hadsel, F. “Africa and the World,” 93.

¹⁰⁰ Catalogue indication, RTS, Bandothèque, 64B14.

¹⁰¹ RTS, Bandothèque, 66B18.

¹⁰² Touré, S. *Rapport politique et de doctrine* (1967), cited in Johnson, R. “Sekou Touré and the Guinean Revolution.” *African Affairs* 69 (277) (October 1970), 362.

¹⁰³ Brown, I. “Studies in Non-Alignment,” 517.

¹⁰⁴ Rous, J. “Physionomie de l’Algerie 1966.” *L’Unité africaine*, 14 April 1966. Rous also spoke on Algeria and its socialism on RTS, 17 June 1966 (RTS, Bandothèque, 66B18).

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, S. “‘Negritude is Dead’: Performing the African Revolution at the First Pan-African Cultural Festival (Algiers 1969)” and Apter, A. “Beyond Negritude: Black Cultural Citizenship and the Arab Question in FESTAC ’77.” In Murphy, D., ed. *The First World Festival*, 133–50, 160.

Advantages and Limits of Cooperation

Prizes for Music Recordings

Broad international membership on juries for prizes in recent literature, film, and the arts presented important opportunities for cooperation among nations. Prize competitions also allowed participation by countries not sending artists (e.g. Israel, Yugoslavia, and Austria, which submitted films and contributed money). Although obviously limited in terms of their musical expertise, representatives and cultural advisers from the embassies of 13 countries served on the pre-selection committee for the music recordings competition, coordinated by Suzanne Diop. From the 175 records submitted, produced in 1962–65, they chose 35, evenly divided between those from the US (15) and African countries (14), plus Brazil (5) and the West Indies (1). A diverse jury for the prizes, chaired by Professor M. Nketia from Ghana,¹⁰⁶ chose six of the twelve proposed categories, and, on 7 April, awarded prizes in four: (1) traditional African music and song, receiving the highest number of votes; (2) African music of Christian inspiration; (3) African-American music of Christian inspiration (spirituals and gospel songs); and (4) jazz. Again, balance prevailed: the first two focused on African music, the second two on African-American genres. No prize was given for “light music, or variety” nor for Afro-Brazilian or Afro-Cuban music, despite the latter being popular among urban African youth. Some regretted there was no category for “modern instrumental music by African composers,” such as Bebey, himself a composer.

Evaluating quality (technical and artistic) and one’s “personal appreciation,” jurors assigned grades from 1 to 10. They decided to reward only records that “reflected characteristics of African musical languages or those derived from Africa.”¹⁰⁷ Among the seven submissions released by the French Office for Radio Cooperation (OCORA), two won for traditional music. The grand prize went to Central African music collected and recorded by Charles Duvelle/J.P. Martin/J. Mbilo, earning 9s in all three categories (Illustration 3). This was chosen over two of Duvelle’s other OCORA records: Music from Madagascar and *Black Africa: Panorama of instrumental music* (OCORA, 1966). Despite its cultural variety, reviewers complained of “too much repetition” in the latter, found “monotonous” and “ordinary.” Honorable mention went to music of Niger griots, also produced by OCORA, collected by the Russian-born, French composer Tolia Nikiprowetzki, receiving grades between 5 and 9. In category 2, Joseph Kyagambiddwa’s *Oratorio of the Martyrs of Uganda*, performed at the Vatican in

¹⁰⁶ On the pre-selection committee, “cultural attachés” came from Africa (Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, Mali, Nigeria), Europe (Austria, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia), North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia), Brazil, Israel, and the US. The competition jury consisted of Nketia (Ghana), Chérif Fall (Sénégal), Lord Harewood (UK), Simon Copans (US/France), Calame (France), S.O. Ogunsuyigbe (Uganda) and Sowanda Fella (Nigeria), Bebey (Cameroun), Dosseh (Togo) with alternates Santos (Senegal), Belinga and Obama (Cameroon).

¹⁰⁷ Nketia. K. “Grands prix du disque: Rapport du Président du Jury.” ANS, Festival des arts nègres, 13.

1964, took the grand prize, with anglophone jurors (giving only 3s and 5s) less impressed than francophones (6s and 8s). Honorable mention went to the *Ewondo Mass* by the chorale of Yaoundé's cathedral, published by the Cameroonian Ministry of Education and performed at the Cathedral during the Festival.

Illustration 3: Grand Prize winner in recordings of African traditional music, *Musique centrafricaine* (OCORA)



The first two categories were thus non-commercial and more documentary in nature. The purpose of OCORA recordings, an offshoot of the French institution devoted to creating radio in Africa, was cooperation, not just musical, but also cultural and political. Their records were made to provide indigenous music for local radio sound archives and broadcasts. In many ways, these recordings were ideal partners for the Dakar Festival, bringing attention and value to traditional music and making it broadly accessible, including to outsiders. The Central African Republic recording (1962) was Duvelle's first of many in Africa, through 1984. Winning such prizes led to consistent, adequate funding for such endeavors with enough production value to appeal to westerners.

The next two categories were explicitly commercial, involving individual ownership and performers' copyright. In category 3, *The Greatest Hits of Mahalia Jackson* (Columbia, 1963) received the grand prize, albeit with moderate reviews, given its "simple, direct appeal." Jackson was already known in Europe from her tours beginning in 1961; in 1963 Columbia released and distributed this recording throughout Europe and the US. The "Greatest hits" marketing device promised recognized works and allowed for consideration of those recorded before 1962. When it came to category 4, jazz, mainstream tastes prevailed. Among the 43 submissions, including six by Duke Ellington and two by Louis Armstrong, the grand prize went to Armstrong's "Hello Dolly" – a Grammy winner in 1965, also recorded by 21 other singers between 1964 and 1966. Dinah Washington and Ella Fitzgerald received 10s from several reviewers, but no prize. "First time" by Duke Ellington and Count Basie received an honorable mention, although not unanimously appreciated (the Israeli gave it only 3 and 5).¹⁰⁸

Jurists clearly preferred widely known, successful music. In comparison with records popular among *Bingo* readers in 1966, winners seem to reflect tastes of an older generation. Senegalese stars like Samba Diabarié Samb, Amadou Ndiaye Samb, and Ousmane Mbaye were probably unfamiliar outside Senegal, although Philipps produced two commemorative records with other Senegalese musicians.¹⁰⁹ Also ignored were 22 records submitted by "typical modern African orchestras," including Manu Dibango (5 submissions), G.G. Vikey, Ry-Co Jazz, and even the famous O.K. Jazz – all but 2 from Cameroon or the Congo – and submissions of younger American soloists like Sarah Vaughn, Mary Wells, Miles Davis, Ray Charles, and Stevie Wonder, lesser known outside the US. Undoubtedly to encourage more African participation, especially in category 1, the jury hoped in the future to reward not only vinyl recordings, but also those on magnetic tape.¹¹⁰ Such conservative decisions, whether reflective of personal tastes or political implications, suggest the limitations of political appointees expected to make value judgements in the arts, and of relationships produced "through the agency of the cultural prize," with real implications in terms of future musical developments locally and globally.¹¹¹

Radio, Cultural Identities, and Audience Development

During the Festival, radio emerged as a significant medium of international and inter-African exchange and cooperation. Since 1956, the Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d'Outre-Mer (SORAFOM) had collaborated with sub-Saharan African radio stations in training specialists, recording traditional music, and sending records. In 1961,

¹⁰⁸ Festival mondial des arts nègres, Grand prix de disques, ANS, Archives culturelles, Festival des arts nègres, 13.

¹⁰⁹ In his paper at the 2016 conference in Dakar, Ibrahima Wane suggested that this absence led to restraining the development of local music.

¹¹⁰ Nketia, K. "Grands prix du disque: Rapport du Président du Jury."

¹¹¹ On the history and symbolic capital of such prizes, see English, J. *The Economy of Prestige* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

the Inter-state African and Malgache Conference on Radio Broadcasting recognized the importance of these contributions. For use in the Gorée spectacle, SORAFOM's successor OCORA (1962–69) assembled “all sound elements” needed, including a “sound montage on the rise of Dakar, its modern life and the flight of an airplane taking off from Mermoz.”¹¹²

Since the 1950s, Radio-Dakar broadcast not only jazz, but also African traditional music, albeit decontextualized: “Songs and Dances of Dahomey” (1951), “Songs of African Folklore” (1958), and “History and African Songs” (1960). In 1961, besides programs on Senegalese music, every Saturday and Sunday at noon it broadcast music of a different African nation.¹¹³ Bebey once observed, “By giving us the opportunity to compare our folksongs with those of other, better known countries, radio shows us that we have nothing to envy in others in terms of cultural heritage; our music has its charm, its originality. [...] We love radio because it helps us discover ourselves: our culture, our civilization, our arts.”¹¹⁴ Marking the independence of these countries, such programs reinforced the distinction rather than the mixing of traditions. During the Festival, Radio Senegal continued such broadcasts with “Chants et rythmes du Sénégal” at noon, “music and folklore” live at 2 p.m. Meanwhile, each evening it broadcast jazz: at 11 p.m. “Jazz dans la nuit” (national station) and “Visage du jazz” (international station). On April 7, this program featured Thelonious Monk, a more experimental American jazzman than otherwise heard at the Festival.

Working closely with organizers and participants from other countries, Radio Senegal produced and aired two programs daily devoted to the festival – at 1:40 p.m. and 7:05 p.m. (national station) and at 5.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m (international station). It brought into villages the voice of Senghor, beginning with his speech on 18 March, major speeches, press conferences by visiting dignitaries, round-table discussions, interviews with stars like Josephine Baker, and ordinary people interviewed for their impressions. Afterwards, Radio Senegal followed Senghor on his diplomatic visits to other countries. All this became part of people's lives. Those living far from Dakar, including young future cultural leaders, had access to the Festival only through radio.¹¹⁵ Besides the Festival's anthem and its jingle heard between programs, performed by Casamance drums, radio introduced audiences to music unknown to them, leaving sonic memories for decades thereafter.

In giving people a reason to listen to the radio, the Festival furthered politicians' educational as well as political goals. Reaching those outside urban areas, many of them illiterates, had long been a challenge to radio administrators and politicians. On 28

¹¹² Mazel, J. “Mission été 1965, Note d'information No. 1.” ANS, Festival des arts nègres, 29.

¹¹³ Ivory Coast (7-VII), Ghana (10, 21-VII, 18-VIII), Guinea (14,16-VII), Upper Volta (26-VII), Congo (16-VII, 7, 11, 14, 27-VIII, 4-XI), Nigeria (17-VIII, 5, 20-XI), Togo (14-VIII, 6-XI), Cameroon (8, 18, 25-VII, 6-X, 13, 19-XI), Dahomey (21-XI), and others.

¹¹⁴ Bebey, F. *La Radiodiffusion en Afrique noire* (Issy-les-Moulineaux: Éditions Saint-Paul, 1963), 5.

¹¹⁵ Personal interviews in Dakar in 2016 with Hamady Bocoum (Museum of Black Civilizations), Ousmane Sene, (West African Research Center), and Ibrahima Thioub (UCAD).

February 1966 Senghor signed a decree promoting radio as an instrument of civic education, political mobilization, and communication between peasants and central authorities. Given the variety, novelty, and quality of its broadcasts, the Festival undoubtedly contributed to an increase in radios in Africa, thereby facilitating these functions. Between 1960 and 1967, the number of radios increased from 125,000 to 260,000 in Senegal, from 10,000 to 200,000 in Cameroon, and from 143,000 to 500,000 in Nigeria.¹¹⁶ If music was the “hook” that encouraged listening and growth of the radio audience, it also served as a powerful agent of national integration, giving people shared experiences and pleasant memories.

Increasingly, radio became an important medium for international cooperation, particularly in Africa. Program exchanges by the Union of National Radio and Television Broadcasters of Africa began in 1962. OCORA organized a Conference for ten African radio and television producers in January 1965 to discuss shared programming. During the Festival, a dozen African radio stations broadcast programs from Dakar, allowing the rest of Africa to hear, not just read about, the Festival, take pride in its own contributions, and have access to other cultures through listening. On 23 April, Radio Senegal and OCORA assembled journalists from 8 African countries to converse with Josephine Baker, Katherine Dunham, Aimé Césaire, Alioune Diop, and Ousmane Sembène – the largest such radio event ever in Africa, proving the African continent had entered a new era in international communication. OCORA’s representative called radio “the cultural link, par excellence, within the African continent.”¹¹⁷

French Radio, broadcasting to largely western audiences, was also heavily involved. It began coverage with a 10-minute preview in February 1965, 13 programs before the opening, 11 on the symposium, speeches by Senghor, Césaire, Malraux, Ellington, and Josephine Baker, as well as 42 extracts from folk spectacles, 11 African orchestras or vocal music, 6 religious compositions, and 3 talks on France’s goal of cooperation.¹¹⁸ The choice to record the jazz orchestras of Congo Brazzaville (“Bantu” jazz) and Congo Léopoldville (O.K. Jazz), not Senegalese ensembles, suggests that French broadcasters prioritized ensembles known from their European tours, acknowledged for their diplomatic value. According to INA’s catalogue, radio was also used to allow nations to present their participation and the importance of the festival from their own perspective.

Conclusion

On the final day, foreign and local ensembles joined in a “popular apotheosis” on the streets of Dakar, then at the Municipal Sports arena – a “folkloric ‘fantasia,’ symbolizing

¹¹⁶ Tudesq, A.-J. *La Radio et Afrique noire* (Paris: Pedone, 1983), 204.

¹¹⁷ “L’Afrique francophone s’unira pour interroger Dakar sur le bilan du Festival.” *Dakar-Matin*, 22 April 1966; “La Voix de Dakar captée dans toutes les capitales francophones d’Afrique.” *Dakar-Matin*, 27 April 1966.

¹¹⁸ INA, Paris, inherited these programs, broadcast by France Inter and France Culture, some incorrectly described or difficult to locate, all in need of further study.

the fraternal solidarity of the black world.”¹¹⁹ With the support of governmental representatives and the aid of 425 journalists from 40 countries (17 African), this rich and diverse model of personal, disciplinary, and national cooperation became known worldwide. After the Festival, the Senegalese Conseil National concluded that, “despite the financial sacrifice, it had reached its goal: restoring Negritude to its true place in the ‘Civilization of the Universal’... a prelude to the Advent of Africa and the black world in the 20th century.”¹²⁰ From the American to the Soviet press, a journalist observed, opinion was unanimous: negritude “is not racist nor opposed to ‘whiteness.’ It seeks most of all cooperation and complementarity.”¹²¹ Cooperation, dialogue, and exchange at every level of its organization connected people and their traditions, musical choices, works, and spectacles to an emerging pan-African spirit.¹²² The Festival taught that cultural activities allowed Africans to “insert themselves in modern society;” culture should be the “first condition” of development and its “reward.”¹²³ Conference participants called on governments to “launch a vast project across Africa to collect artworks and build sound and film archives.”¹²⁴ On 6 February 1967, Senghor signed a contract with Herbert Pepper and ORSTOM, the French overseas research administration, to create the Cultural Archives of Senegal.¹²⁵

But paradoxes underpinned these decisions, raising important questions. First, the Festival’s focus on traditional artforms should have drawn attention to one of the most enduring and problematic aspects of the colonial heritage: Africa’s national borders, established under colonialism. It was well-known that ethnicities and their cultural traditions were unconstrained by artificial boundaries. At the Festival, the Kabyle poet-singer Marguerite Taos Amrouche explained that her berber songs could well have been Sudanese, as one easily passed between the two “without rupture or break,” an example of the “unity of African civilisation and African humanism.”¹²⁶ Conversely, if traditional music could represent culture and evoke pride in a people – facilitating the symbolic construction of a nation state – could it not also express multi-racial “Africity?” How did the assumption of “authentic” traditional cultures frozen in a real or imaginary past coexist with the reality of cultural “*métissage*”? How did it impact the need for flexibility to fulfill Senghor’s dream of intercultural dialogue? In their juxtapositions of various genres, some Festival ensembles embraced the coexistence of traditions, in the manner of

¹¹⁹ “Gala de clôture du Festival.” *L’Unité africaine*, 28 April 1966.

¹²⁰ “Résolution générale.” *Dakar-Matin*, 25 April 1966.

¹²¹ Larche, G. “Les réactions des journalistes étrangers.” *L’Unité africaine*, 14 April 1966.

¹²² On Pan-Africanism, see Yaïr Hashachar’s contribution to *Le 1^{er} Festival mondial des Arts nègres*, 297 - 307, special issues of *Interventions* 20 (7) (2018), *Research in African Literatures* 50 (2) (2019), and *World Art* 9 (2019) from the Florida State University conference, “The Performance of Pan-Africanism” (20-22 October 2016).

¹²³ Diop, A. “*Niam n’goura*,” 13; “Les leçons du Festival [...] M. Léopold Senghor au Conseil National de l’UPS.” *Dakar-Matin*, 25 April 1966.

¹²⁴ “Création d’une maison internationale des Arts Nègres.”

¹²⁵ On Pepper’s creation and direction of the Archives culturelles du Sénégal after that of Gabon in 1960, see Pasler, J. “La Construction de savoir ‘folklorique’ en musique africaine: de la collaboration coloniale à la coopération post-coloniale.” In *Construire l’ethnologie en Afrique coloniale*, eds. J.-L. Georget, H. Ivanoff, and R. Kuba (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2020), 271–87.

¹²⁶ Fall, A. “Chants berbères par Marguerite Taos Amrouche.” *Dakar-Matin*, 20 April 1966.

Keita Fodéba's Ballets africains which, since 1956, presented motley national traditions in its tours. Still, it is unclear whether or not such coexistence and cooperation at the Festival influenced performers, their work, its reception, and the evolution of these traditions – a study for future scholars.

Second, as Alioune Diop noted, the aim of the Festival was “the revelation of new relationships between works and between artists” needed to strengthen “our community of civilization.”¹²⁷ Yet, other than O.K. Jazz and modern Catholic music, organizers, competition juries, and radio relegated most modern African music to the background during the Festival. Was it because, in “easily going beyond the geographic framework in which it was conceived,” this music might challenge cultural identities? Bebey suggests that, modern African music “has possibilities for expansion unknown in traditional music.”¹²⁸ Ironically, popular urban music – and not just jazz – showed the public how one could break out of old forms of communication to build new ones, establish a “symbiosis of values,” and aspire to global influence, analogous to the political alliances desired by Senghor.

The Festival was arguably most successful in its embodiment of diverse, balanced, and non-hierarchical cooperation and political non-alignment, as suggested in the eight final performances reviewed in *Dakar-Matin* (Illustration 4). The Cold War, regularly and neutrally reported, necessarily became a distant backdrop to all this activity – song, bands, chorales, dance, drama, poetry; in theaters, gardens, public squares, stadiums, churches; from Senegal, France, the US, the West Indies, and more, alongside diplomatic and economic agreements among African nations (Illustration 2). Neither anglophone nor francophone cultures took precedence. In this context, an African mode of diplomacy found its voice and its power: alliances arising from dialogue, inclusion rather than exclusion, value ascribed to multicultural coexistence and *métissage*, searching for one's future in the whole rather than the part, hope rather than fear. Inspired by the respect and solidarity exchanged with others through their arts, the newly independent nations of Africa were propelled forward to a new future.

¹²⁷ Diop, A. “L'Art et la paix,” 17.

¹²⁸ Bebey, F. “La musique africaine moderne,” 501, 506.

Illustration 4: Reviews of 8 spectacles during the Festival, *Dakar-Matin* (26 April 1966)

