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Reviewed work(s):
Source: Ethnomusicology, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Spring/Summer, 2008), pp. 296-323
Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20174590
Accessed: 09/03/2013 21:34

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Rumba in the City of Peace: Migration and the Cultural Commodity of Congolese Music in Dar es Salaam, 1968–1985

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The period from 1968 to 1985 is often regarded as one of the classic periods of Tanzanian popular music. It was during this decade and a half that the country’s most highly regarded and popular artists established a vibrant music scene, particularly in Dar es Salaam. Groups such as Morogoro Jazz, DDC Mlimani Park Orchestra, Juwata Jazz, Orchestra Makassy, Orchestra Maquis, and Remmy Ongala and Super Matimila released some of their best known recordings and performed to packed audiences throughout the city. A significant reason for the success of popular music in Tanzania during this time was the migration of over two hundred Congolese artists to Dar es Salaam. This migration, one of the largest artist-centered movements to take place on the African continent, brought a heightened sense of professionalism and credibility to Tanzania’s music scene. Since Congolese music, also known as rumba, was widely popular and commercially successful on the continent, Congolese artists could bring attention to a local music scene by performing music considered to be authentic, which many other bands, including those in Dar es Salaam, were attempting to emulate.

Given the popularity of Congolese music in eastern and central Africa, why did so many Congolese musicians decide to move to Tanzania? Why would they choose Dar es Salaam over Kinshasa, Brazzaville, Lusaka, Kampala, or even other cities on the continent that had strong music scenes closer to the artists’ homes in the Congo? And, what made them stay in Dar es Salaam, most as permanent residents, long after the golden years of Tanzanian dance music ended? In this article, I argue that Tanzania became an attractive option for many Congolese artists, particularly those from the Katanga and Kivu regions, due to: (1) a series of political and economic events that altered the viability of living and performing in other areas of eastern and central Africa.
Africa, and; (2) the city-specific opportunities that Dar es Salaam offered. The violence that erupted in the eastern Congo during the 1960s and late 1970s, Zairianization, the rise and fall of Idi Amin in Uganda, and the closing of the border with Kenya in the late 1970s created a narrow region within which artists could work and travel. These political and economic events made other countries poor options compared to Tanzania, which in popular discourses circulating among Congolese artists had come to be regarded as stable, peaceful, and potentially profitable. There were no ethnic conflicts or instances of political instability, and many bands were able to find steady salaries, large fan bases, and support for their music. The use of Kiswahili in both the eastern Congo and in Tanzania also helped ease the burden of migrating and transitioning to a new music scene. Even though Tanzania's socialism impinged on artists' abilities to freely perform and compose music, the country offered temporary solace in ways that other neighboring areas could not. Both the narrowing of options for places to live and the stability of Dar es Salaam attracted many artists to migrate to Tanzania.

Of course, Congolese artists' move to Tanzania only explains the context of migration. How did these artists find a relatively welcome populace in Dar es Salaam, particularly during a period of socialism when the country aimed to establish an indigenous musical sound? The popularity of Congolese music provided artists a great deal of authority and power in traveling throughout eastern and central Africa. In April 1970, Ramadhani Athmani wrote in the East Africa publication Nyota Afrika, “These days, you cannot listen to radio without hearing a Congolese song. If you go to a club, you will hear deejays playing Congolese music. In all, Congolese songs are really popular in East Africa” (Athmani 1970). The ubiquity of Congolese songs in eastern and central Africa gave Congolese artists an advantage in using their sound and identity as a commodity within emerging African metropolises. Through the popularity of their songs on the radio and lucrative sale of records, bands were able to tour many parts of the continent (Mukuna 1981; White 2000). This allowed artists to move throughout the region and find success even if this meant adapting to local tastes and experiences of rumba music. Of course, artists from other countries also toured eastern and central Africa, but never to the extent of Congolese artists. Rumba acted as a form of empowerment, a commodity that could be altered and shaped to fit different contexts, and still carry tremendous influence.

The majority of musicians who moved to Dar es Salaam from the Congo were from the Katanga and Kivu regions. Their migration was unlike other movements that were taking place in the 1970s, which were often due to displacement or labor movements for mineral, oil, or industrial production (Arthur 1991; Malkki 1995; Ohadike 1974; Schultheis 1989). Congolese musicians had extensive social networks that provided artists with advantages in
capitalizing on economic and social opportunities made available through the popularity of their music. In other words, their movement from one area to another did not involve struggles to attain familiarity within urban areas since their music and musical networks created interconnected spaces through which they could move.

These interconnected spaces may be thought of as a form of transnationalism, a process by which “immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc 1995). Writing on transnationalism often connects contemporary migration with flexible capital accumulation and communication systems, such as the internet and cell phones. For Congolese artists, however, music became the flexible commodity—through touring, radio, distribution of records, and publications in the press—that removed the permanence of borders and allowed for the emergence of a knowledge base about the Congolese and their music. Although often constructed on broad assumptions and representations, this knowledge base allowed artists to escape some of the conflicts and volatility associated with other forms of migration (i.e., displacement and labor), while maintaining transnational social relations between the Congo and other African countries.

Most importantly, the popularity of Congolese music coincided with the desire for authentic African art forms in the post-independence period. In Tanzania, for instance, the country embarked on nationalization efforts to promote local or African arts within the country (Askew 2002; Edmondson 2007; Mbughuni 1974; Mlama 1991; Songoyi 1990). In Zaire, Mobutu ushered in *authenticité*, which was an effort to rid the country of all things tied to the West, such as dress and names (personal as well as state names), while promoting local cultural forms (Adelman 1975; Badye 1984; Botombele 1976). In both cases, rumba music was considered to be an African music that could be used to promote nationalist and state efforts. Congolese artists, therefore, found themselves as champions of a popular music where they could easily and fluidly move between cities because they had been accepted within broader nationalist discourses and among popular music fans as authentic African performers.

The eagerness to claim rumba as an African musical form highlights government initiatives to use popular music as a means to strengthen and invigorate nationalist endeavors. As a musical form, Congolese rumba was an amalgam of various styles, including Cuban *son*, Western popular music, and regional musical practices and aesthetics. The use of the term *rumba* was actually a misnomer, and the African version was stylistically more similar to Cuban *son* than to Cuban rumba (Mukuna 1992:79–80; Stewart 2000:20–21). In Tanzania, *dansi* was the preferred name for popular dance music, but it too originated in Cuban, Western, and local musical forms (Graebner 2000a, 2007; Martin 1980; Perullo 2003). The emergence of both rumba and dansi bands in Tanzania
between the late 1960s and the early 1980s created a dynamic and thriving live music scene that many artists would later refer to as the golden age of Tanzanian music, while the songs from this and other periods became known as *zilizopendwa* (classic songs or literally “songs that were loved”). It is this period that brought a proliferation of recordings, live concerts, and music styles that celebrated the Africanization of popular music, the urbanization of dance styles, and the professionalization of the local music scene.

The extensive consumption of rumba music in the post-independence period established broad social, relational, and active networks of Congolese artists who could use their performance skills to establish public and popular verification of their immigration. Though their movements were still a struggle to overcome the stresses of establishing a reputation and career in new urban environments, it also constituted an “experience of stability” given the popularity of rumba and the professionalism of many Congolese even within a “shifting terrain of economic activity and political disposition” (Simone 2004:119). This article connects both the movements of artists within eastern Africa to the cultural commodity of rumba music to show the ways that artists emigrated out of the Congo to find social mobility and pursue their careers in Dar es Salaam’s music scene. In the first part of the article, I contextualize the reasons that artists left the Congo, such as violence, competition, nationalization, and repositioning, through examining the lives of the musicians themselves. In the second part, I show both why artists chose Dar es Salaam over other cities, and how this migration impacted popular conceptions of music in the local music scene.

**Violence, Memory and Displacement**

In early 1960, before the Congo gained independence from Belgium, a family of eight children, parents, and two grandparents sat in a small house in Elisabethville (currently called Lubumbashi). Suzan Kanku, the mother, was cooking a meal of *ugali* with meat and greens when two soldiers appeared in the kitchen. After a brief exchange of words, one of the soldiers shot Kanku in the stomach. Kanku collapsed to the ground, and members of her family rushed in to find the source of the commotion. They saw the mother covered in blood and the silhouettes of the soldiers running from the house. The family quickly rushed Kanku to a nearby hospital where the doctors refused to operate on her. Instead, they let her bleed to death. The family, distraught, left the hospital and returned home to find the kitchen and their food covered in the mother’s blood. With an ailing father and few economic options, the family was eventually forced to eat the food that had been left by their mother.

Although it is impossible to substantiate the details of this narrative, they form an important memory for the young boy who experienced the events.
Kasongo Mpinda Clayton, who was fifteen when his mother was killed, describes the violence as part of an ethnic conflict. Both the soldiers and the doctors who refused to operate on the mother were Lulua, while Kasongo and his family were Luba. The Lulua/Luba conflicts claimed hundreds of lives in the Katanga region, where Elizabethville is located, particularly in the period before independence when each ethnic group sided with a different political party for independence: Lulua were allied with the MNC (Mouvement National Congolais)-Lumumba, while the Luba allied with the MNC-Kalonji (Fabian 1996:101).

Even after independence, however, conflicts continued to emerge in Katanga and other areas of the Congo (Gerard-Libois 1966; Lefever 1965; Young 1965). These often-isolated periods of violence created traumatic memories for the people who experienced them, and altered people’s connections to the world around them as mistrust, fear, and emotional anguish became embodied in their daily routines (Becker, Beyene, and Ken 2000:321). These traumatic memories became attached to the physical environment and the people who lived there: when the same people who committed atrocities lived among those who experienced them, it became difficult to reconcile life before and after the traumatic events, making the process of healing difficult and painful. One way to find healing and to soften the burden of these memories was in dislocating from the place where the violence occurred. Healing therefore came in leaving the regions of violence for other areas of the country or continent. In Kasongo’s case, he joined a friend’s band in Zambia called the Wing Brothers and never returned to live in the Congo (Clayton 2001).

For those who remained in the eastern Congo during the 1960s, political problems continued to encumber their success as popular music artists. Artists still needed venues to perform in, but violence continued to disrupt their ability to make a living. Ndala Kasheba, a highly regarded singer and guitarist, performed with the Congolese group Fauvette during the 1960s. His group was popular enough that they could tour throughout eastern Africa setting up shows as they traveled. Kasheba explains:

In 1967, with the band [Fauvette], we went on a tour from Likasi, 120 km to Lubumbashi, to Kalemie [all in the eastern Congo] on the border with Lake Tanganyika. The Lake really made us want to cross [into Tanzania] but instead we went to Bukavu in 1968. The Congolese war then started and we fled to Bujumbura [Burundi] as refugees. We arrived in Bujumbura; we really had the desire to head to Tanzania and we went to Kigoma in 1968. We stayed in Kigoma, Tabora, and other areas and arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1969. In 1969, we were received by Western Jazz, which was a very big band at the time. (Kasheba 2001)

The “1968 war” that Kasheba refers to began as the mutiny of mercenary and Kantangan gendarme units between July and November 1967 that eventually
displaced 190,000 residents of Bukavu (Young and Turner 1985:251–53). Kasheba and the other members of Fauvette found themselves in the middle of the fighting in 1967 (though Kasheba gives the date as 1968, most likely he was in the region in late 1967). The best option, according to Kasheba, was to flee as refugees and continue touring in other countries. The nearly two year trip from Likasi to Dar es Salaam gave Kasheba a sense of life in other parts of central and eastern Africa, and formed one of the networks that would later be central to attracting many Congolese artists east.

Once in Dar es Salaam, the group was welcomed by Western Jazz, one of the most popular bands in Tanzania during the late 1960s. Despite problems obtaining musical instruments and steady incomes, the group found support with the manager of the White House, a club in Ubongo, Dar es Salaam, where the band performed on-and-off over the next four years. The group established a reputation among politicians and local audiences for their original sound. As one writer points out,

[Fauvette] entertains many Tanzanians every night. Here, they really gained a lot of skills and decided to record the song “Mama Nakupenda” [Mama I love You], which was recorded on tape at Radio Tanzania. Dar es Salaam workers were astonished (even the native Tanzanian bands, such as NUTA, Westeni [Western Jazz], Moro, and Jamhuri were thunderstruck). (Nyota Afrika 1971:6, 20)

Their reputation as talented artists allowed Kasheba and Fauvette a chance to establish a fan base in Dar es Salaam and escape the volatility of the Congo. Fauvette was also the first Congolese group to make Tanzania a long time residence. The trip by Fauvette to Dar es Salaam, therefore, foreshadowed the future movement of other Congolese artists over the next decade and a half.

Violence created traumatic experiences and forced many artists to continually travel in order to find suitable conditions to perform. While the western Congo was relatively calm during the 1960s and 1970s, the volatility that sprung up in the east created lasting impressions on the many people who experienced or brushed against moments of violence. It is important to realize, however, that this volatility appeared in bursts and spats rather than in long historical periods. The town of Lubumbashi, for instance, where many musicians grew up, only experienced a few instances of violence in the early 1960s and early 1970s, but was relatively peaceful otherwise. Nonetheless, the bursts of violence compelled many young Congolese artists to find better opportunities elsewhere. Although some of these performers, such as Kasheba, did briefly return to the Congo, the vast majority who fled violence never returned. Violence was a force of permanent migration, encouraging artists to distance themselves from the past they left in the Congo, and use music as a vehicle to establish connections within new localities.
Competition and Zairianization

In 1970, King Kiki joined Ndala Kasheba’s group Fauvette in Dar es Salaam. Both Kiki and Kasheba grew up together in Likasi, a town to the north of Lubumbashi in the Katanga region, and knew each other well when Kiki made the journey east to join Kasheba’s group. After two years, the band left Dar es Salaam, changed its name to Safari Nkoy, and spent a brief period in Bujumbura before returning to Zaire. In 1974, Kiki decided to try his luck in Kinshasa since it was the hub of musical activity in the country. The journey took a full week: four days by train from Lubumbashi to Ilibo and three days by boat up the Congo River to Kinshasa. According to Kiki, the journey alone discouraged many artists from traveling to Kinshasa. They were more inclined to travel to Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, and Tanzania, even though the trip to Dar es Salaam from Lubumbashi took as long, if not longer, than the trip to Kinshasa.

Once in Kinshasa, Kiki surveyed the scene and, after six months, joined Dr. Nico’s group, a sign of certain success given the reputation of Nico as one of the greatest Congolese rumba guitarists. But, with problems of money, instruments, and frustration among band members, most musicians, according to Kiki, ended up leaving the group soon after they joined. Kiki left to join Palmares Okassa, one of the house bands at the club Suzanella Maison Blanche (the other house band was Orchestra Kosakosa). For another year, Kiki enjoyed some success with the group before returning to Lubumbashi to attend the funeral of his uncle. While there, Kiki rejoined Safari Nkoy with Kasheba and the group headed back to Kinshasa to perform at the Zaire Music Festival in a competition for the best band in the country. Safari Nkoy won the competition, which was organized by then president Mobutu Sese Seko. Ironically, the band returned to Lubumbashi after only a month in Kinshasa, unable to establish themselves in the city despite their recent success. Kiki explains: “In Kinshasa you are supposed to be an experienced and mature musician. You don’t just go without enough preparation otherwise you can do nothing. Now, you know Kinshasa, there are a lot of good musicians. Over there it was competition, luxurious cars (Mercedes Benz); if you don’t have enough know-how, you can’t do anything in Kinshasa” (Kiki 2007). As Kiki states, competition in Kinshasa was more than just being a talented musician. Artists need to have connections with people in the music industry in order to record, broadcast, and perform their music; they had to have capital or the sponsorship of wealthier individuals to buy instruments and equipment; and they required knowledge of the politics of daily life within one of the most important music scenes in Africa. Kahanga Dekula states, “For musicians from the eastern Congo, it was very difficult to go to Kinshasa. It was easier for us to go to Kenya, Uganda, or Tanzania. Kinshasa was far—you had to figure
out who you were going to stay with, which band would receive you, and which business person could come to get you" (Dekula 2007). For many musicians from eastern Congo, Kinshasa represented a place where one could potentially achieve great fame and success, but not without great sacrifice, hardships, and intense competition for resources. Perhaps more problematically, many individuals from the eastern Congo often faced discrimination for not knowing social and cultural approaches to daily life in the fast-paced environment of Kinshasa. For these individuals, born outside of the city, it was easier to gain a foothold in other parts of Africa where Congolese music was popular and within a less competitive market.

Even though Kinshasa was a difficult environment for professional music, competition was not the only factor pushing musicians to try their careers outside of the city. Life in Kinshasa had generally become difficult under Zairianization, a plan announced in November 1973 by then president Mobutu Sese Seko that required foreign enterprises to relinquish ownership and control of many strategic sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, commerce, and transport. Zairianization had an immediate impact on the music industry: record companies in Kinshasa had a difficult time getting raw materials to press records; pirated albums and cassettes from Nairobi filtered into the local market; cassette tapes, particularly pirated tapes, eroded the more legitimate forms of music production and distribution; and the copyright office was relatively ineffective. As many as five million records could be sold in Kinshasa each year before 1973, but with Zairianization and later policies (radicalization and retrocession), those numbers quickly dwindled (White 1998). Along with extensive mismanagement and greed, the Zairian economy declined and pushed many people, including musicians, to find opportunities elsewhere. Several artists, such as Kabasele Tshamala (Le Grande Kalle), Bondo Gala, Armando Ama, and Seskain Molenga, found their way to France. Other artists, including the highly influential singer Sam Mangwana, moved around West Africa trying to establish a new sound in that region (Stewart 2000: 235–53). A few musicians, such as Ikomo “Djo Djo” Ingange, Tshimanga Assosa, Nsamba Monimambo, and Mose “Fanfan” Se Sengo, headed south or east, all eventually arriving in Dar es Salaam.

Mose “Fanfan” Se Sengo’s choice to leave the Congo was unlike many other artists who left because of economic changes occurring in the country. Fanfan played second guitar (behind Franco) in what was one of the most popular groups in Africa in the 1970s, OK Jazz. According to Fanfan, during the mid-1970s, economic problems were forcing many musicians to leave Zaire to find better opportunities. But, OK Jazz was a well-established band and did not incur the same financial strains as other groups. Fanfan explains: “In that period, the problems started in the Congo with the Mobutu regime. The situation started to change. And, that change was making some musi-
The problems in OK Jazz were just between musicians, which made them leave the band. It was not for political problems" (Fanfan 2007). Fanfan and several other musicians left OK Jazz in 1974 to start another group. Lack of instruments, however, made the formation of a new group difficult and Fanfan decided to try his luck elsewhere on the continent: “When I was in OK Jazz we traveled a lot. We went to West Africa, Sudan, and everywhere in Africa. So when [OK Jazz] went to East Africa, I was not well, so I did not travel with the band. At the time when I left OK Jazz, I really wanted to reach the other parts of East Africa and then come back to Kinshasa. My intention was not to go back to OK Jazz but to go back to Kinshasa in my country” (Fanfan 2007). OK Jazz’s trip to East Africa took place in 1973 where the band toured Zambia and Tanzania, filling large stadiums with fans of Franco’s music (Ewens 1994:153). Having missed this journey, Fanfan left the Congo to travel first to Zambia, Tanzania, and then Kenya. He ended up being stuck in Dar es Salaam, however, until 1984.

The combination of competition and nationalization resulted in a movement away from the historic centers of rumba music as other cities began to be viewed as having more potential, profitability, and freedom of creativity. Even though other countries, such as Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda, also went through processes of nationalization during the 1970s, the imagined potential of these other places formed a powerful narrative about the success that could be found elsewhere. The promise of other places—their imagined benefits, rewards, and ability to create distance between the political problems in Zaire and the individuals themselves—encouraged artists to seek opportunities elsewhere even though relatively few stories of success returned to the Zaire during the early 1970s. Other places, then, were imagined in an ideal sense as they often are in any migration.

Repositioning

Whether due to violence, competition, or nationalization, the movement of artists from one urban center to another was a means for Congolese musicians to use the vast channels afforded them, due to the popularity of rumba, to search for better opportunities. But, artists also shifted a great deal within and between groups to better position themselves financially, socially, and musically. These movements between groups allowed artists to have some control over their careers, particularly given the lack of financial power that these artists had within groups. Since bands were often owned by politicians or businessmen, individual artists used their skills and popularity to renegotiate new contracts with other groups (or establish new groups) in hopes of finding more lucrative financial and creative opportunities.

I refer to this movement between bands as repositioning. Borrowing
from scholarship on positioning (Davies and Harré 1990; Leander 2004), repositioning highlights the common practice among popular artists in central Africa to constantly vie for power and negotiate new alignments within and between groups. By shifting groups, these artists reposition themselves—that is, they empower themselves both within their new group and toward the group they left—in order to escape bad contracts, take advantage of new opportunities, or improve economic and social status within the local music scene. Even groups of musicians who banded together with common interests continually shifted sponsors and membership in order to gain some authority within local communities.

Repositioning, particularly in the eastern Katanga region, had the effect of placing strains on local communities of artists and sponsors. A common complaint emerged in the eastern regions of the Congo that steady salaries were elusive, partially because the audience for live music was often small. Even more, without recording studios or the airing of local talent on radio and television stations, artists lacked any significant forms of media publicity, which made it difficult to attain recognition and listening audiences. The result was a great deal of frustration among artists. In addition, the more repositioning took place, the less trust artists had in sponsors and fellow bandmates. The combination of mistrust from constant reshuffling among bands and low salaries forced many artists to seek new opportunities within other markets—markets that were imagined to be more profitable and conducive to the success often associated with Congolese artists in Kinshasa.

To illustrate the way repositioning impacted the migration of some artists, one has only to follow the career of the band that became Orchestra Maquis. In 1963, twelve musicians came together in the town of Kamina in the Katanga region to form the group Rocken Success. Over the next year, the group continually struggled to find significant economic or musical support. On January 2, 1964, the group moved to Lubumbashi and started performing in a bar called the Rwaraba. After a salary dispute with the band owner, several members of the group decided to find a “new rich person” and, after finding one, became Rocken Band. In July 1964, a more prominent musician took over Rocken Band, hired new musicians, and renamed the group Bosco Band. The outcast members, who were the original members of Rocken Success, were again forced to find a new patron (boss, financier). After solidifying a contract with Chief Kasongo Nyembo (Chief of the Bamba), the band bought instruments from Zambia, renamed themselves Super Gaby, and then on December 1965 started to play in Likasi and then Kalemie. In Kamina, they again searched for a new sponsor and found Yamba Yamba, who owned the bar Hotel Palare and the band became Super Theodore in August 1967. This pattern of altering names and sponsorship continued for the next five years. After thirteen changes in band names and ownership in nine years, the
band was eventually backed by the Congolese government under the name Orchestra Maquis du Zaire in 1972.

This model of moving to different urban centers, searching for sponsorship, and renaming the group was common among many artists in central Africa. Although certain issues were not in their control, such as the firing of members from bands, they used their public persona and ability to draw in audiences to live performances as a means to continually maneuver within various music scenes. This allowed artists to gain a sense of authority over their careers and navigate different ways to succeed as popular musicians. Repositioning, however, had the adverse effect of creating tensions between various sponsors, bandmates, and bar owners. For this reason, many artists continually traveled in search of better opportunities for themselves and their music. It was common for artists to perform in dozens of towns and cities during their career before finally settling on a specific location.

The culmination of the factors discussed thus far—violence, competition, nationalization, and repositioning—created a significant movement of musicians throughout central Africa. By the early to mid-1970s, Kasongo Mpinda Clayton, Mose Fanfan, and Tshimanga Assosa were in Lusaka. Orchestra Maquis du Zaire was in Kigoma. Kitenzogu “Mzee” Makass, who had fled violence in the Congo during the 1960s, was preparing to leave Kampala with his group of musicians. Even King Kiki, Ndala Kasheba, and other members of Safari Safari realized that Kinshasa, Likasi, or Lubumbashi did not hold promise for a musical career. All of these artists ended up in Dar es Salaam in hopes of finding better opportunities. Given the socialist direction of Tanzania during the 1970s and the limited music industry (one government-owned recording studio and radio station), the move to the “City of Peace” appeared to be a temporary solution to finding employment through music.

Part II: Arrival in Dar es Salaam

In comparing East African music economies, the choice to migrate to Dar es Salaam is somewhat perplexing. Although, as explained above, work in Kinshasa was extremely competitive and hindered many people from traveling there, Lusaka, Nairobi, and Kampala were either closer to the Congo or offered more opportunities in terms of recording music. Why choose Dar es Salaam? A few fundamental factors made Tanzania an important draw for the hundreds of Congolese musicians who moved there. The first were political and social barriers that forced many artists to either leave or pass up on other central and east African cities. Kampala’s music scene was relatively small, and was significantly impacted by the coup that took place on January 25, 1971, when Idi Amin came to power. Although Zambia had a record pressing plant and recording studios, nationalization, high oil prices in 1973, and the collapse of copper prices in 1975 created a significant shortage in extra income
that people were willing to spend on live performances. In addition, many Congolese artists mentioned encountering racism, poor living conditions, and other difficulties while living in Lusaka, which gave them extra impetus to leave when they heard about other, more prosperous music scenes.

Other countries, such as Malawi, Botswana, Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe, and South Africa, never became practical options for musicians due to either the small size of each music scene or poor race relations. As was previously mentioned, several musicians moved to West Africa but these music scenes were extremely competitive and often had their own thriving genres of music. France offered many of the conveniences, such as a strong music scene, performance venues, and language accessibility, yet proved economically and politically challenging during the 1970s and 1980s. By 1975, only Nairobi and Dar es Salaam offered viable opportunities for Congolese musicians. Nairobi drew in many Congolese artists and groups, such as Orchestra les Mangelepas, Orchestra Super Mazembe, and Orchestra Virunga. These groups played at several of the popular clubs, such as Starlight (Night) Club and Garden Square Restaurant, and benefited from the independent and profitable recording industry (Ayieko 2006; Ngair 1996, 2002, 2004; Paterson 2000).

Dar es Salaam, however, had a more vibrant live music scene and offered a quality of life, as explained below, desirable to many musicians tired of continually moving from one country to the next. Many artists chose to live in Dar es Salaam and travel to Nairobi to record their music. Yet, in 1977, the border between Kenya and Tanzania closed as relations between the two countries deteriorated. The friction between the two countries was a result of a number of issues, including tensions over the rise of Idi Amin in Uganda, the continued dominance of Kenya in interregional trade, and the failure of the East African Community to establish mutually agreeable trade policies. Ultimately, the grounding of East Africa Airways (EAA) and the move by Kenya to form its own national airline with EAA equipment incensed the Tanzanian government (Gordon 1987). In retaliation, Tanzania closed the border with Kenya in February 1977, which kept many musicians from traveling to Nairobi to perform or record music. For many Congolese performers, this meant that they were forced to stay in Dar es Salaam since they could no longer travel north nor could the better-known artists return to Zaire since, according to Mose Fanfan, most would be thought of as “deserters.” The result of the border closing was a dramatic slowdown in the regional migration and the establishment of alliances, relationships, and cultural ties within the city of Dar es Salaam.

Sponsorship

While economic and political circumstances created a narrow region within which artists could live, the musicians interviewed for this article never mentioned these issues in their reason to move to Dar es Salaam. For
these artists, other factors pushed them to move to Tanzania's largest cultural center. The widespread use of Kiswahili in both the eastern Congo and in Tanzania, for instance, made communication possible both in music and in daily life. Although artists from the eastern Congo mentioned having to re-learn the dialect of Kiswahili spoken in Tanzania, which they referred to as the “standard” version, they were still able to easily communicate with people in that country right after they arrived. Further, during the 1970s and early 1980s, Dar es Salaam offered a strong performance environment that focused on local, African music. Television did not exist in the city, and there were only a few movie theaters. Entertainment was, therefore, found at local clubs and social halls that thrived from Thursday to Sunday throughout the city.

One of the most important factors for encouraging migration to Dar es Salaam was sponsorship. There were two types of sponsorship: state sponsorship and business sponsorship. Many of the most successful bands in Tanzania during the 1970s were owned and operated by a branch of the government. While these bands did have responsibilities toward the state, they were also given certain amenities, which were almost unheard of at the time. Werner Graebner, who arrived in Dar es Salaam in the early 1980s, explains the life of musicians who worked in state-owned bands:

I would say life was not too bad for the musicians at that time because they were better off than most other people in that they had regular monthly incomes. They had housing schemes by organizations like DDC, Urafiki, UDA, Vijana.6 They had health care. If they had any problems, they could always go to their company. In addition to that, they had a percentage of the gate collection, different percentages on different days. DDC even had nice buses; they were picked up for rehearsals, given a free meal. It was pretty organized, a nice life. (Graebner 2000b)

Many artists believed that the nationalization of bands in Tanzania had a strong benefit in maintaining a professional edge in music. Numerous Tanzanian groups benefited from this policy, such as NUTA Jazz (later Juwata Jazz and then OTTU Jazz) and DCC Mimani Park Orchestra, but a few Congolese groups also found ways to attain sponsorship and short-term salaries from the government.

One such group was headed by Kitenzogu “Mzee” Makassy. Makassy had previously fled the Kivu region of the Congo in 1963 to become leader of the Apollo Jambos, a band that performed cover songs in a Kampala hotel of the same name. In 1973, Makassy traveled to England and Italy for two years. Upon his return, he found the Hotel Apollo Jambos renamed the International Hotel and Idi Amin becoming more controlling of life in the city. Makassy attempted to start a new band with money he saved from his European trip but, due to a conflict with the new regime, he was arrested and thrown into jail for four days. Mbombo wa Mbomboka, the singer in what became Orchestra Makassy,
met the businessmen Fadhili Batenga in Kampala. Batenga mentioned a contract that Makassy could take with the Tanzanian Tourist Board (TTB), which would allow the band to leave Kampala and attempt a new career in Dar es Salaam. Makassy and members of his band accepted the contract with the TTB, and were initially provided a steady salary after they moved to Tanzania.

Due to the state’s effort to promote Tanzanian artists and music, most parastatals were encouraged to hire and work with local rather than foreign musicians. Yet, the popularity of Congolese music enticed many organizations to hire Congolese bands. These short-term contracts allowed artists to establish themselves in Dar es Salaam and gain some level of recognition. For the most part, these dealings were tolerated since, as one artist explained, Congolese music was popular even among politicians who did not want to appear hypocritical by supporting rumba over local genres but wanted to listen to the music just the same. Contracts were, therefore, sporadic and ephemeral but important for allowing bands to gain entrance in the local music scene or even purchase much needed equipment.

While state contracts provided temporary solutions, many Congolese artists and groups found more lucrative sponsorship from local businessmen. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, businessmen traveled to other regions of the continent, especially the eastern Congo and Kenya, buying materials unavailable in socialist Tanzania. During these trips, the businessmen would search for artists and bands that they could hire and bring back to Tanzania. Since Congolese music was in great demand in Tanzania, the potential existed for investors to make substantial profits from bands that could promote the local business and draw in audiences to live shows (Kiki 2000; Ongala 2000). Many musicians, therefore, arrived in Dar es Salaam after being hired by regional traders. Kahanga Dekula, also known as Vumbi, found his way to Dar es Salaam after being hired by John Luanda, who traded in used clothes in Manzese, Dar es Salaam during the mid-1980s. Luanda hired Alida Shanda to find Dekula and five other musicians in Zaire. After locating the musicians, Shanda brought them to Dar es Salaam where they performed as Chamwino Stars, earning a steady salary from Luanda (see Figure 1).

Although many bands benefited from sponsorship, other independent groups needed to find alternative ways to supplement their incomes from music (Graebner 2007). These bands often struggled in the city to make ends meet, but a few found successes in their organizations. Orchestra Maquis du Zaire, for instance, formed a cooperative society that had a farm, tractors, and workers that planted and harvested crops (the musicians never worked on the farms). The society sold produce in Kariakoo, the main market in Dar es Salaam, and funds from these sales were used to supplement their income. They also changed their name to Orchestra Maquis Original to sound less foreign. Finally, to make these changes official, the group took out an adver-
tisement in the government newspaper *Ubura*. The advertisement, which included pictures of the band, their goats, vegetables, and a tractor, stated:

The leaders and workers of Orchestra Maquis Company Limited [OMACO] give blessings of good fortune to the Party [Chama cha Mapinduzi or CCM], the Government, and all Tanzanians to honor Twenty Years of Independence. Aside from entertaining fellow Countrymen with music after National Development, we are fully participating in agricultural development, which is the backbone of our young Nation. We have a Farm in Mbezi [section of Dar es Salaam] for farming various crops and feeding our livestock. Also, we will assist our neighboring, village Countrymen in farming by carrying [their] fertilizer and crops with our tractor. (Orchestra Maquis 1981:9)

There were ten shareholders of the cooperative. Maquis also had a club, the White House, in Ubungo and they had housing schemes to support band members.

The establishment of OMACO was not simply a reaction to Tanzanian socialism. Members of Maquis, for instance, had started a fish cooperative in the Congo during the late 1960s. Nonetheless, the cooperative paralleled government initiatives to bring agricultural production to the forefront for the national good of the country. By showing that it produced goods for the city, OMACO could essentially sell itself as a pro-nationalist organization with
a functioning band attached, in much the same way that other government organizations had bands promoting their efforts. This allowed the musicians in Maquis to focus exclusively on music, while maintaining the same financial security afforded to other sponsored groups. The advertisements that the band took in local newspapers before and after the formation of OMACO highlights the ideological shift that the band took in the early 1980s in order to adapt socially and benefit economically (see Figure 2).

The benefit of sponsorship during the 1970s and 1980s was that it helped to create a vibrant music scene where musicians could earn a decent living. Many artists even argued that their income was better than many other salaried people living in Dar es Salaam at the time. Artists still repositioned themselves between groups, but there was a stronger sense of stability within bands. They were taken care of by state organizations, businessmen, or private band management, and their sole job was to outdo other bands in attracting live audiences. Artists, therefore, focused more on their music (practice, composition, and performance) and continually competed with each other to attract fans.

Networking

While sponsorship targeted specific groups, networking encouraged other regionally based Congolese artists to move to Dar es Salaam. In many major cities, such as Lusaka, Nairobi, Lubumbashi, and Kampala, artists heard

Figure 2: Advertisements for Orchestra Maquis du Zaire and Orchestra Maquis. The left advertisement mentions the food, drink, and other enjoyments that can be had at a live performance of the band at the Savana Inn. The right advertisement features a picture of a hoe, hammer, and a guitar with the caption, “After farming, after work, come dance [the Orchestra Maquis dance style] chekeechea.” Published in Uburu newspaper, December 24, 1979 and January 3, 1981 respectively.”
about the vibrant performance scene in Dar es Salaam and the possibility for decent salaries. Enticed by the potential opportunities, many musicians contacted former band members who were playing in Dar es Salaam and asked if they could get a position in a local group. Bands in Tanzania would also search for artists that had the potential to invigorate local groups with a new sound and energy. Kanku Kelly Kalamashaka, a highly regarded trumpeter and composer from the Congo, says:

I was requested [to come to Dar es Salaam] by the band Maquis because Maquis tried to get Kiki [King Kiki] in 1976. Kiki liked my work a lot because, since I was little, I have been able to play anything. If you give me notes [sheet music] I can just play it. Kiki said to me, “Young person let’s go to Tanzania.” I said, “Tanzania is really far…” Kiki persuaded me until I finally agreed. (Kalamashaka 2000)

Remmy Ongala explains how he came to live in Dar es Salaam:

My Uncle, Mzee Makassy, left me money for a ticket before he left to return to Tanzania so that I could go and find him in Dar es Salaam. So, I boarded a boat until Kigoma and then I took a train until Dar. Truly, it was a long trip. (p.c., 30 July 2005, Dar es Salaam; see also Graebner 1997)

These cross-border social networks gave many musicians the motivation to take chances on the city since they could easily fall into a community of other artists who shared many of the same experiences, knowledge, and musical abilities.

Between 1972 and 1979, these social networks were particularly strong as more Congolese searched for places to escape financial, social, and political problems in other parts of central Africa. In particular, the two bands Orchestra Maquis du Zaire and Orchestra Makassy drew in some of the most talented artists to Tanzania during this time. Mzee Makassy hired Mose Fanfan, a legendary guitarist, and Remmy Ongala (his nephew), who would later become one of Tanzania’s most internationally recognized musicians. Kasongo Mpinda Clayton, Ndala Kasheba, King Kiki, Nguza Viking, Tshimanga Assosa, Mzee Motoo (Mpulukulu Abandoki), as well as numerous other artists were recruited by Orchestra Maquis (see Table 1). And, while these bands also had Tanzanian members (see Table 2), particularly in the stage-shows (dancing, acrobatics, etc.), the numerous artists that these groups attracted to Tanzania brought a new level of professionalism and dedication to the local music scene. The musicians listed in this paragraph, for instance, are all considered pioneers in the golden age of Tanzanian music.

These multilocal networks of artists provided important opportunities for those who were searching to reposition themselves within other music markets. Though there were no clear centers for these networks (in other words, they were flexible and without boundaries—see Green, Harvey, and Knox 2005), they were connected to conceptions of Congolese music and the
Table 1: Partial List of Congolese artists in Orchestra Maquis between 1972 and 1985. Those in bold were the original members of the group starting in 1962, while those with an asterisks became shareholders once the cooperative OMACO formed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist Name</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akulyake Saleh King Maluha</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilungu Banza Kapepula</td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chibangu Katayi</td>
<td>Saxophone*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinuya Chihiyaza</td>
<td>Saxophone*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan Fan Mosengo</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rissasi Nyimbi</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiniki Kieto</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilunga Lubaba (guitar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilunga Ngoie (guitar/trumpet)</td>
<td>Trumpet*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issa Nundu</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabeya Badu</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahangga Dekula</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalala Mbwembwe</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaumba Kalemba</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankonde Berii</td>
<td>Saxophone and Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanku Kelly Kalamashaka/Kashama</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasaloo Kyanga</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassongo Mpinda</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatibu Iteitei</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Kiki (singer)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyanga Songa</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'genda Kalonga</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbuya Makonga Adios (singer)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

value of rumba in central African music scenes. Building on the consumption of rumba, the networks articulated a vast consumer interest in the Congolese sound and a producer interest in finding success with music. In other words, these networks helped to overcome distance constructed by borders, conflict, and other barriers where artists moved throughout central Africa, continually interacting with one another in their journeys, and reinterpreting the meaning of rumba music in multiple urban settings.

Local and Congolese Performance Aesthetics

Once in Dar es Salaam, Congolese groups and artists had the benefit of drawing in large audiences with their music. They also had a reputation for their professionalism that, according to some, was unlike other bands in the city. Mose Fanfán, for instance, comments that: “In Kinshasa, we had too many professional musicians. But, in Tanzania, we found only the musicians who practiced music; most of them were not professional. They were not really experienced musicians, experienced in their music” (Fanfan 2007).
Table 2: Partial List of Tanzanian artists in Orchestra Maquis between 1980 and 1985.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdallah Kimeza</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdallah</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combi</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobali Jumbe</td>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Mganga</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatuma</td>
<td>Dancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fridah</td>
<td>Dancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juma Mohamed</td>
<td>Drums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keppy</td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinacho</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mafum Bilali</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneno</td>
<td>Rhythm guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwajuma Simba</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwajuma Sindimba</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwantumwa</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mzee Majengo</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omar Makuka</td>
<td>Rhythm guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salum Nyembo</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seif Said</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shani</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidi Morris</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven Kayingili</td>
<td>Rhythm guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suleiman Mbwana Kocks</td>
<td>Second guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandema</td>
<td>Stagedshow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Masclenge</td>
<td>Rhythm guitar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professionalism in the sense that Fanfan and other Congolese perceived it meant more than just being able to play music well. Fanfan points out that many Tanzanians and eastern Congolese musicians were excellent artists. Yet, professionalism also meant having the experience and knowledge of how to organize a show, arrange songs, create excitement among the audience, and secure enough financial benefits from the performance to make a living.

While Fanfan’s quote might be read as condescending, he was careful to point out that he was not trying to criticize eastern artists but to highlight the differences between levels of professionalism. His point illustrates a common issue that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s between some popular musicians who had performed regularly in highly competitive markets and those who were still within emerging music scenes. Popular music was often considered a pastime in many countries—practiced on the weekends and in late evenings when other work was complete. The professionalism and urban savvy of many western Congolese artists gave them distinct advantages in the way they moved from one city to another. In Kinshasa, artists started earning full time salaries from their music by the 1950s, while most Tanzanians continued to work as amateur artists into the 1970s. Although several artists in Tanzania were considered professional by the time Fanfan and others arrived, they were still acolytes (thus Fanfan’s point about them just “practicing”) in a form of employment that the Congolese had been engaged in for several decades.

In addition to professionalism, Congolese artists were often recognized within Tanzanian musical communities for their skills as musicians. These skills were often codified in interviews with both Tanzanian and Congolese artists as bringing competence, originality, and “cleanliness” to the local music scene. In particular, artists from the Katanga region of the Congo were often thought to be highly skilled guitarists. John Low states that Katanga is the
“power-house of African finger-styles” (Low 1982:9), which gave rise to Jean-Bosco Mwenda, Losta Abelo, and Edouard Masengo (Kubik 1981). In Tanzania, Ndala Kasheba, Nguza Viking, and Kahanga Dekula—three critically acclaimed guitarists, migrated from the Katanga region. Since rumba is a guitar-based music, competency on this instrument gave these artists a distinct advantage in forming groups and attaining a following (see Jewsiewicki 2003 for more on music in the Katanga region).

Despite the skills and professionalism that Congolese artists brought to Tanzania, they also had to adapt to local performance aesthetics and to socialist policies that enveloped the local music scene. Chinyama Chiyaza, the leader of Maquis, states:

The people of Tanzania, like people everywhere in Africa, love the Zairian music, but they are very proud of things Tanzanian. I had to change our style a little bit to attract these proud Tanzanians...These pieces are not Congolese jazz—they are Tanzania [sic]...they have a different beat, not so heavy on guitar...We try to blend more on the dances—this is more the Tanzanian style...And in the songs, the people in Dar es Salaam want to hear about themselves. They want to sing of “ujamaa na uhuru” [socialism and freedom]. (quoted in Martin 1980:63 from an interview conducted May 8, 1976, Dar es Salaam)

The sounds of many Congolese groups, such as Maquis, began to accommodate the rhythms and harmonies of local Tanzanian music, particularly the popular dance music genre dansi. Songs often settled into a smooth, relaxed tempo, which fit the cultural climate of Dar es Salaam. Congolese bands also added stage shows with dance routines and acrobatics that were popular in the city. At least a few songs during performances would address political and social issues drawing on themes used in government speeches, such as solidarity, unity, collectivism, self-reliance, and authority of government officials. Most bands also had a song about the country’s only political party CCM or Chama cha Mapinduzi (the Revolutionary Party). Orchestra Maquis’s CCM song, composed by the Congolese singer Tshimanga Assosa, plays heavily on the concept of unity:

**Maquis Original**

“CCM”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WaTanzania bara na visiwani</td>
<td>Tanzanians from the mainland and islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasa ni miaka mingi toka izaliwe</td>
<td>Many years now since its birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCM, Chama cha Mapinduzi</td>
<td>CCM, the Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunayo haki ya kujivuna</td>
<td>We have the right to be proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazi kubwa ya CCM</td>
<td>A major job of CCM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likuwa ni kujenga taifa lenye ya umoja</td>
<td>Was to build a unified nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa misingi wa heshima na usawa wa binadamu</td>
<td>With a foundation of respect and equality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CCM imetufanya tuwe naa walio sawa
Mbele ya sheria, kuwazia na vitendo
Umoja wetu ni msimamo imara
Wa siasa wetu ya ujamaa na kujitegemea
Mafaniko yetu ni sifa kubwa ya CCM
Hata maadui wa siasa yetu
Baada ya kututukana
Na kutukashifu sasa ulazimika
Kukiri na ukweli wa CCM
Tunakipongeza Chama Cha Mapinduzi
Watazania tuamke tusilale tuwe macho
Miaka mingi siyo mwanzo au mwisho
wa mapambano yetu

CCM has made us all equal
In front of the law for our thinking and actions.
Our unity is the result of our
Stable politics of socialism and self-reliance.
Our success is the pride of CCM
Even our political enemies
After insulting and
Undermining us now they
Admit and acknowledge the truth of CCM.
We congratulate the Revolutionary Party
Tanzanians lets not sleep we have to be awake
Many years, this is not the beginning or the
end of our battle.

Most of these lyrics were written by choice, as artists believed that their political songs were meant to draw in audiences and maintain the existing conditions of songwriting. King Kiki for instance, who composed several pro-Tanzanian songs, such as “Hongera CCM” (Congratulations CCM), said that he was never forced to write pro-government songs. Instead, these songs provided access to the local market and entrance in local social politics. They allowed artists to position themselves as champions of nationalism, independence, and Africanization, while also gaining audience approval. Since artists depended on live audiences, their ability to quickly acknowledge and respond to national issues through their compositions gave them opportunities to connect with local listeners. As an added benefit, artists could also escape pressure from the Tanzanian government and local immigration officials if they continued to perform nationalist songs.

Nevertheless, a few artists remembered a much more stringent system of controlling artists’ compositions. From these perspectives, Tanzanian officials carefully monitored popular bands, encouraged them to sing in Kiswahili, and write socially relevant material. Government officials would provide lyrics to bands that did not compose their own pro-state songs. This was the case with the Orchestra Makassy song “Chama cha Mapinduzi” (The Revolutionary Party). Songs were also checked and edited by a government official, and all songs recorded by Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam went through a censor (Perullo 2003).

The censorship or political use of songs was not unique to Tanzania. Zairian music was often used in connection with political events or celebrations, and artists were encouraged to write pro-government lyrics (Ewens 2006; Low 1982:31). Recorded albums also featured nationalist songs, such as Orchestra Trio National’s song “Mobutu le Sauveur” (Mobutu the Savior). In other countries, Congolese artists often performed songs for the government of the country where they were living. When Fauvette lived in Lusaka for two
years, they composed a song based on a traditional rhythm of the Kiwemba peoples in praise of Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (Anon. 1971:6). By the time many Congolese artists migrated to Dar es Salaam, they were fully aware of the nationalist policies that influenced music in central and eastern Africa.

Even still, one of the ways that the Tanzanian government could put pressure on Congolese and other non-Tanzanian musicians who were not doing enough to support the government and its initiatives was through the control of work permits. Every artist was required to have his or her work permit renewed every year. Typically, bands, such as Maquis and Makassy, would send someone to take care of the work permits of the entire group. Other times, artists would remain anonymous to avoid having to deal with work permits. Kahanga Dekula explains: “There were many Congolese in Dar es Salaam at the time, and many lived in fear. They performed with unknown bands or [avoided becoming famous] to evade work permits. If you were known as being from the Congo, immigration could come and pick you up. If you came to Tanzania to look for jobs, then perhaps they would deny you a permit. I think a lot of Congolese went through this and they suffered a lot” (Dekula 2007). Many artists were threatened with having their permits taken away, not just by the government but by band owners, businessmen, and others who controlled band wages. Dekula, for instance, was thrown in the Keko prison in 1985 for a month after he left Chamwino Stars to join Maquis. The owner of Chamwino Stars was upset that his star guitarist had fled to a more popular band in the city.

City of Peace

After 1983, when the border with Kenya opened, several artists left Tanzania, including Mose Fanfan and, later, Kahanga Dekula. (Fanfan eventually went to London, and Dekula went to Sweden.) The reason for heading north was not to escape Tanzania as much as to record, fulfill certain contracts that may have been signed before the border dispute, or to explore other career possibilities. Mzee Makassy for instance, states, “I went to Nairobi to record because the studios there were better than they were in Tanzania with Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. Other than to record, I also had contracts with tourist hotels in Nairobi, such as the Hilton Hotel, and, in Mombasa, with the Mombasa Beach Hotel” (p.c., 5 March 2007, Dar es Salaam). Makassy had no intention, however, of staying in Nairobi. As he pointed out, he had left his wife and kids in Dar es Salaam while he traveled to Kenya. The majority of the other Congolese artists, such as King Kiki, Kasongo Mpinda Clayton, Ndala Kasheba (who passed away in 2003), Tshimanga Assosa, Remmy Ongala, Nguza Viking, and King Maluu continued and continue to live in Tanzania.

While numerous factors led artists to Tanzania, the desire to remain in
Dar es Salaam, even after the golden years of rumba, is most often associated with the peacefulness of the city and country. Many artists commented that they were unsure whether it would be a temporary or permanent migration or whether they would find the success for which they searched. After living through socialism and liberalization, and identifying with Dar es Salaam and the ways of life there versus other cities, many found themselves attracted to their daily routines and perception of peacefulness that the country offered. The lack of ethnic conflict, violent crime, and xenophobia, along with the vibrancy of the performance scene, made Dar es Salaam an attractive option for many artists even after rumba music ceased being popular. Of course, the formation of connections, whether with family, friends, or colleagues, also made leaving untenable for many. Yet, when asked why they felt compelled to remain in Tanzania, most artists mentioned the peacefulness of the city and the distance they felt from past tribulations in trying to find a career for themselves.

I began this article by emphasizing the transnationalism of the Congolese migration where music empowered artists to easily and fluidly move between countries to find careers for themselves. Since Congolese music could be connected to Africanization, artists were able to gain access to multiple music scenes through the credibility and popularity of their music. By the late-1970s, however, during nationalization campaigns in several African countries, borders re-solidified making the earlier fluidity of movement more challenging. This forced many artists to remain in the cities to which they had moved. For the approximately two hundred artists who arrived in Dar es Salaam, the transnationalism they experienced had been severely restricted even though new artists continued to find ways to travel to Dar es Salaam into the late-1980s.

Even after the majority of these nationalization schemes ended and borders started to attain more malleability, artists remained in Tanzania in part because Congolese music, at least the rumba variety performed in the 1970s and early 1980s, began to be thought of as classic music. Rumba no longer garnered the same attention as newer styles coming from the Congo, such as soukous and mambila, which removed the cultural capital of many Congolese artists now considered classic. Throughout the late 1990s and 2000s, these artists continued to perform and bring in major Congolese acts from outside the country (see Figure 3), but most bands struggled to generate large audiences, particularly of younger fans who attend shows more often than older generations. In the early 2000s, zilizopendwa or classic songs went through several cycles of going in and out of popularity. Artists found that they could join with other well-known Congolese musicians and perform entire shows of classic songs to packed audiences. These zilizopendwa concerts often attracted significant attention from both the media and local audiences, but, inevitably, interest always waned. Ndala Kasheba explained that, due to the age of audi-
ence members, most would only attend an occasional show making sustaining a steady fan base difficult for all but a few of the top artists. Instead, most of the zilzopendwa artists attempted to continually redefine themselves, find ways to create new interest in their classic songs, and even perform on albums with hip hop artists to break into a different demographic. Despite these efforts, zilzopendwa was usurped by other popular genres of music, such as hip hop and modern dance band music (Perullo 2003, 2005, 2007). Other Congolese artists also migrated to the city to form more contemporary sounding bands, such as FM Academia and Akudo Impact.

For many of the Congolese artists who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s, a desire emerged to make permanent their claims to be Tanzanians. Citizenship became an important marker of government recognition of their status and contribution to society, particularly for artists who had long supported the state in their performances and compositions. It also became a means to solidify their connections within local communities, not as Congolese migrants, but as Tanzanian citizens. Even though some artists did not receive citizenship until the early 2000s—Remmy Ongala, for instance, did not receive his until July 2001—the fixation of place and resolution of identity constructed in terms of citizenship marked an important transition for many artists who...
saw themselves as Tanzanians within the city that had welcomed them during the 1970s and 1980s.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank James Nindi, Ray Mwasha, Donatien Diwe Dia Mwembu, King Kiki, Ndala Kasheba, Dekula Kasinhu, Mose Se Sengo, Kanku Kelly Kalamashaka, Kasongo Mpinda Clayton, Kitenzogu Makassy, Remmy Ongala, Nsimba Monimambo, Werner Graebner, and Khalid Albert Teitei for assisting me with researching this topic. I am especially grateful to Loren Landau, the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of Witswaterand, Diane Thram, and the International Library of African Music for providing me the opportunity to present this work in South Africa.

Notes

1. The number two hundred comes from compiling lists of artists who performed in various Congolese bands while living in Tanzania between 1968 to 1985. Most likely, the actual number of musicians was higher, but many artists and bands tried to remain anonymous while living in Dar es Salaam to avoid work permits. My criteria for compiling the list were any Congolese artist living and performing in Dar es Salaam for more than a year. Some of the bands included on the list were (Orchestra) Fauvette, Kashama Nkoy, Bomali Wanza, Fukafuka Jazz, Kyauri Voice, Nova Success, Orchestra Safari Sound, Orchestra Maquis du Zaïre, Orchestra Maquis Original, Orchestra Makassy, and Chamwino Stars. Orchestra Maquis brought in the most artists, upwards of sixty, though I only compiled a list of forty-five names (see Table 1). Even bands more often associated with Kenya’s music scene, such as Bana Ngende, Orchestra Shikashika, and Orchestra Baba Nationale, spent a number of years in Dar es Salaam. Those musicians are, therefore, also included in the list of artists.

2. The period that I am focusing on in Congolese history is problematic when it comes to nomenclature. Before independence, the country was known as the Belgian Congo. After June 30, 1960, it became the Republic of Congo and in 1971 was renamed Zaïre. In May 1997, it became the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Since many of the ideas discussed in this paper cross these historical periods, I refer to the country only as the Congo and its people as Congolese. This is a common practice among most artists and others I worked with for this article. I use the appropriate country name, however, to refer to specific historical periods.

3. Recent violence in Lubumbashi has again displaced people in the region (Kolamoyo 1999).

4. There are several useful books and articles that explore music, leisure, and competition within Kinshasa before the 1980s, such as Gondola 1996; Lochmann 1986; Martin 1995; Matondo ne Mansangaza 1972; Moya 2006; Mukuna 1981, 1992, and 1994; and White 1998 and 1999.

5. Fanfan formed the group Somosomo with Youlou Mabiala (Gilbert Youlou) and Celi Bitshou (Francis Bitshoumanou), but with limited instruments ended up joining Lovy du Zaïre, which was headed by Vicky Longomba, a former member of OK Jazz. In Zambia, Fanfan created another version of Somosomo and eventually used this band name again in Nairobi in 1982 when he recorded at AIT records.

6. The list of organizations represent government sponsorship. DDC refers to the Dar es Salaam Development Corporation which ran the band DDC Milimani Park; Urafiki Textile Mill controlled Urafiki Jazz Band; Usafiri Dar es Salaam (UDA) was the Dar es Salaam transportation authority and had the band UDA Jazz Band; and Umoja wa Vijana (CCM Youth League) sponsored Vijana Jazz Band. For more on government sponsorship see Askew 2002:268–293; Graebner 2007:188–90; Perullo 2003: 57–116.
7. The practice of businessmen or corporations sponsoring bands was also common in Kinshasa and Brazzaville, and began in the 1950s when recording houses offered renewable contracts to bands. In the 1970s, corporations sponsored bands to promote their products and, by the 1980s, most of the major bands in Kinshasa were sponsored by a brewery (White 2000:38). Tanzania did not have similar corporate sponsorship until the 1990s.

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**Discography**
