

THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN MUSIC IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO DURING THE 2nd & 3rd DECADES (1975–1995) OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC — ZAIRE

by

KAZADI WA MUKUNA

Elsewhere,¹ I argue that the implementation of the quota system in higher education in the 1960s was one of the catalysts for the rise of a large new generation of musicians and musical ensembles in Zaïre during the first decade of the Second Republic. In the same source I assert that the musical style of the younger generation of musicians was laden with borrowings of phrasing referents² (time-line patterns) and melodic formulae from ethnic music. Unlike the first, the last two decades of the Second Republic, stigmatized by the sagging economy and the decadence of the political structure, sent a series of negative impacts to all facets of the national life, culminating in the closing of the chapter on President Mobutu's thirty-two year regime (May 20, 1965 through May 17, 1997). The failed attempt by the government to eradicate tribalism reinforced instead ethnic consciousness, whose lasting effect continues to be felt well after the May 17 liberation. While becoming indifferent to the political regime and its leadership, musicians remained faithful to their respective ethnic traditions, and reflected this ethnic awareness in the newly established style. These two realities prevailed during the last two decades of the Second Republic as sources of inspiration as the situation compounded.

What became a deplorable condition was sung about in a new genre of lyrics filled with a message of hope spiked with holy and biblical names,³ encouraging the population to pray for quick deliverance from the miseries to which it had been submitted for such a long period. Those who continued to write lyrics of praise to the government and its leadership met with aggression from the people after liberation. Last but not least, the demise of the recording industry in the 1980s resulted in an exodus of musicians to foreign capitals⁴ in quest of a better life, even at the cost of returning to the status of *free lance* or *studio* musicians.

A. The rise and fall of new musical ensembles

A large number of the younger generation of musicians who made their musical debuts in the 1970s began to further define themselves stylistically during the first half of the second decade. Among these bands, the most celebrated was the Zaiko

¹ Kazadi wa Mukuna 1993.

² Expression coined by Meki Nzewi in his unpublished article "Theoretical content and creative continuum in African music: the culture-exponent, definitions."

³ Among others, it became common to hear the names Jesus, Emmanuel, Judas, Moïse, in songs.

⁴ Brazzaville, Brussels, Johannesburg, London, Paris, etc.

Langa Langa, launched in 1970 by a short lived music group, Thu-Zahina (created in 1969), which dominated the musical scene until its demise in 1974. Its energetic approach to stage presentation and its continuous dance innovation under the leadership of its President, the singer Nyoka Longo 'Jossar', contributed to Zaiko's position as the leading band of the generation. Its music shifted the conceptual and functional focus of the music. Unlike traditional music, which serves to educate, to document events and the world views of the people, even in entertainment, Zaiko's music highlighted dance, in which they were far more advanced than their contemporaries. For the first time animation/commentary, which Zaiko used to coordinate the dance, occupied the central position in the relatively long instrumental section of the song in order to favor stage spectacle. Zaiko's caller, Atalaku, became an added stage attraction.

As it became the index of music and dance styles of the decade, most of Zaiko's stage moves and musical expression were emulated not only by bands of the same generation, with which it competed for popularity, but were incorporated into the musical style of older musicians in order to compete for the market.⁵ As a group which emphasized dance,⁶ which was all performed by themselves on stage, their music emphasized rhythm over melody. In this framework, the lead guitar was used both as a melodic and a percussive instrument.⁷ The characteristic features of the musical style, as defined by Zaiko Langa Langa for the entire decade, included:

Instrumentation in which wind instruments are deliberately omitted; the prominence of **rhythmic patterns** borrowed from the traditional musical background of their composer; and **compositional structure** in which the *sebene* (instrumental improvisation section) is longer than the singing section, thus emphasizing dancing rather than messages of topical songs aimed at the population.⁸

By the end of the second decade of the Republic most of these characteristics became commonplace to all bands of that generation and those newly formed. The ability/virtuosity of lead guitar players was now measured by their command of this playing style. Consequently, as a result of this unwritten competition, the best lead guitarists began to incorporate some of their own artistic touches into the original; by the end of the second and the beginning of the third decade, there were as many variations of this style as there were lead guitarists. This popularity and, to a certain extent, vulgarization of the Zaiko style of music was instrumental in the group's fall in popularity, especially after its 1984 break-up.

⁵ O.K. Jazz and Afrisa International attempted in vain to emulate Zaiko.

⁶ During its existence Zaiko introduced several dances or dance movements which made up a prominent part of their stage presentation. For the most part, they knew these movements by different names that the caller used to synchronize the four singer-dancers: Nyoka Longo, Bimi Ombale, Dido Yongo, and Lengi Lenga who replaced Likinga during the latter's prison term in Portugal for drug trafficking. Perhaps the most significant dance introduced by Zaiko was the 'Zekete Zekete' and its variants, whose duration in vogue was only surpassed by the 'soukous'.

⁷ Kazadi wa Mukuna 1994:68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.68.

Other bands, such as Empire Bakuba, Viva la Musica, and Victoria Eleison, for example, each developed a unique style with which they ensured their survival in spite of Zaiko's popular supremacy nationally and internationally. Ephemeral ensembles such as Kosa-Kosa created by the Souzanella Bar, Les Kamale under the leadership of the singer Nyboma, existed just long enough to mark their presence. Stylistically, the stage presentation of the Empire Bakuba, which constituted a bridge between the old and the young generations, was built around the juxtaposition of the giant physical size of the lead singer Kabasele Yampanya 'Pepe Kalle' and the midget size of Emoro.⁹ This was an emulation of the dance attraction for which Zaiko was the model. With Emoro's death (1994), Empire Bakuba expanded its stage attraction to include a couple of short dancers.¹⁰ Some of this band's best sellers included "Bitoto" and "Moyibi," in both of which the musical superiority of the group is seen in their use of stringed instruments, characteristic of the musical style that bridged the old and the young generations. Before its demise as one of the leading musical ensembles of the decade, Empire Bakuba introduced the dance 'kwaswa kwaswa' (1986) emulating the traditional Bakongo social dance. The popularity of this dance in Kinshasa and elsewhere for the next five years was only surpassed by the endless innovations in dance steps by Zaiko Langa Langa. In the late 1980s Empire Bakuba introduced yet another dance movement known as 'isankela' that could be inserted into any existing main dance.

Unlike the Empire Bakuba whose musical style was defined by the ensemble's concept of instrumentation and orchestration, once again reflecting the styles of two generations, the musical style of the now defunct Viva la Musica was determined by the experimental approach of its leader, singer Shungu 'Papa Wemba' Wembadio. As an ex-member of the now defunct band Lipwa-Lipwa and the original Zaiko Langa Langa, Papa Wemba's musical ability became more articulated and distinguishable as the leader of his own ensemble Viva la Musica which made its debut in 1975. Also known as 'Nkulu Yaka' of Molokayi village, Papa Wemba became a household name overnight with the introduction of the dance 'Mokonyonyon' inspired by the traditional dance and rhythm of the Otetela, his ethnic group.

After the demise of Viva la Musica Papa Wemba continued to distinguish himself artistically from his generation through his involvement in other forms of artistic activities. Zaïrean urban musicians' lack of artistic diversification was the subject of criticism in a three-part article by Nsamba Olangi Diatta and Fuamba Onakayembe entitled "Le sort des musiciens zaïrois: le rancon d'une certaine mentalité et d'une certaine mode de vie."¹¹ In this article the authors regret that Zaïrean musicians do not attempt to engage in any other activity outside music. Pointing out the deplorable fact that some of the great contributors to the history of urban music in Zaïre have ended

⁹ The two were also known respectively as 'Eléphant du Zaïre' and 'Le Nain Danceur'.

¹⁰ Jolie Bébé was the female dancer who had already worked with Emoro.

¹¹ This was a special issue of the chronicle *Elima*, 170, March 24, 1986.

their careers and lives in miseries,¹² the authors underline that it would not have been so if they had diversified.

After the demise of his short lived Viva la Musica ensemble, which dominated the musical scene in Kinshasa with the introduction of the dance Mokonyonyon, and his migration to Europe (Paris), Papa Wemba gradually became more experimental and willing to embark on any artistic adventure. This assertion is supported by several factors, such as his starring in the movie "La vie est belle",¹³ an attempt at a modelling career that earned him the title of 'Sapeur'¹⁴ among the fans. Musically, Papa Wemba remained on the stylistic cutting edge during the 1980s. His releases during this period certainly testify to a stylistic high point. In these discs several unique stylistic factors can be distinguished, each of which is sustained by his isolation from the main source of inspiration,¹⁵ and the experimental mode of trying different sounds and melodies with which he had come into contact by travelling. His melodic concept, for instance, reflects a conflict of identity, especially when stripped of its Lingala lyrics. This is corroborated by his usage of traditional materials, often combining them without ethnic consideration.

The second decade of the Second Republic was a period of great difficulty for the ensembles of the previous generation, who had to compete among themselves for the depleted pool of older fans and against the younger ensembles for the overall fan population. To understand this point one must first understand the series of events around this issue during the period in question. Dialungana Kasia 'Gery', one of the lead guitarists with the T.P.O.K. Jazz until its break-up in 1994 highlights an event that occurred in one particular year:

1978 was a very difficult year for O.K. Jazz. Our concerts were practically unattended. To survive the competition, especially the one that was coming from Afrisa International, Franco began to compose and perform songs that contained pornographic lyrics such as in "Helena" and "Starvation Sexuelle." This genre of songs created an attraction that drew fans to our concerts.¹⁶

This genre of songs was known in Lingala as 'mbwakela'. Coupled with other personal reasons that remain unknown to the public, it placed Franco in frequent conflict with authority, especially with Attorney General Kenge wa Dondo. This resulted in the incarceration of Luambo Makiadi for a period of six months. To prevent O.K. Jazz from performing even without their leader, the Attorney General confiscated the band's instruments for the duration. This wicked act provoked a

¹² *Elima*, 170, 1986:2.

¹³ Directed by Ngangura Mweze and Bernard Lamy, the film was released in French with English subtitles by Lamy Films in 1987.

¹⁴ From the acronym S.A.P.E. ('Société des Ambiansseurs pour des Personnes Élégantes'). These are young people who dressed up according to the mode du jour.

¹⁵ See also Kazadi wa Mukuna 1994:70.

¹⁶ Dialungana Kasia 'Gery' interviewed in Washington, D.C., Aug. 6, 1989. The music portions of these songs were reused in other songs with different lyrics: "Attention na SIDA" and "Frein à Main". See Ewens 1994.

reaction from Franco who composed a song “Tailleur”¹⁷ (Tailor) mocking the Attorney General when he was removed from office. Franco not only highlights the fact that Kenge wa Dondo is now at the same status as himself, which is emphasized in the refrain, but goes on to elaborate on the many weaknesses in Kenge wa Dondo’s new life style:

Refrain:

Olobaki trop mpo na esika yango
You’ve bragged too much for that
position
Batiyo pembeni
You’ve been put aside
Loba lisusu
Speak again

Ganga ndenge osalaka
Yell as you’re accustomed to do
Loba lisusu
Speak again
To kokani
We are the same now

Solo I

Na loba loba pamba te
I am not speaking for nothing
Ba botoli yo video
They have taken the VCR,
Okomitala na nini
With what are you going to look at yourself

Solo II

Na loba loba pamba te
I am not speaking for nothing
Yaka tomela Primus
Come, let us drink Primus¹⁸
Frigo nayo tango nyonso ba pane
Your refrigerator is all the time broken

With the maturation of the new ensembles which sprang forth during the first decade and the first half of the second decade of the Second Republic in Kinshasa, as well as in other regions of the country, such groups as the T.P.O.K. Jazz and Afrisa International, which belong to the older generation, had to struggle for their existence. They competed for the market not only against Zaiko Langa Langa and its offshoots,¹⁹ but also against the Grand Maquisards and Negro Success bands, which had gathered some of the best musicians of the generation. According to Luambo Makiadi, “Those kids made our lives very difficult. We couldn’t make a living with them attracting the entire population. Therefore Tabu Ley and I decided to put an end to it by taking the group’s key musicians. I took Sam Mangwana, and Afrisa took Michelino Mavatiku.”²⁰

The overall musical atmosphere during the entire second decade was dominated by the rise of a younger generation of musicians and musical ensembles,²¹ and by their stylistic definition.²² Ephemeral ensembles such as Lipwa-Lipwa, Thu-Zahina, Les Kamale, Negro Success, Bella-Bella and others, popular as they were in their own right, could not resist the highly competitive market pressure, and remain only

¹⁷ Listen to Makiadi 1981.

¹⁸ This is one of the most popular brands of local beers, the other one being Skol.

¹⁹ Zaiko Wawa, Choc Star, Langa Langa Star, etc.

²⁰ Lwambo Makiadi ‘Franco’ interviewed in Washington, D.C., Nov. 3, 1983.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

in memory, victims of instability caused by frequent splits in the groups. Zaiko Langa however benefited from the splits and gave rise to a litany of musical ensembles ranging from Empire Bakuba, Viva la Musica, and others collectively referred to as Clan Langa Langa.²³

The rise and fall of the Grand Maquisards²⁴ reflects a totally different sequence of events. Closer analysis sustains the assertion that whereas its musical debut at the club Maison Blanche in the barriro of Limete, Kinshasa, caught the population by surprise, their demise left fans perplexed and wondering what the group would have been capable of, had it stayed together past the 1970s. Compared with other musical ensembles making their debut during this period, the Grand Maquisards not only gathered the best musicians and vocalists of the young generation, but their musical chemistry was far superior to that of their contemporaries, and presented a threat even to T.P.O.K. Jazz and Afrisa International. Their concerts attracted more fans than those of their competitors. Addressing this issue in an interview in Washington D.C. in 1983, Franco admits having played a role in the dismantling of the Grand Maquisards:

Grand Maquisards was a victim of its own success. There was nothing that we could do. It was becoming difficult for us to make a living with empty concert halls. So, Tabu Ley and I agreed to separate them by taking the key musicians. Michelino, Lokasa, and the trumpet player were recruited into Afrisa International and Sam Mangwana and Ndombe Pepe came to O.K. Jazz.²⁵

The last break-up of Zaiko Langa-Langa in 1984, after the group's successful concert tour to Japan, gave rise to two additions to the Langa-Langa Clan, namely the short-lived Zaiko Langa-Langa Familia-Dei under the leadership of the vocalist Bimi Ombale and the re-formation of the original group, now called Zaiko Langa Langa Nkolo Mboka, under the leadership of Nyoka Longo 'Jossar'. This event marked the end of a decade (1974-1984) of a musical style dominated by the bands of the Langa-Langa clan and provided the window of opportunity for an array of younger generation bands,²⁶ which had been operating until then in the Zaiko's shadow,²⁷ to begin establishing themselves stylistically.

B. A period of desperation

The last two decades of the Second Republic can be interpreted today as a period of desperation, for several reasons. In the political arena, the national conference and referendum, which gathered concerned parties from within and without the country,

²³ Clan Langa Langa includes such as Zaiko Wawa, Choc Stars, Familia-Dei, Nkolo Mboka, etc.

²⁴ A product of the break-up of the Maquisards group, the Grand Maquisards gathered some of the best musicians of the generation, among others singer Sam Mangwana, Mavatikú Michelino, lead guitar, and Empompo Loway 'Deyess', saxophone.

²⁵ Franco interviewed in Washington, D.C., Nov. 1983.

²⁶ The most prolific being 'Wenge Musica', 'Swede Swede', 'Nouvelle Génération', and the 'Quartier Latin' group which joined forces with Koffi Olomide in 1994.

²⁷ See also Kazadi wa Mukuna 1994:70-71.

voiced the need for changes in the country's leadership, in which a strong vote of non-confidence was cast, and a call for a national election under foreign observation. The latter resulted in the election of Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba as Prime Minister who was then charged with the constitution of a new government.

In the aftermath of the National Conference, the series of events that followed brought nothing but miseries to the already suffering population. On the one hand, the new government under the Prime Minister was not accepted by the President, who also refused to step down. Although it was endorsed by the population and recognized by the majority of international governments as legitimate, it operated against many odds. Among other hardships that hindered the new government's mandate were the lack of military support and economic power, both of which were in President Mobutu's hands. An equally important contribution to the economic and political off-balance of Zaïre was the flooding of the market with false dollar bills (\$50 & \$100) and the legal and illegal printing of worthless Zaïre bank notes, which were not accepted by the merchants but used by the President to pay the army's wages. Merchants' refusal to accept this money led to random looting of civilians' homes by soldiers armed with machine guns.

Illegal activities such as armed robbery and murders became part of daily life for the nation which was once referred to as the 'Geneva of Africa' for its tranquillity and *joie de vivre*. All these activities destabilized the whole country and sowed the seeds of total insecurity. They also forced expatriate merchants to abandon whatever they still had left after the looting and return to their respective countries full of disappointment and bad memories. To the nation, President Mobutu could only offer these words of encouragement: "I give you two weeks to sell all that you have looted. Anyone caught with these products after two weeks will be sent to jail."²⁸

The country and its population were held hostage in the midst of the political and economic power struggle. On the one hand the elected government,²⁹ which never gained power since its constitution, could not help the population nor could it accomplish the much-needed reconstruction work of the country's various sectors, roads, health, education, etc. On the other hand, the illegal government with all its economic means refused to do any work in the country for fear that it would not be recognized by the population. Consequently, the country petrified as the population's miseries compounded daily, while the political power game continued to be cruelly played between the two factions.³⁰

This chaotic situation was well reflected in the lyrics of songs composed during this period. The desperate hope of the population engulfed in miseries became the driving inspiration for musicians, who wrote lyrics that did not criticize directly but

²⁸ From the President's address to the nation, 1993.

²⁹ Led by the Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba who continues to call himself the leader of the opposition.

³⁰ My field notes, Kinshasa June 10, 1994.

invited the population to concentrate their energy on where they could receive comfort.³¹ Examination of the repertoire composed during this period reveals three categories of songs, each of which reflected the composers' perceptions of the extent to which miseries had already taken their toll on the population. First, as people became convinced of the power of prayer for deliverance, lyrics spiked with religious messages became commonplace. Believing themselves responsible for the hardships to which they were now subjected, lyrics explored the forgiveness of sins: "Sambela Nzambe alimbisa yo" (pray to God for forgiveness); "Mokili ekokufa masumu eleki, kasi kombo ya Nzambe ekotikala seko"³² (the world will end, there is too much evil, but the name of the Lord will remain forever). This shift began towards the end of the first decade, as a prelude to what was to come later.

The second category of songs was characterized by lyrics with hidden messages which hinted at the pain that was then being felt (1980s), and the call for stronger relations. There was a large number of songs that fell within this category, such as "Boya ye!" & "Moto akokufa" (Tabu Ley), "Coeur artificiel" & "Eau bénite" (Lutumba Simaro), "Très impoli" (Lwambo Makiadi), which underlined the reality of the moment and reflected the extent to which miseries were beginning to affect the population. This period also coincided with the exodus of musicians and the breakup of orchestras.

The third category was dominated by songs with lyrics that dealt directly with the subject matter: miseries. An excellent example of these is "Offela", in which the composer Lutumba Simaro approaches the reality from a lover's vantage point, stressing that miseries were the cause of their separation.³³ In the prelude to "Andrada"³⁴ Koffi Olomide begins with a chant reminiscent of the Gregorian. The entire subject matter developed in "Muzina" by Tabu Ley is a prayer urging the population to pray to ease its pain. Even though it was composed on the eve of Mobutu's fall from power, the theme song "Wake Up" contains a hidden message. In this song Olomide opens with a spoken line saying "Tozali ko vivre na system ya lifelo, veut dire, moto ezali kopela kasi tozali kozika te, ebende kutu ezali pete" (we are living in a system of hell, i.e., the fire is hot but we are not burning, even the iron is soft). The composer is using the metaphor to declare that in spite of the unbearable condition in which we are living, we are still alive. This message to the authorities can be interpreted as defiance (no matter what you do to us, we continue to survive; we can take whatever you are capable of dishing out). Ironically, this song was danced to the popular dance of the period called 'moto' (fire). In "Pardon", which Madilu System calls his gospel, he expresses his refusal to suffer in these terms:

Mama aboti ngai na mpasi

Mother gave birth to me in miseries

³¹ As I roamed through the streets of Kinshasa in 1994, I was struck by the number of prayer meeting places, most of which were private homes.

³² A passage from "Mabele" by Lutumba Ndomanueno 'Simaro'.

³³ See Kazadi wa Mukuna 1994:69-70.

³⁴ Listen to Koffi Olomide 1995.

Ngai mwana na koli

Now that I am grown up

Naboyi na kufa na mpasi

I refuse to die in miseries

Perhaps the theme of miseries in the urban music of the last decade of the Second Republic reached its apogee with the song entitled “Golgota”, composed by Bibi and interpreted by the singer Tshala Mwana.³⁵ In this song the composer underlines the level of desperation provoked by miseries. The population feels forgotten, abandoned and betrayed by their God to whom they have been praying for deliverance for such a long time without results. This desperate feeling is cast within the frame of a traditional proverb to dramatize its message:

1. *Kwenda, kwenda kumona malu*

To travel, to travel is to learn

Kwenda kumanyangana ne bantu

To travel is to meet people

Shimba wendenda pa monji

The Monkey swings from rope to rope

Muntu wendenda pa wabu

But the human travels only to his kin

Muntu tshinfwanyi tsha Maweja

The Human is the image of the Lord

2. *Munya, munya mumana kutema*

The sun is shining

Bantu batemesha muinda mu munya

People have lit a lamp in the sun

Bakeba njila wa kuya

Searching for the way to go

Bwa ku monangana ni Maweja

To see the Lord

3. *Bakenga ne nzala ne masama*

They suffer with hunger and illnesses

Babikila Nzambi wabu wa basantu

They call on their God of all saints

Kuyi wandamuna, kuyi omona anyi

You do not respond, you do not see

Yopo wani udi peni

My God where are you?

4. *Ba bandamuna ne*

They were given the reply

Nzambi Wa katangila

God looked on

Pakadi Yezu mwanenda ukula moyi

As Jesus His son gave up the ghost

Pa kuruse mashi apweka, ne Golgota

On the cross with blood running, Golgotha

A similar cry of desperation is also heard in “Pardon”¹ by Madilu System who quotes the Bible:

Mathieu na bible eloba

In the Bible Matthew says

Luka nde okozuwa

Seek and ye shall find

Senga bakopesa yo oyo okolinga

Ask and it shall be given that which you desire

Soki losambo na ngai ekomaka te

If my prayer does not reach its destination

Nayeba na changer losambo

I should know, to change my prayer²

By the end of the third decade songs composed in the urban style were accepted into prayer circles and churches of all faiths, with their instrumentation and dance rhythms. Abbe Malambu, for example, became a target for assassination for

³⁵ Listen to Sonodisc CD 63707.

composing songs which were full of lessons for the people but were considered criticism by the authorities. In his urban-style songs Abbe Malambu tells the congregation to ignore the miseries and look to God for a better life. A similar theme was developed by Shungu Wembadio 'Papa Wemba' in the refrain of the song "Esakola" (Revelation).³

Moto azangi bolingo akomona Yawe te

Without love nobody will see God

Moto azangi bolingo, pembeni na ya Yawe te

Without love nobody will get close to God

Bolingo eleki nyonso

Love is worth more than anything

1. Ku tendelela

The ramification of the miseries during the last decades of the Second Republic touched all aspects of society. The theme of miseries became the core topic in the lyrics of urban songs; during the entire period song lyrics focused on the extent to which miseries impacted on lives in the country. Although in the above discussion the repertoire is grouped according to the theme of miseries in three categories, an argument could always be made for more. However, one thing is certain from the above discourse, and that is the appeal to religion for fast deliverance from suffering. Further observation of the repertoire composed during the period under scrutiny reveals yet another phenomenon resulting from the effect of miseries directly or indirectly on musicians.

Among the Luba people of the Democratic Republic of Congo the practice of singing/reciting an individual's name, his/her deeds and accomplishments, his/her family lineage, and all that constitutes his/her cosmos, all that brings meaning to his/her life, is commonly known as '*ku tendelela*'. In the traditional context, such individuals are dignitaries and powerful people who have made valuable contributions to the community. When the name of an ill-behaved person in the community is called in a song, it is not to heroize, but rather to expose that person, i.e. in this case the practice is a vehicle of social control. Within this ethnic group, parents also use this form of praise singing to their children.⁴ This practice should not be confused with that called '*ku sengelela*' in which the objective is to appease, to calm, to cajole. Neither of these practices is unique to the Luba nor to the Democratic Republic of Congo; they can certainly be found throughout Africa.

In any communal gathering, music-event or event-music, it is common for the performer to mention the name of a person in his song or play his instrument directly in front of someone who is present. In essence, this is a form of publicly recognizing the individual or simply recognizing his/her presence at a gathering. One response to such a gesture is for the recognized individual to express his/her thanks monetarily. Another acceptable response is for the individual to dance, especially when the music is on an instrument such as a drum. In the urban music of the Democratic Republic

of Congo this practice was carried out in club concerts and in studios, often as a way of thanking the individual for his/her patronage, i.e. attending the band's concerts, making donations, or simply becoming a friend of the band. It is also an occasion for the band to give free publicity to a corporation which has been supportive.

In many songs recorded by the O.K. Jazz group between 1956 and 1976, for example, the name Jean Jean is frequently heard along with many others. Jean Jean was not a rich man nor was he influential then. He was, as he continues to be, a loyal friend of the band who attended practically every O.K. Jazz concert in Kinshasa and elsewhere within the country. Those who did not know this relationship began to circulate rumors that this one-eyed man was the fetish carrier for O.K. Jazz. In a concert by Bana O.K.⁵ in Kinshasa (1994), one could not ignore Jean Jean's presence as he carried out his duties for the band as he had done in the past.

2. **Ko lancer**

The expression 'ko lancer' – a combination of Lingala and French, literally 'to be thrown' – began to be used frequently in the 1970s to signify that one has been made known, popularized, when one's name is mentioned in a song, especially by a famous band. To this end, male concert goers did whatever necessary to get closer to band members, and females were more than willing to exchange favors with musicians. Such names as Abel Mukuna are heard in songs by Victoria Eleison because of his friendship with the singer Emeneya; these names are also heard in "Adora"⁶ for his friendship with the musicians of Quartier Latin International. The name Jésus de Londre is also popularized in songs composed in the 1990s by Koffi Olomide⁷ and Madilu System⁸ because of his friendship with the musicians.

While the practice of singing an individual's name based on friendship was maintained, that of receiving money was not ignored. Those who gave of their own free will provided musicians an incentive to sing their names during concerts and/or on the recording. One of the most notorious cases is that of the Director of Petro Zaïre nicknamed 'Le Grand Libanais' (the great Lebanese). He is known to have given the sum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) to Koffi Olomide during a concert to prevent the band from stopping at the designated time. Henceforth the name of 'Le Grand Libanais' became common in songs by various bands hoping to receive a similarly generous donation.

An extreme example is seen in a video about Juju music from Nigeria in which both practices are juxtaposed. On the one hand King Sunny Ade is being showered with money by the patron during a command performance. On the other hand an associate of the band goes into the audience to take names of those willing to hear their names mentioned in a song, and then gives the list to the singer to call as the concert progressed.⁹ When names on the list were sung, individuals responded by coming on stage and 'spraying' money on the singer. In this case, the collected money belongs to the group and not to the individual musician.

During the last two decades of the Second Republic, the practice described above was gradually modified. '*Ko lancer*' became a business, an opportunity for the lead musicians to make extra money. Whereas traditionally monetary compensation was not mandatory, and when it was done the arbitrary amount was given after the service had already been performed, in the new practice the amount was negotiated and paid up front. While turning this traditional practice into money making was characteristic of the time and circumstances, the issue of concern, however, remained whose name was being sung.

Of all the crimes committed against the country and people of Zaïre by President Mobutu in the last twenty years of his tenure, none was more severe than the systematic stripping of its wealth and dignity and plunging it into perpetual miseries. Lack of schools, medical facilities, roads, etc., turned the people into scavengers, hunters and gatherers without any sense of community. Confused like their father, Mobutu's sons Kongolo and Manda, the latter nicknamed 'Saddam Hussein', and their cousin George Bundu Lito, also considered the country as their private domain. To these delinquents the population were slaves without right. They were responsible for countless crimes, murders, robberies, counterfeiting, torture, rape, etc. In spite of these atrocious activities they remained untouchable, being considered above the law. These are the individuals who are heroically sung about by Koffi Olomide, Madilu System, and the Wenge Musica.¹⁰ Even these misguided musicians, and others who applauded such criminals when they entered concert halls in the country or abroad, were not immune from the miseries. They ignored the pain these delinquents and their fathers caused to the population, and prostituted themselves by accepting blood money. The ramifications of what they did were felt after Kabila's liberation of Kinshasa: the homes of Koffi and Madilu were ransacked and the lead singer of Wenge Musica was killed by the mob for his song of praise to 'Saddam Hussein'.

C. Demise of the music industry in Zaïre

A major fact of the music scene in the second decade of the Second Republic was the demise of the recording industry, culminating in the 1980s with the breakup of orchestral structure; the exodus of musicians to European capitals; and the return to the status of free-lance and studio musicians. The exile of a large number of musicians to Europe resulted in a worse situation than they had anticipated. Those who were determined to live in exile supplemented their musical careers with manual jobs to sustain themselves, and sent for their families back home to join them.¹¹ Such menial jobs as stuffing home mail boxes with junk literature, custodian, stevedore, and laundromat operator became a vital source of finance for them to survive. Opportunities for concerts and concert tours became scarce and far apart. As this hardship settled in, several returned home and others joined with musicians from different cultural backgrounds as guest artists.¹²

The flux of Zaïrean/African musicians into various capitals of Europe was at first encouraged by the Canal Tropical de Radio France International and the chronicle

Demain Afrique and *Calao*, which featured works by Zaïrean artists¹³ in their hit-parades and stimulated Europe's appetite for the exotic music/rhythms. Equally important to this end was the recognition of the work of Zaïrean artists such as Luambo Makiadi 'Franco', Abeti Massikini, Tabu Ley, Baba Ilunga with the "Gold Record", and Lema Ray and Yebondo Bovick with "Gold Maracas". This contributed to the curiosity value of the Zaïrean musicians and turned Europe into a promised land.¹⁴TM This movement probably reached its height by the end of the 1980s. After the death of Lwambo Makiadi 'Franco' in November 1989, the number of Zaïrean musicians increased significantly in Brussels and Paris.¹⁵ Lonoh Malangi considered the migration of musicians to Europe as an achievement of the Zaïrean cultural revolution, as an external conquest:

Fascinated by the possibilities of technology (namely the play-back) that offers the ultra-modern studios in Europe, the Zaïko ensemble as well as the tenors Shungu Wembadio, Evoloko Jocker, Emeneya, Mpongo Love, Mbilia Bel and many more of our musicians have gone to this high technology. This opening toward the outside is far from being seen as an exodus, which is contradictory to the principles of the "recours à l'authenticité." It operates on the relationship that exists between the outside (especially technology) and our authentic values, an osmotic phenomenon, a gauge of the civilization of giving and receiving.¹⁶

The truth of the matter lies more in failed economic development and the collapse of the political infrastructure than in cultural invasion as invoked by Lonoh. Economically, copper had played a vital role since independence, due to its importance in the world market as the primary material in the telephone industry. However, the development of fiber-optics caused an economic disaster for an economy which had been riding high on copper. This produced a series of chain reactions in the various sectors of the music industry in Kinshasa. The slow demise of the recording industry provoked an exodus of musicians to the capitals of Africa and Europe. One of the events most remembered in Kinshasa in this connection was the lack of raw material needed for the pressing of new albums.

Conclusions

The accomplishments of the Second Republic were celebrated in 1974 with a variety of activities at the national and international levels. The winning of the African soccer championship of nations by the national team, the Leopards, for example, and its qualification for the 1974 world cup tournament in Germany was equalled only by the hosting of the world heavyweight championship bout between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman in Kinshasa in August the same year. These events afforded the leadership the proud opportunity to showcase the mighty Zaïre economically and culturally. Whereas the first occasion ended shamefully, the second was a proud occasion which brought internationally renowned artists to the capital such as the flutist Johnny Pacheco and the singer James Brown, whose impact on the molding of the national urban musical style remains one of the most significant in its evolution.

In the light of the above discussion, it would not be too far fetched to conclude that the last decades of the Second Republic were a period of maturity, when the younger generation of musicians became prolific contributors to the evolution of urban music with rhythms, dances, and instrumentation. In spite of the exodus of musicians to other countries resulting from the demise of the national recording industry, ensembles such as 'Quartier Latin' joined forces with singer Koffi Olomide, and others such as 'Wenge Musica' and 'Bana OK' produced some of their best works during this period. Frequent splits in the popular Zaiko Langa Langa led to their demise after ten years (1974-1984) of domination.

The last two decades of the Second Republic were also the time when economic and political disasters reached their climax, implanting miseries in all sectors of national life. As a result of these miseries the population lost its sense of patriotism and began to behave in desperation like hunters and gatherers. Musicians on their part changed the connotation of '*ko lancer*' from a sincere practice of recognition to a means of making money. The theme of 'miseries' dominated lyrics and stimulated songs of hope, yearning for better days. Lastly, perhaps the single most significant factor that haunted the country during the last two decades of the Second Republic was the deaths of a large number of musicians, among them Grand Kalle (1984), Dr. Nico (1985), Franco (1989), Siki (1989), Dessoir (1989), Aime (1992), to name just a few.

References

Ewens, Graeme

1994 *Congo Colossus: the life and legacy of Franco and OK Jazz*, London: Buku Press

Mukuna, Kazadi wa

1994 "The changing role of the guitar in the urban music of Zaïre", *The World of Music*, 36 (2): 62-72

1993 "L'évolution de la musique urbaine au Zaïre durant les dix premières années (1965-1975) de la Seconde République", *L'Aquarium*, 11/12: 65-71

1980 "Structure of Bantu praise songs in Zaïre", *Michigan Music Educators*, April: 7-8; 18

Malangi, Lonoh

1985 "Vingt ans de musique engagée", *Lokole: revue zaïroise de promotion culturelle* (Numéro spécial): 45-49

Nzewi Meki

n.d. "Theoretical content and creative continuum in African music: the 1994 culture-exponent definitions", unpubl.

Diatta, Nsamba Olangi & Fuamba Onakayembe

1986 "Le sort des musiciens zaïrois: la rançon d'une certaine mentalité et d'une certaine mode de vie", *Elima*, 170, 24 March: 2-5

Discography

Bibi

n.d. "Golgotta", *Tshala muana*, Paris: Sonodisc CD63707

Simaro, Lutumba

1989 "Coeur Artificiel", *Le tout puissant O.K. Jazz en concert à 'Un.Deux.Trois'*, Bruxelles: African Sun Music, ASM-003

Makiadi, Lwambo

n.d. "Attention na Sida." *Le grand maître Franco interpelle la société dans 'Attention na Sida'*, Bruxelles: African Sun Music, ASM001

n.d. "Très Impoli", *Franco et le T.P.O.K. Jazz chantent Très Impoli*, Bruxelles: EDIPOF

- 1981 Production, POP-028
 "Tailleur", *Le quart de siècle de Franco de Mi Amor et le T.P.O.K. Jazz*, Vol.3, Bruxelles: EDIPOP Production, POP-03
- 1983 "Frein à Main", *Franco et le T.P.O.K. Jazz chez Fabrice à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles: EDIPOP Production, POP-027
- Olomide, Koffi
 1995 *V-12*, Paris: Sonodisc, CD76913
 1994 *Magie*, Paris: Sonodisc, CD-74113
- Olomide, Koffi & Papa Wemba
 1996 *Wake up*, Paris: Sonodisc, CD8817
- Herode, Le Duc & Koffi Olomide
 n.d. "Adora", *Glamours*, Bruxelles: B. Mas Production, BMP-950046
- System, Madilu
 1995 *Album '95*, Paris: Sonodisc, CD79898
- Ley, Tabu
 1993 *Exil-Ley*, Paris: Tamaris, CD92019
 1994 *Muzina*, Cambridge: Rounder Records, CD5059
- Filmography**
 Holender, Jacques, prod. & dir.
 1988 *Juju music*, New York: Rhapsody Films