Intangible Cultural Heritage and Transatlantic Connections

Panafricanism and African Revolution in Brazilian Music

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Intangible Cultural Heritage and Transatlantic Connections: Panafricanism and African Revolution in Brazilian Music

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Laroyê, Esu! Agô, mojuba! Open the path for us...

Ogun yê! March in our frontline...

Okearô, Odé! Help us to survive and to find the best strategy...

Epa Baba! Bring us peace and wisdom...

Ora ye ye, Osun! Odoya, Yemoja! Wash away our enemies...

Eparrei, Oyá! Crush down our doubts and our fears...

All the Orisas, Voduns and Nkisis... awurê... kolofé... modupé...

Ibolele, Ibolele o, Ibolele o Mangnanman, Granmoun pa jwe o!

This work is dedicated to all those who paved the way before me, all those who are currently battling in our flanks, and all those who will forward the Struggle long after I am gone.

Thanks to Maristela and Júlio, who brought me to this world and made possible the greatest part of the journey so far. Thanks for teaching me how to think, how to feel, how to dream and how to make my dreams come true.

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Thanks to all great masters of African wisdom, whose works have turned my head upside down in so many ways. Thanks to all those on whose shoulders I stand on. Special thanks to Bayyinah Bello and Meki Nzewi.

Thanks to Lazzo Matumbi, Vovô do Ilê, and Bia Ferreira, the very soul of this work. *Axé ô!* Huge thanks to my Drop Squads, who washed my eyes to make me unlearn and relearn so much – Kilûmbu Òkòtó, Zaus Kush, Abibiman and all the *malungos* and *malungas* around the world forwarding the struggle for cultural, intellectual, and spiritual abolition.

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Axé! Axé! Axé ô!

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I had a dream That I was, in a certain day At a World Congress Discussing economy I argued In favor of more work More commitment, more effort More control, added value I talked about industrial energy poles I demonstrated it, in a thousand ways How a country should grow And I backed me On the economic strength Based on the tonics of technology I presented Statistics and graphs Demonstrating the evil effects of Theory, most of all The of Leisure, of Rest Of Enlargement of the Cultural Space of Poetry I finally said For all present That a country only goes forward By working every day I was certain That everything I said Represented the Truth to everyone who listened It was then, when an old man Stood up from his chair And walked out whistling A sad melody Which sounded Like a Bachian prelude A Frevo from Pernambuco A Choro from Pixinguinha And in the room All mouths smiled All eyes looked to each other All men left One by one... One by one One by one... One by one I stayed there In that empty hall Suddenly I felt cold I noticed that I was naked I woke up Scared and still dizzy Got up and went out, right away To the sidewalk to see the blue sky And the students and workers who passed by Laughed and shouted: Long live the Xingu Indian! Long live the Xingu Indian! Long live the Xingu Indian! Long live the Xingu Indian!

(Gilberto Gil)

Long live the Xingu Indian!



Introduction

The concepts that form the basis of my research are *Panafricanism* and the *African Revolution*, guiding my analyses of the role of music in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle in Brazil. Panafricanism¹ is a concept approached worldwide in a broad universe of academic, artistic and political works, pointing not to a single and univocal definition, rather to a much broader and more plural perception of the spiritual fabric that bonds all African peoples on the continent and in the Diaspora. Several considerably different concepts - such as négritude, African nationalism, Black nationalism, universal negro, garveysm, consciencism, quilombismo, afrocentricity, among others - are, in my perspective, encompassed within this same Spirit, one way or another, laying upon the backdrop of the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle while somehow beaconed by the African Cultural Foundations (Nkrumah 1970:79; Botwe-Asamoah, 2005:171), which is precisely the broad phenomenon that I researched within the Brazilian context, focused on how Music operates in this Struggle. Indeed, there are countless works totally or partially dedicated to a detailed differentiation between each of these concepts and their singularities, but my research does not wish to join the flanks of such strict conceptualizations. Within my analyses, all these concepts are seen as distinct manifestations of a major force called Panafricanism, which in turn, boils down to the definition synthesized in this paragraph.

I use exclusively the terms African and African peoples, referring to the individual and collectives born both on the African continent and in the African Diaspora, instead of using other phenotypical/ethnic-racial terminologies such as Black, Brown, Negro, Mestizo, Creole, Mulatto, Afro-descendant, Afro-Brazilian, Afro-this, Afro-that. In situations where there could be misunderstandings in the phrase if using only the term African, I choose to call African-Brazilian, for example, any individual of African descent who is born or rooted in Brazil, or African-Cuban, if born or rooted in Cuba, and so on. That is, I use here one of the writing standards of Pan-African literature. Panafricanism being the epistemological and ontological frame in this research, I always write under the understanding that all descendants of Africans scattered around the world via colonialism are in fact Africans, knowing that strengthening this understanding is vital for the Panafrican triumph today, as it has been in other victorious African revolutions so far. This unity is also underlined among people from different regions of the African continent, bearing in mind the interruption of the organic development of African civilizations by colonialist invaders and, in this sense, the extent of relative "illegitimacy" of the current nationstates in Africa - understanding the consolidation of modern nation-states as one of the main (neo)colonialist strategies of demobilization. Of course, the *Panafrican terminology* does not disqualify the inalienable sense of identity and belonging of each individual. If an African, from the continent or the Diaspora, has a strong preference for calling themselves above all Ivorian, Senegalese, Brazilian, or Cuban, this self-denomination is not in itself harmful to the Struggle, as long as the person directs their efforts to the collective benefit of their folk somehow. People of African descent who do not identify themselves as such and who do not work in any instance for the collective prosperity of African peoples are generally not addressed in this research, so I have not bothered to select a particular name for them.

The second pillar of my research's epistemological and ontological framework is the concept of African Revolution, also defined in different ways by several authors. As far as the present work is concerned, it can be properly synthesized as: the Struggle to liberate and unify the African peoples of the continent and of the Diaspora up from a socioeconomic, sociopolitical and educational revolution, fully integrated and based on African cultural values (Botwe-Asamoah 2005:67), as outlined by Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara, John Henrik Clarke, Abdias Nascimento, among many others. The understanding of the *African personality* (Biney, 2011:121) and the *African Cultural Foundations* (arts, sciences, languages, historiography, spirituality, cosmovision; social, economic and governmental models)² are fundamental to understand, in a broader perspective, how these values interact within the African-Brazilian reality, in which Music, as I shall demonstrate here, has been essential to *mobilize* and *organize* individuals and collectives against the atrocities of structural racism and (neo)colonialism.³ Through this research, I seek to outline plausible *analytical paradigms* for later application, expansion, and complexification in similar contexts of continental and diasporic Africa.

The igniting spark of this research arose from my intense contact with the work of the organizer-revolutionary Kwame Ture, in which he defines his understanding of the difference between *mobilization* (temporary, punctual, conjectural, reformist, around items/events) and *organization* (permanent, consistent, structural, revolutionary, around systems).⁴ Formerly known as Stokely Carmichael (Trinidad and Tobago, 1941 - Guinea, 1998), Kwame Ture was one of the most effective revolutionaries in the history of the African world, eternally and worldwide known for co-creating the "Black Power" shout and its movement, and for having dedicated his entire life to founding and strengthening panafricanist, anti-racist,

² Nyerere (1974:44).

A separate dissertation could be written about the possible uses for the terms *anti-racist* and *anti-colonialist*, about being interchangeable of total equivalence, or having different meanings for different situations. Although I personally believe that European colonialism is the son of racism, and not the other way around, I choose here to emphasize with some frequency the term *anti-colonialist*, sometimes embracing, sometimes complementing the term *anti-racist*. Understanding Euro-Western racism as the father of Euro-Western colonialism, and seeing that all African peoples worldwide at all times have suffered and suffer the consequences of such *racist structure*, I believe that the most coherent solution to this problem is the removal of African peoples from the intellectual, spiritual, socioeconomic and sociopolitical prisons of the *colonialist structure*. In other words, this structure was built entirely upon - and is today still heavily sustained by - the exploitation and oppression of African peoples. Therefore, building an autonomous structure for African peoples worldwide is logically the best way to topple the *racist-colonialist structure*. In other words, the attempt to overthrow this structure by attacking it directly is inefficient and counter-productive, given that its downfall will occur naturally through the consolidation of an *autonomous structure* that embraces all - or the vast majority of - African peoples. In this sense, I frequently use the terms *racist* and *colonialist* as inseparable and complementary. Sometimes, in order to ease the reading, I write *Struggle* (with capital letter) replacing the term *anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle*.

⁴ Carmichael (1971:53-55).

anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist organizations (Carmichael, 1971:9). He has become one of the greatest experts in organizing masses of African people as founder or chairman or spokesman or member/militant of extremely important *Organizations*, such as the *Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee*, the *Black Panther Party*, and the *All-African People's* Revolutionary Party. In 1978, he changed his name to Kwame Ture in honor of its two mentors, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Sékou Touré (Guinea).

When I realized the importance of this differentiation, I couldn't get rid of the question: how does mobilization and organization happen (or do not happen) through Music, or better said, how does Music operate under such paradigms? At first it seemed obvious to notice the dynamics of Music as a mobilizing force, but for a while I could not visualize how Music could be also situated as an organizing force. Terribly haunted by the possibility of having chosen "the wrong profession" as a musician and musicologist, by the fear of realizing a relative impotence of Music in the face of kwamist paradigms, I started searching thoroughly for possible answers to this question in some repertories and in the specialized literature. Eventually, I came to notice that some artists, works, collectives and contexts of African-Brazilian music correspond firmly to these paradigms of the Panafrican revolutionary struggle⁵, in different ways, both musically and beyond-musically. Up from this research question, I began to investigate the role of music within the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle in Brazil, and how it intertwines with other vectors and factors of the African Revolution worldwide.

To verify some preliminary hypotheses and intuitions, I initially selected a broader repertoire for some first analyses, out of which I chose six songs to be analyzed in depth and to serve as examples of my propositions and perspectivations. I confronted my analyses with the most fundamental pillars of the Struggle in Brazil according to specialized literature, then I interviewed three of the artists (Lazzo Matumbi, Vovô do Ilê and Bia Ferreira) who

I often use the term *Panafrican revolutionary struggle* here, referring generically to the set of artistic, academic, social, political, military, organizational, spiritual or any other kind of effort that seeks to mitigate the *racist-colonialist structure* or in any way contribute to the building/strengthening of the *Panafrican autonomy*. In this sense, I analyze different contexts of anti-racist and anti-colonialist efforts regardless of whether the individuals/collectives in question do use or do not use the terms *struggle* or *Panafricanism* or *revolution* to refer to themselves. In other words, just as I use the term *African* referring to an African-Brazilian who does not call themselves *African*, I use the term *Panafrican revolutionary struggle* referring to the efforts of people who do not necessarily use this term to refer to their own work. Obviously, as the proverb says, "not every tight fist is Struggle!" Knowing that each battlefront and each strategy bears different levels of effectiveness and are not equally revolutionary, indeed, the assessment of effectiveness of each action or attitude needs a separate case-by-case research. But thanks to the many excellent debates and revisionisms on the Struggle, I can cite here other researches in each situation to focus on the core of my analyses and to substantiate my conclusions.

up to that point had been central⁶ to my investigations due to the impact of their works within the Brazilian anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle.⁷

The first musicological fact to be recognized beforehand is that, when discussing Music within the Struggle in Brazil, it is not a matter of a specific genre, style or musical tradition, rather a sociocultural phenomenon that cuts across all possible styles and is indeed present to some extent in almost every musical context, from both the immemorial and the contemporary ones. Part of my contribution of *analytical paradigms* consists in categorizing four archetypes of the use of Music as a *mobilizing force* and one archetype of the use of Music as an *organizing force*. Another contribution is to bring to musicological analysis some academic theories from other areas that still find little resonance within Brazilian musicology.

To demonstrate such stylistic diversity and its historical-sociological implications, and to present the five different *poetic-musical strategies* I outlined, I discuss throughout this work my compositional analyses of six songs, taking the *verbal-poetic* and *musical* elements and the *poetic-musical discursive arc* as an epistemological and ontological arena for in-depth debates on facts, demands and dynamics of the Struggle. In this arena, I propose connections, dialogues, continuities and complementarities between artistic, academic, political, social, educational, military, organizational and spiritual works of the *Panafrican revolutionary struggle*.

African-Brazilian music can be analyzed in several ways depending on which aspects one wishes to emphasize, deepen, enlighten, divulge, muffle, or make invisible. In this research, I have chosen to crop a particularly representative repertoire and bring it under some analyses that are inevitably subjective. But to the extent that any subjectivity reflects updated continuities and continued updates of the Whole, these analyses also inform a

As I explain later in the first chapter, it is in fact very difficult to determine an African-Brazilian musical work to be absolutely unrelated to the struggle under any analysis. Facing the objectives and methods of the racist-colonialist project, the very survival of any African physical (and cultural) body is, in itself, a fundamental part of the Struggle. However, there have always been works, artists and collectives battling far beyond the mere individual survival of people and heritages. Because of these high levels of revolutionary struggle through Music, in this research I refer to *Panafrican revolutionary music* as the set of works, artists and collectives that fight directly in the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle in a particularly outspoken and hard-hitting way. Analyzing forms and poetic-musical characteristics of such battles is precisely the core of this research.

Although exist and have existed different anti-racist organizations in which *movimento negro* is (or is part of) the organization's name or statutory constitution, such as the *MNU - Movimento Negro Unificado* (Unified Black Movement), for example, it is customary in Brazil - and in many countries, in several languages - to use this or a similar term to refer broadly to all anti-racist organizations and mobilizations, nationally and internationally, encompassing very diverse ideological lines and forms of action. Here in this text, in the few situations where I felt the need to use the term *Black movement*, I am not referring to a specific organization or coalition. I refer indistinguishably to the immeasurable group of people (organized or not) who somehow fight against racism and identify themselves as "part of the Black movement".

historical-sociological perspective and a pertinent multifocal approach to musicology, in the hope that the musicological work will, in turn, contribute to the *Whole* with some equally useful perspectivations and complexifications.

In this analysis, I draw attention to the consubstantiality between African-Brazilian music and the uninterrupted anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle worldwide. Understanding the colonialist project as a *all-out war^s*, one sees the need to organize counter-attacks from continental and diasporic African peoples on absolutely all battlefronts. In other words, while the colonialist structure seeks to totally subdue African peoples by means of direct violence, and at the same time seeks to facilitate this process through cultural, ideological, conceptual, political and economic warfare, Africans all over the planet at all times have been fighting back on the same battlegrounds, defending ourselves from all sorts of violence - be it through spiritual/religious means, through *aquilombamento*, through armed confrontation, through party-politics, through the Academia, or be it through Arts and Music. It is also important to notice that, in a certain way, Music and Arts are a separate *warfare*, a separate *way* - since the symbolic field, where ideological disputes take place, is a place where narratives about oneself and about the "other" are issued. But at the same time, as I discuss further below, the Arts are fundamental weapons used - somehow and to some extent - in all other *warfares* and other *ways* within the Panafrican context. Although I make occasional comparisons

Using military vocabulary and analogies in formulating my analyses is an extremely important choice in this context. The greatest triumph of colonialism was convincing us that it is over. This was achieved by extensively and continuously fortifying the narrative control and by intensively sophisticating the mechanisms of exploitation and oppression. In this all-out war, the more one invests in conceptual, ideological, and cultural warfare, the less one needs to invest in militarization, direct conflict, and State Terrorism. When one realizes these trenches and battlefronts (of conceptual, ideological, cultural warfare) and their strategic functions, one immediately realizes the fundamental role of all Arts and Sciences in this process, and of coure, the role of its respective institutions (media, creative and entertainment industry, academia, school system, etc.) in the perpetuation of the (neo)colonialist structure. Constantly bombed on all sides by intellectual dishonesty and by the absurd reproductions/unfoldings of the hegemonic narrative, it is extremely urgent to enlist more and more powerful soldiers into these battles (conceptual, ideological, cultural warfare), aiming at mobilizing and organizing ourselves towards effective ways of undermining the neo-colonialist structure and building/strengthening the Panafrican autonomy. Since inertia is one powerful enemy, the first great challenge in this all-out war is to make people recognize the State of War in which we find ourselves historically and contemporarily, and understand our stakes in this war. Since the vast majority of people refer to colonization in the third person and in the past tense, unfortunately we still need to invest a lot of effort in identifying and dissolving the layers of deceiving narratives that bury us. That is why I always insist in using military terminologies and analogies in order to constantly emphasize the State of War we live in, and thus, even if very slightly, help on demystifying misleading narratives of a alleged post-colonialism that never arrived.

It is important to strongly emphasize that many (perhaps all) of the issues discussed here regarding the violence inflicted on African peoples by European/Eurodescendant colonialists were also inflicted upon native Amerindian peoples to some extent, in one way or another, as well as upon other peoples on all continents. It can be assumed that everything that has happened and happens to African peoples has happened somehow to all non-European peoples around the world. However, to facilitate the *writing* and the *analytical accuracy* here, since my studies do not focus on any non-African people, I restrict my reflections to the historical and contemporary reality of African peoples. In many statements in this text one could additionally mention *native Amerindian peoples* or even *non-European peoples in general* when discussing certain colonialist violences against African peoples, but I confine myself here to the peoples and struggles that have been the focus of my studies. Therefore, I look forward to future dialogues about possible comparisons and expansions through texts dealing with the same or similar issues in relation to other peoples. But for the moment, I choose to concentrate the already-too-broad analytical focus on the African world.

and analogies between different forms of artistic expression, my focus in this analysis is Music. Moreover, it can be said that almost all Brazilian musical traditions are somehow involved in the issues analyzed here, sometimes utterly and intensely, sometimes indirectly and subtly. However, for this investigation, I have selected artists, works and specific contexts in which the concepts discussed here are particularly flagrant and intelligible.

This investigation takes place through multiple analytical lenses combined into a plausible understanding of the historical, anthropological, sociological, psychological, philosophical and spiritual facets of the Struggle in Brazil, taking its musical implications as a catalyst and strengthener of a holistic approach to all these facets as a continuum particularly explicative of the human experience. This continuum is evident, for example, in the various connections of African-Brazilian music not only with the worldwide Struggle of revolutionaries (such as Kwame Ture, Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara, among others), as well as scientists such as Abdias Nascimento, Maria Beatriz Nascimento, Lélia Gonzalez, Kabengele Munanga, Rodney William, Frantz Fanon, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, James Small, Wade Nobles, Bayyinah Bello, and many others. Through a multifocal analyses, I try to demonstrate here some ways in which African-Brazilian music operates in this Struggle in a complementary manner, both catalyzing and strengthening the fulfillment of demands within this all-out war¹⁰. Equivalent to the revolutionary art of Jamaican Bob Marley and Nigerian Fela Kuti, the African revolution in Brazil relies on great geniuses such as Candeia, Luiz Carlos da Vila, Lazzo Matumbi, Bia Ferreira, Racionais MC's, among so many others in different styles, besides movements hardly comparable outside Brazil, such as Ilê Aiyê,

Unfortunately, even today, all over the world, in all sectors, but especially in academic niches, an ultra-deceiving discourse around the terms "race" and "racism" is being spread or perpetuated, which departs from the biological inexistence of different human races to sabotage the anti-racist struggle (directly or indirectly, good or ill-intended). This kind of narrative commonly tries to condemn or delegitimize the Panafrican revolutionary struggle and the countless battlefronts of the Panafrican autonomy. All sorts of Panafricanist revolutionaries have been called "racist" by such people because of this comfortable biology-based argument. According to this misleading thought-thread, racism must be fought off only as an impulse of differentiation between human beings. That is, this line of argument believes in reverse racism, black racism, black supremacy, and a series of insinuations in this direction. Such people commonly say that the term anti-racist should refer only to the overthrow of racist Biological Determinism, racist Social Darwinism, and other forms of scientific racism. And under such "naivety", they reproduce jargons such as "we are all equal, love has no color, music has no color, religion has no color", or sophistries such as "the politics of affirmative action is like putting out fire with gasoline," among so many other half-baked deceipts. Because of this recurrent intellectual deflection of the Struggle, I must establish beforehand that the term anti-racist in my analyses has absolutely nothing to do with these biology-based arguments. Anti-racist means exclusively attitudes/actions in favor of overthrowing the racist-colonialist structure or towards building and strengthening the autonomous Panafrican structure. Here in the second to last chapter, I recollect this issue by analyzing the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê, which was at its foundation - and to some extent, is still today - called "racist" for not allowing white people to sign up (between 1974 and 2009). Taking this example to explain the semantics of the words racist and anti-racist as used throughout this research: on that specific occasion of the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê, what the Bloco did was anti-racist; and therefore, racist was what the newspaper did by calling the former "racist".

Olodum and similar organizations.

My analysis here is obviously descriptive, not prescriptive - that is, it does not necessarily correspond to the logics of compositional thinking or to the rationalizations of the artists themselves about their own creative processes and results. Possibly there are similarities and correspondences between my a posteriori reflections and the a priori dynamics of the composers, but these do not have to necessarily correspond to each other in order to be, in some way, complementary to the understanding of musical implications of the Panafrican revolutionary struggle. Certainly, musicological analysis (almost always) runs the risk of making everything seem artificial, or of ruining the greatness and intangibility of music, or of simply appearing to be useless. In practice, artistic processes and results happen (almost always) with much more organicity and spontaneity, both in the macro (in a musical style, for example), and in the micro (in a song's verse, for example), and this inexplicability and incontinence is, at the same time, the existential reason, the singularity, and the magical power of Music. Although realizing this inevitable limitation and caveatness inherent to any musicological endeavor, and this constant danger of (in the very act of sacralization!) desecrating that which was desired to be sacralized, 11 I consider my propositions of analytical paradigms valid and relevant for a number of reasons discussed throughout the chapters which I try to sew together in the conclusion and closing remarks.

In a nutshell, I have been able to observe sociomusicologically that, just as the *Panafrican revolutionary struggle* is manifold and demands actions/attitudes on various levels and in various forms, the *Panafrican revolutionary music* also "tackles the problem" in many different ways. The first distinction I make within this repertoire is to observe two dimensions in terms of impact, or rather, *intelligibility and measurability of impact*, namely: the "strictly" musical dimension; and the "strictly" verbal-poetic dimension. Certainly, as I will explain below, the two dimensions are, in reality, totally or almost totally inseparable, both *a priori* in the creative process and *a posteriori* in the appreciation process. However, given the two distinct degrees of intelligibility and measurability, we can take these two

¹¹ Explaining a song or a poetry is, in a way, like explaining a joke. Music and poetry, like a joke, only work in their own form, and become automatically denatured, degenerated, neutralized, or simply pathetic at the very moment they come out of their own form (regardless of how "professional" and "artistically sensitive" the transplant may be). Music, poetry, and jokes, therefore, appear to be "quantum phenomena" of human experience, analogous to that quantum anecdote of the electron that immediately ceases to be where it was at the exact instant it is observed.

dimensions as a relatively plausible analytical starting point in order to understand other layers of *mobilization* and *organization* exemplified by the repertoire in question.

This distinction between *musical* and *verbal-poetic* dimensions is discussed up from the compositions analyzed here, but it also instigates the assessment of discrepant nuances and combinations in other repertories besides this one. For example, compositions whose musical components are entirely or mostly African, but the poetic content is entirely or mostly detrimental or indifferent to the Panafrican revolutionary struggle. Or in the opposite side, compositions whose verbal-poetic content is entirely or mostly *mobilizing/organizing* to the Struggle, but whose musical components are entirely or mostly non-African. Naturally, between these two extremes, there are infinite hues of possibilities, but some ethical, aesthetic, epistemological and historical-sociological implications of the cohesion/coherence between *music-and-poetry* are discussed here at different moments from different perspectives.

Out of such sensation of "double standards" in terms of intelligibility and measurability of impact (between the musical dimension and the verbal-poetic dimension), and also out of the risk of succumbing to fragile differentiations between *African* and *non-African* elements, immediately arises the need to devote here the first chapter to four brief sections, discussing specifically: music "unrelated" to the struggle; instrumental music; transculturation and emic narrative; and remarks on the "strictly" musical dimension. After preventing some foreseeable confusions, confessing some deadlocks and establishing some premises, I dedicate the second chapter to the proposition of four *poetic-musical strategies of mobilization*. Then, in the third chapter I propose the *poetic-musical strategy of total organization*.

Along with future expansions of the repertoire being analyzed under these paradigms, the distinction of such compositional-sociocultural archetypes (and the definition of their determining characteristics) might as well be updated, enlarged, unfolded, or complexified. But within the repertoire analyzed here, I have outlined so far the following five poetic-musical strategies: *affirmation*, *awareness-raising*, *counter-intelligence*, *counter-humiliation*, and *total organization*. The choice of musical examples and their respective analyses was made precisely to better present and debate the possibilities of distinction between these five compositional approaches and the complexity of their historical, anthropological, sociological, psychological, philosophical and spiritual implications.

Naturally, once it consists of *a posteriori* conceptualisations, the differentiation between

some of these *poetic-musical strategies* is, at first sight, not quite clear, that is, not much unequivocal (if at all). And for the sake of transparency, many compositions actually use combinations of these strategies, most commonly, which is the reason why, before discussing their definitions in detail, they may appear to be indeed confusing or inconsistent. But as I mentioned above, this analysis is entirely *descriptive* and considerably *subjective*, requiring therefore prior explanation and some amount of debate over it in order to become at all effective, intelligible and applicable.

The poetic-musical strategy of affirmation is, in short, an identity music, that is, a poetic-musical artistry that expresses, reinforces, reaffirms or praises the ancestry, cultural heritage, ethnic identity or spirituality of an individual or a collective. For example, compositions whose verbal-poetic commodities are: the mythologies of the Orishas, Voduns, Nkisis, Caboclos and Encantados;¹² the everyday elements and cultural traits of African peoples' heritages; the ethnicities and historical facts of African civilizations; among other examples similar to these (combined, amplified or complexified). It is probably the most profuse poetic-musical content in Brazilian music, so widespread that, already for a while, it ceased to be exclusivity or particularity of the African-Brazilian people, becoming "commonplace" in several genres - also in the work of numerous white composers/contexts. The examples analyzed in this case are the sambas Africas: from the Royal Cradle to the Court Brasiliana, and Kizomba: the Feast of the Race.

The poetic-musical strategy of awareness-raising consists in denouncing and problematizing the reality of African peoples, both in a historical perspective and in present times. In a country where the genocide and epistemicide of African people may seem incurable, where the apology for miscegenation and assimilation and the long-lasting "myth of racial democracy" are widely and strongly reinforced, the Panafrican revolutionary music sees great urgency in constantly reminding the African-Brazilian about the historical condition of their people and the present reality of the great majority of their brothers and sisters. This poetic-musical strategy usually: exposes the marks of structural racism; expresses the pain and suffering of individuals and the collectives; emphasizes certain data and statistics; deepens reflections on the problem of (and possible solutions/remedies to) racism; among other similar examples of speaking out against the banalization of racist violences, and/or of

¹² Names of deities or ancestral spirits from different African-Brazilian traditions.

summoning people to the Struggle (as well as combined, amplified or complexified instances of such attitudes). Inevitably, *awareness-raising* also communicates with white people so that they, in turn, abandon behaviors that reverberate or reinforce racism. The example analyzed in this case is the reggae *14th of May*.

The poetic-musical strategy of counter-intelligence is especially aligned with the academic and political efforts of the Panafrican revolutionary struggle. The Central Racist Intelligence, so to speak, represented primarily in the persona of the supremacists¹³, invests unlimited resources in various forms of intellectual dishonesty to construct and propagate lies or deceiving narratives. In this sense, the Panafrican revolutionary music uses poetic-musical tools to strengthen a hyper-focused counter-intelligence/counter-narrative, that is, to refute racist-colonialist deceipts in order to counter-argument (more punctually or more generically), as an attempt to neutralize or mitigate the impacts of intellectual dishonesties. Counter-intelligence is, in a way, a kind of awareness-raising, indeed, but perhaps with the difference of seeking more directly the deconstruction of the specific logic of racist-colonialist thought, in an especially focused, pragmatic, categorical and forceful way. The example analyzed in this case is the funky Quota Is No Hand-out.

The poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation consists of using the poetic-musical artistry to truly embarrass or offend "the enemy" (or the "non-ally"). This is perhaps the stratagem that is most aware of the State of War I mentioned above, as it stems from the deep understanding of the all-out war, including a recognition of violence as a legitimate form of communication by perceiving the racist-colonialist structure as a system fundamentally based on violence. Thus, as Fanon (1961: 27-84) prescribes, in a system that does not speak the language of reason and does not speak the language of ethics, one can only dialogue in the language of violence – only a violence greater than the one received can effectively stop or undermine this structure, this regime of holistic violence. The enemy to whom the counter-bumiliation will be directed today and the specific way to (counter)humiliate them are quite diverse, but this poetic-musical strategy can perhaps be summarized generically as any non-

Here, what I call *supremacists* are scientists, writers, ideologists, and politicians who invest their resources entirely, mainly or partially in elaborating "justifications" for racism or for colonialism, or somehow invest in designing strategies to maintain and strengthen the racist structure - like authors of the so-called "scientific racism" of the past and the present, extremist leaders, some of the neoliberalist theorists, and any person in any area who creates or has created any form of *direct support* or *indirect connivance* to the racist mindset or to the colonialist project. Here in this text, the worldwide ensemble of such *supremacists* and their achievements (organized or not) is called *Central Racist Intelligence*.

pacifist or non-peaceful form of musical struggle for the *Panafrican revolution*. The examples analyzed in this case are the funkies *From Inside the Apartment* and *Let Me Tell It*.

The poetic-musical strategy of total organization is naturally the most complex of all, as was expected. Within the kwamist paradigm of mobilization and organization it is difficult to honor a single musical work with the medal of total organization. However "complete," hard-hitting and rhetorically powerful a given poetic-musical composition may be, it would perhaps be inaccurate or frivolous to consider that, it alone, has the real power to effectively organize the masses of African peoples, as Kwame insists. Less impossible, perhaps, would it be to try to describe as a force of total organization a set of compositions, an album, a discography, or an entire career. But still, if one seeks to truly understand Kwame Ture's "Art of War", so to speak, it becomes imperative to laureate organizations like the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê (obviously representing its equals) as the best example of total organization in African-Brazilian music.

Based on these analytical paradigms, and in the face of the decisive presence of music in the *Panafrican revolutionary struggle* in Brazil, I will be demonstrating here some specific examples of these *poetic-musical strategies*. I occasionaly add to each demonstration some correspondences between artistic, academic, political, social, spiritual, and military battlefronts. By drawing up the main lines of this war map, I musicologically prove that the immeasurable importance of generals like Zumbi, Dandara, Dragão do Mar (Francisco José do Nascimento) and Almirante Negro (João Cândido) in the sociopolitical-military field, and like Abdias Nascimento, Maria Beatriz Nascimento, Lélia Gonzalez, Sueli Carneiro and Kabengele Munanga in the sociopolitical-ideological field, corresponds fully to the relevance of anti-racist champions like Candeia, Lazzo Matumbi, Ilê Aiyê, Racionais MC's and Bia Ferreira in the sociopolitical-musical field *Panafrican revolutionary struggle* in Brazil.



Chapter 1

1.1. Music "unrelated" to the Struggle

The repertoire selected to be analyzed in this research may give the impression that the Panafrican revolutionary struggle is only manifested in music through works, artists and collectives that actively climb the highest levels of direct engagement in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist all-out war. However, as mentioned earlier, it is in fact very difficult to determine an African-Brazilian musical work completely and absolutely "unrelated" to the struggle under any analysis. Since the colonialist project seeks to perpetuate the submission, exploitation, and genocide of African peoples worldwide to this day, the very survival of each and every African physical and cultural body is then, in itself, a fundamental part of the Struggle.

In this sense, it would be at the very least imprecise and frivolous to dismiss this or that music as truly "unrelated" to the Struggle. However, it would be equally incoherent to say that each and every song has equal formants and equal impact on the anti-racist and anti-colonialist all-out war. Therefore, in communicating my analyses here, I choose to nickname "unrelated", under harsh caveats, the music that in its verbal-poetic content does not directly address the most urgent and strategically valuable demands in this all-out war. In fact, it would be wiser to affirm that the *song of love* and *everyday things* is, in a way, *hors-concours* in the evaluation of Panafrican revolutionary music in terms of poetic-musical content regarding the demands of the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle. They represent, in a way, the first battle of all, which is also the most constant, manifold and omnipresent battle. In the words of the praised poet:

(...) Love is a revolutionary act, by states and religions feared. (...) Whoever, to love, belongs, governs themself and (...) by walking creates their road. (...) will never be by evil touched. Their deep-self is never desecrated. (...) Whoever

loves, speaks to the world, even if dumb. (...) In the anxieties of a mad war, peace reaches those who bring the spear of Love and its shield. (Chico César, "Love Is a Revolutionary Act", 2019; my emphasis)¹⁴

That is, in a war analogy, while the songs analyzed here represent rifles, ammunition cartridges, explosives, tactics and strategic movements, the love songs and everyday songs represent water, bread, shelter and medicinal artifacts, all of which are resources, equally fundamental and decisive to the Struggle in different ways. In another analogy, if songs like 14th of May (Jorge Portugal & Lazzo Matumbi) and Quota Is No Hand-out (Bia Ferreira), for example, are "frontline songs" in this all-out war, songs like Estado de Poesia (Chico César), Sonho Meu (Délcio Carvalho) and Enredo do Meu Samba (Jorge Aragão) are "barracks songs"; that is, all of them, the frontline and barracks songs, are participants in the battle, but in different ways and for different demands. As Bia Ferreira asserts, "in a country where they are preaching hate, prejudice, genocide, loving is a political and revolutionary act (...) love, in this society in which we live today, besides being a political act, is a technology for survival and for mental health, so that people can keep themselves healthy to build this Revolution" (Ferreira, 2019, my emphasis).

Milestone authors such as Frantz Fanon (1952; 1961), John Henrik Clarke (1979; 1991), and Marimba Ani (1979; 1994) explain very accurately the psychological and psychosomatic - and one can conjecture, by extension, epigenetic – effects of (neo)colonialist violences. Multiple works by Amos Wilson, Wade Nobles, Ama Mazama and many other researchers from the most diverse areas¹⁵ have pointed to indications of a collective transgenerational (non-mutational) impact generated by excessive and continuous violence, shedding light on the scarifications that centuries of *genocide*, *epistemicide* and *structural racism* cause in the constitution and in the dynamics of cognitive, self-pedagogical, psychosocial, socioemotional, socioeultural, socioeconomic, sociopolitical intricacies of an

¹⁴ Independent album, accessed on July 9, 2020 at 21:20. Available at: https://youtu.be/vjbOt3cbjrQ

¹⁵ Kenneth Onwuka Dike, Cheikh Anta Diop, Molefi Kete Asante, Charles Mills, DeReef Jamison, Cheryl Grills, Colita Nichols Fairfaix, Alex Pieterse, Amanuel Elias, Vonnie C. McLoyd, Kate Azuka Omenugha, Nhlanhla Mkhize, and countless other scientists around the world have highlighted the uniqueness of colonialism as (what I have been calling) a continuous regime of holistic violence and its immeasurable historical<>contemporary consequences, as well as some particularities of these consequences for African peoples. Equally in-depth research – from Sueli Carneiro, Kabengele Munanga, Katiúscia Ribeiro, Renato Nogueira, Acácio Almeida Santos, Juliana Borges, Suzane Jardim, among many others – has attested to the particularities of these same processes in relation to the African people in Brazilian territory, pointing out possible paths to be followed in order to remedy the scabs.

individual <> collective - and most of all, the giant snowball as each factor aggravates all the others. That is, the body, the psyche, the integral health, the peace of mind, the satisfaction of an individual <> collective (and thus the whole of resources for self-determination and prosperity of an individual<>collective) are impacted by the traumas suffered by the mother during pregnancy, in the first place, which are aggravated by violence, insalubrity, and daily harassment in childhood and youth, and even further aggravated (and more difficult to reverse!) in adult life, generating all kinds of atrocities and inhumanities taking on nefarious proportions on a social-national-global scale. Several psychologists, neurologists, pedagogues, and social scientists have highlighted the depth of the impacts (structuring of an individual<>collective) of a society that naturalizes violence (Silva, 2007), and continuously perpetuates and multiplies dysfunctional families/communities - which, like most products of social inequality, fall more heavily on non-white populations, and often even worse onto Africans and their descendants. In this understanding, like Bia Ferreira said and so many scholars echoe, it is obvious that music in itself is a revolutionary weapon, independent of the thematic or even the presence of any textual message at all - due to its therapeutic power, and to its centrality in the generation and administration of the collectivity¹⁶. The very concern of the colonialists to deprive the enslaved and newly-freed of their musical practices and cultural traditions proves once again the immeasurable power of this artisticcultural arsenal. Music, the Arts, forms of expression and the exercise of creativity are clearly the main weapons for the survival and advancement of African peoples worldwide (Hall, 1997:249-257; Gilroy, 1993:157-221; Sodré, 1998:55-60). In other words, what Chico César summarizes poetically in the verses above is absolutely confirmed by a vast scientific literature from almost all academic areas.

Beyond this primordial function of music in the *human experience* and its indispensable organizational function in the *social experience*, another factor is still important to mention, proving once again the relative impossibility of finding any music truly "unrelated" to the Struggle under all analyses: given the historical and contemporary functioning of structural racism (Almeida, 2019), in most countries of the world, Music and the Arts - together with Sports - have long been the main road to social mobility and incipient revenue redistribution

¹⁶ Achille Mbembé (2019) explains in depth the importance of Music and Arts in the rebuilding of African peoples, as today as it has always been.

for African individuals and their descendants. Certainly, this apparent socioeconomic opportunization is in reality still weak and often deceiving. In many cases, probably most of them, the amount of profit that the artist or sportsman earns is a smaller share compared to what the financial and mediatic power-holders profit from their work. Therefore, this alleged "redistribution of wealth" is actually partial. Although certainly better than the total absence of redistribution, it is clearly far from optimal. In the Panafrican revolutionary agenda of total self-determination, this kind of imbalance must be eradicated, that is, partial (moderate) resolutions must always give room to definitive (radical) solutions. It is precisely in the face of such a reality that in the African-American context, more strongly in the USA, for example, some artists – such as Jay-Z, Beyoncé, Dr. Dre, and so many others – seek constantly to maximize profit retention and revenue generation within the African community, not only by "belonging" to their own Label (*Rock Nation, Parkwood, Death Row*, etc.), ¹⁷ but also seeking to hire the services and products of people/companies of African descent at every stage of their work whenever possible.

In this sense, observing the use of music in the defense and advancement of African peoples, but analyzing now the Brazilian context directly, one can consider a specific example very representative of this socioeconomic/sociopolitical implication and its relationship with the *music under-harsh-caveats-unrelated to the struggle*: the Pagode. A musical style deeply appreciated throughout the whole country by people of different generations and different profiles, the Pagode is a repertoire whose verbal-poetic content, as a rule-of-thumb, does not directly address anti-colonialist and anti-racist issues to any extent. The various issues of Love, its collateral sufferings, and everyday life constitute the thematics of almost every song in this repertoire. However, since the establishment of this musical style up until now, most of the artists with a well-consolidated career in this genre are of African descent. In Brazil, right after Soccer, Pagode is certainly the profession that has financially generated the most robust wealth for African-Brazilian *individuals*-collectives. Although, as always, those who have made massive fortunes are a tiny part of the totality of people who are seeking similar fortune in the same career, it is undeniable that many more African-Brazilians have become effectively "rich" being *pagodeiros* (and soccer players) than being

¹⁷ Read Alridge (2005) and Collins (2006) on the link between anti-racist struggle and Hip-hop. Read Edmondson (2008) about Hip-hop and black-owned business - enterprises of continental or diasporic African ownership, sometimes with most or all of the employees (and/or most or all of the clientele) being of African descent; and about black-owned business in general in Brazil, read: https://movimentoblackmoney.com.br/

a minister of the Supreme Court, or Senator (or career-politician in general), or anchor in the radio/television broadcasts of larger audience, or lead-role in soap opera and cinema, or owner of major industries, or major landowner, or even doctor, engineer, lawyer, technocrat/bureaucrat, public servant, etc.

Facing such historical contemporary circumstances, far beyond the existential and humanizing function of Love - and therefore of the love song - emphasized by Chico César (because the one who loves "governs themself and, in walking, creates their road, and their deepself is never desecrated, and in the restlessness of a mad war, peace reaches those who bring the spear of Love and its shield"), one can also measure the socioeconomic and sociopolitical function of music in general and love songs in particular, similar to what Edmondson (2008) regarding Hip-hop in the USA. In this sense, a style like the Pagode, whose repertoire brings a massive majority of love songs, also brings a massive majority of African-Brazilian artists among its "most successful" careers, so to speak. However, from a Panafrican (or Haitian) perspective, or from the African Revolution as a whole, the most important point is not yet this one. Way beyond the so-called "social ascention" of individuals, 18 what is even more vital to the Struggle is the capacity of these artists to mobilize and organize their people. In fact, it is not a rule (and whether it constitutes a majority or not would require a separate research), but the fact is that many of these artists who have made a fortune through this musical style end up reinvesting large amounts of money and resources in projects with great social impact, such as schools, community daycare centers, literacy classes, community catering, arts and sports courses and workshops, attempts to open a radio/television broadcast company focused on the African-Brazilian people and culture, mandates in the local and national parliaments, among many other examples. Which is to say that, directly or indirectly, the Pagode enables African-Brazilian artists to meet several of their people's sociopolitical and socioeconomic

It is worth remembering in this discussion about Music as a social mobility tool that the Pagode has a certain particularity in this sense, as it fulfills such demand relatively more than other styles. Observing carefully, it is noticeable that, since the urbanization/nationalization of Samba until today, the presence of white people in this market in general (and especially in the prominent positions of the samba pantheon) has greatly increased, most of all after the Bossa Nova's consolidation - and the same is true in other styles as well, which once had an exclusivity or strong predominance of African-Brazilians, and today, not anymore, or not so much. This obviously has a small influence of the vertiginous population growth in the last century, but to a greater extent, it is due to the socioeconomic pillar of structural racism: which parcel of the population is in position to dedicate themselves fully and to invest in a musical career? Lazzo's own account in our interview is very allusive of this systemic problem, when he says that his mother always dreamed of becoming a professional saxophonist but never had the material and immaterial means to pursue this dream – an account that probably finds resonance to a greater or lesser extent in the vast majority of African-Brazilian families.

demands, sometimes in a very effective way, especially where the State fails to.

This is yet another - and perhaps the main - reason why African-Brazilian music that does not handle verbally-poetically with anti-racist and anti-colonialist issues in a direct and outspoken way cannot be hastily defined as "unrelated" to the Struggle, if not under harsh caveats. Although the verses might not battle on this front and might work "in the barracks" during the war, Music itself is a powerful socioeconomic and sociopolitical weapon, potentially employed on behalf of the people. And even when this potential is not fulfilled (due to an intricate web of mediatic, marketing, societal and structural factors), it is not uncommon for musicians to dedicate themselves, in parallel with their artistic careers, to some form of *mobilization* or *organization* contributive to the Struggle.¹⁹

Nevertheless, as much as music itself is an omnipresent weapon in this all-out war, through most diverse forms and for most varied reasons, there have always been works, artists and collectives fighting in fact far beyond the punctual survival of African physical and cultural bodies, be it within the poetic-musical composition of each song, be it in the use of the musical pretext to *mobilize* and *organize* masses in favor of the struggle. Therefore, in my analyses, I refer to *Panafrican revolutionary music* as an unlimited set of works, artists, and collectives that battle directly in the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle in an utter and hard-hitting manner. In other words, when here under harsh caveats, I refer to music "unrelated" to the Struggle, it is by no means a value judgment, much less a hierarchization of repertoires. It is only a methodological issue of focusing the musicological analysis, which leads me to crop a specific chunk of repertoire - not because this "chunk" is more relevant than other possible cutouts, rather because it facilitates the demonstration of the concepts and paradigms I set myself to investigate.

Naturally, as I just mentioned, there are several perspectivations and complexifications that can be applied to all the arguments and examples presented here, whether in the matter

As this is not the main focus of my research, I cannot reserve long debates to the details of each investment in the Struggle - whether a given strategy of this or that artist was ineffective, whether this or that government mandate was "in the long run" more beneficial or more harmful (or indifferent) to the collectivity, whether a given investment in this or that Organization or Project was "the best option" or not. Here I am referring mainly to the *potentials of Music*. To know if this potential, in each case, was totally frustrated or if it was fully worked out in the best way possible, would for sure require a separate research. The fact is that Music has undeniably been a powerful sociopolitical and socioeconomic weapon, through most distinct processes and results, and to each individual or collective must be assured of their right to trial-and-error, being up to us, as a people, to debate in the most honest and productive way about our past and present mistakes and successes in order to try, as much as possible, to increase achievements and efficiencies in the future.

of this or that musical style as a means of social mobility and as a means for reinvestment of human, cultural and financial capital into the Struggle; whether in the matter of the notoriety of musical careers enabling this or that parliamentary mandate, and any criticism that fits the successes and failures in certain mandates and certain projects; whether any extra-musical or extra-struggle issues and factors of co-optation and appearement (Clarke, 1974) that directly or indirectly influence all these examples. Nevertheless, here in this research I do not expect to build a complete dossier on absolutely all the sociological and political implications of African-Brazilian music in the Panafrican revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, some analyses here aim precisely at problematizing certain topics, raising some questions to be reflected upon, planting seeds of further in-depth debates, causing uneasiness, discomforts, divergences and provocations that may foster broader and more complex analyses in the future. In this chapter, I have briefly explained some points that need to be properly understood beforehand, to realize that the analyses in this research do not wish, by no means, to hierarchize nor to preclude any specific repertoire. They simply focus on a certain cutout of Brazilian music without undeserving any of the various forms of struggle carried out in various ways by various sorts of music. Closing this section, I point out hereby that, in the chapter on the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê and the poetic-musical strategy of total organization, I lean again over this discussion about "love songs" to the extent that such songs, when bearing certain characteristics in certains contexts, are then by definition directly involved in specific demands of the anti-racist struggle in Brazil and have, therefore, major strategic value of mobilization and organization - being thus part of the Panafrican revolutionary music instead of music under-harsh-caveats-unrelated to the Struggle.

1.2. Instrumental music

As mentioned above, in choosing to socio-musicologically analyze the *Panafrican* revolutionary struggle in Brazil departing from a specific repertoire cutout, I began by presenting some justifications for the cutout pointing out a certain distinction between poetic-musical compositions directly "engaged" in the anti-racist struggle, and poetic-musical compositions relatively "unrelated" to the Struggle (under heavy caveats). In the previous chapter, I dealt briefly with such caveats - that is, the relative imprecision (and

sometimes impossibility) of such differentiation - explaining why I chose this distinction for analytical purposes. However, as I present the research question and go further into the discussion, the question about the role of instrumental music in this all-out war becomes more and more inescapable. Can music that without any verbal content be linked to the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle? How does instrumental music operate within this struggle?

Once again, it is necessary to remember the importance of music itself for the *human experience* in the first place, especially from an African perspective (Nzewi, 1991; 1997; 2020). With this in mind, understanding music as a basic need of the human species (in individual as well as in collective instances), it soon becomes more intelligible the relevance also of instrumental music in the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle - recovering again the constant concern of the colonialists to deprive Africans of their cultural heritage. It can therefore be inferred that, just as the musical heritages of African peoples were decisive to our survival throughout history, music in general (including, of course, instrumental music) is still today equally fundamental to the Struggle, and most (if not all) processes of this allout war haves its influence, one way or another.

Analyzing the quilombos²⁰ and the various forms of aquilombamento in Brazil - that is, the quilombola communities "per se", as well as the candomblés, capoeiras, congados and reisados (reenacts of African royal courts), jongos, maracatus, afoxés (also called "candomblé de rua", meaning "street candomblé"), bois (oxen), folias, folguedos, irmandades (brotherhoods), nego fugido, escolas de samba (samba-school), blocos afro, baile funk, baile charme, baile black, radiola (reggae tradition of soundsystem-wall), etc. - one can notice that instrumental music

According to Kabengele Munanga (1996), in the pre-diasporic context, kilombo is a socio-politicalmilitary institution - predominantly nomadic, with roots in lunda, luba, mbangala, kongo, mbundu, ovimbundu, mundombe, among other related or neighboring peoples - which was decisive in the demographic dynamics of various settlements and kingdoms on the African continent, especially around the territories now called Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, around the 16th century (possibly before) until around the 19th century, when the configuration of the continent was drastically modified by pure evil of European territorial colonization. In the Diasporic context (Brazilian), as reinforced by Beatriz Nascimento (1981; 1985; 1987), Quilombo is what in other countries is called "marron town", referring to the territories of shelter, emancipation and prosperity-building (mostly) for individuals and collectives of African descent, through self-sufficient communities of runaways from the slave system - a phenomenon that became in Brazil also an politicalideological-spiritual institution, notably in the transitions between the 19th and 20th centuries. Based on this understanding of Cultural Resistance, a candomblé temple is a quilombo, either because it originated as such (geopolitically) or because it is currently situated as such (epistemologically, spiritually, socioculturally, politically). Like an escola de samba, a bloco afro, a jongo, a maracatu, an anti-racist organization, or a mutualaid group, etc. All of them are aligned with the sociocultural-sociopolitical-ideological understanding of the concept of Quilombo.

is always present in one way or another, whether in a "melodic-harmonic" context, or in a "strictly percussive" context, or in the junction of both. In a bloco afro or an escola de samba, for example, although singing does have a lot of relevance and eventually adds up to the performance, a great parcel of the time in which music is practiced in that context consists of perfecting the instrumental practice. These two examples (bloco afro and escola de samba) are very allusive of the importance of *instrumental music* and the *instrumental dimension* in African-Brazilian *aquilombamentos*, since they are contexts in which the drum orchestra is so fundamental to that music – and so much time is invested in achieving perfection in the orchestra's performance – that a musical niche has effectively has emerged out of it, the *Batucada*, in which the drum orchestra rehearses/performs without (or at least without the need for) singing nor addition of any other soloist instruments besides the drums. This "strictly percussive" musical practice consists of a repertoire of different rhythms, "*levadas*" (variations of the base rhythm), breaks, "convenções" (short variations of the whole or sections of the orchestra), "*paradinhas*" (more sophisticated breaks), "*chamadinhas*" (call-and-repsonse), changes of dynamics and agogics in general.²²

In other examples of *aquilombamento* already mentioned, even if there are moments of singing or even predominance of singing, the instrumental moments and the instrumental dimension are very important. The functions operated by the musical communication through instruments catalyze (and sometimes even dispense with) the sung verbal text in numerous situations. The humanning function of music for spiritual, ancestral, psychic, energetic, telluric, liturgical or cathartic tuning (Nzewi, 2020) is evident in different moments and forms, in different contexts - from Capoeira to Candomblé, from Folia to

It is always important to remind the total or partial deficiency of Euro-hegemonic conceptual frameworks when facing analytical enterprises within African cultures, as discussed by Meki Nzewi in many texts, as well as so many other African musicologists from the continent and the Diaspora. The Euro-colonialist *quantophrenic* episteme (Sarr, 2016:1) which, in the case of Music, fragments the composition and appreciation of the musical phenomenon into melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, texture, agogics, arrangement, instrumentation, etc., is often inadequate or insufficient for the analysis of musical contexts of greater inseparability (*continuum*) between such elements, as well as the indivisibility of all these vectors in relation to verbal text, dance, spirituality, ritualistic context, sociocultural context as one undividable whole. From the *melorhythmic* perspective of Nzewi (1974; 1997:34), it would not be fully coherent to refer here to "melodicharmonic", since the "strictly percussive" in this case (with a certain tuning of each drum and a melodicharmonic logic in the rhythmic compositions) is also, by definition, melodic-harmonic, wheter one wants it or not. But here in this specific point, I use "melodic-harmonic" between quotation marks referring to contexts where the totality or predominance of the music consists of winds, strings, voices, etc., that is, different from contexts where drums and percussion constitute the totality or predominance of the instrumentation.

Not all of these terms are standardized and used unanimously in different Batucadas, and it is common for each group or niche to have different names and nicknames to distinguish such musical details.

Bloco Afro, from Maracatu to Escola de Samba. In other words, instrumental music and the instrumental dimension almost always play a protagonist and structuring role in African-Brazilian *aquilombamentos*.

In Candomblé, for example, the *sung verbal content* organizes indeed the distinct moments of the "liturgy" - *when* one does *what*, *which* entity *comes "down"*, *which* entity *goes "up"*, *which* one shall *dance*, etc. However, at the moment of each dance, the *sounding semantics* that leads the movements of the dancing entity is the "soloist drum", Rum (Trindade, 2019:131-139). In similar ways, anyone who has experienced the intense and deep sense of depp connection and of psycho-emotional/spiritual tuning through the sound of a *berimbau* in the Capoeira, or the sound of an *adjá* in the Candomblé, among many other examples, can understand the magical-spiritual power of Sound and the communicative potential of Music, despite the absolute absence of any verbal text.

In this sense, the question that initiated this chapter is already partially answered. If instrumental music and the instrumental dimension almost always play a leading (and structuring!) role in African-Brazilian aquilombamentos, it certainly remains vital to the antiracist and anti-colonialist struggle in countless contexts, one way or another.²³ Therefore, as in the previous chapter, I emphasize again that excluding instrumental music from the repertoire cutout analyzed here is not and never could be, in any way, a value judgment or political hierarchy between the repertoires in relation to the *Panafrican revolutionary struggle*. On the contrary, it is precisely because I realized that a deeper understanding of instrumental music - or as I mentioned, the intelligibility and measurability of the impacts of instrumental music - in this context would be far too complex, I decided that it would in fact require a separate research in this direction. Therefore, I leave out *instrumental music* and *music "unrelated" to the Struggle* only to strategically concentrate the analytical focus, but I collaterally approach some implications of these two facets as they socio-musicologically tap on the works, artists and collectives analyzed here.

Moreover, partly because I mentioned those two very allusive examples (of the bloco afro and the escola de samba), it is convenient to contribute briefly to the demystification of a stereotype. In fact, some of the examples of *aquilombamentos* mentioned above contain,

An interesting analysis of the instrumental music in a particular episode of the African Revolution is given by S. Jacobs (2017), in which I sense that Jazz in South African *apartheid* is in many instances comparable to some musical implications of the Struggle within the African-Brazilian context.

in terms of music, a certain centrality in the *rhythmic-percussive* dimension - or to some extent, *melorhythmic* (Nzewi, 1974; 1997). However, in various forms of African-Brazilian *aquilombamentos*, we find also many musical contexts in which the melorhythmic/percussive dimension is just one more element, without any special importance in relation to the others. Unfortunately, due mostly to the works of folklorists and ethno(musico)logists, the Euro-colonialist academicist canons have fabricated a collective imaginary in which *Africa* is directly associated with *drumming*, and which African music immediately refers to percussion and rhythmicity in general (Agawu, 1995; Mapaya, 2014). This stereotype persists even in conversations and investigations about music in the Diaspora, extending as far as pseudo-scientificist insinuations that try to coerce any appearance of *syncope* and *polyrhythm* into fallaciously denouncing an alleged African origin or influence.²⁴

In this sense, it is important to stress that, both in a continental and diasporic context, essentially all possible musical elements and all possible types of music are present to a greater or lesser extent in African musical cultures, according to an immeasurably complex web of factors that goes far beyond any reductionism centered on *drumming*, *syncope* and *polyrhythm*. Undoubtedly, the rhythmic treasure of African music is truly marvellous, but to reduce all African musical treasures down to its rhythms is an unforgivable mistake, very typicall of the racist-colonialist mindset. Even within the repertoire cutout analyzed here, which is in fact very slim and very specific, focused only on *Panafrican revolutionary music*, one notices the great variety of styles and musical elements that already begin to disarm the stereotypical vision of a fundamentally rhythmic-percussive Africa.

An interesting example of this conceptual mist is the acclaimed Rumpilezz Orkestra from the highly praised maestro Letieres Leite, acclaimed for "translating the Bahian Percussive Universe within the harmonization and orchestration of Jazz". Rumpilezz and other similar works (such as Moacir Santos and Abigail Moura) are commonly mentioned in the media (Sesc, 2014) and in the millieu as a fusion of the African rhythmic matrixes with the "melodic-harmonic" (or instrumental) tradition of Western music. From my Panafrican musicological perspective, the Orkestra Rumpilezz is a fusion of two Africas, since Jazz

²⁴ It is important to point out that Nzewi (1997:36; and also in other texts) categorically invalidates any allusion to "polyrhythm" in Africa, attributing this "poly" concept (and the likes of it) entirely to the ignorance and/or ill-intentions of European and eurocentric ethno(musico)logists.

is an essentially African-Diasporic music²⁵, although gradually *co-opted* and *gentrified* by hegemonic colonialist culture.²⁶ In my view and in that of other experts (Alcantara, 2017), to define Jazz as "Western music" is a historiographic crime, a crude erasure of its historical and contemporary Africanness - a capital offense largely resulting from those pseudoscientificist frauds that canonized such *African percussiveness presumption* antagonized to the *European melodicness-harmonicness presumption* (Agawu, 1995), apparently unfolded from the fundamentally racist-supremacist eugenistic ideals, either conscious and outspoken, or cloaked diluted.

It is noted in this example that the *ethno(musico)logical stereotyping* around African rhythm is so immense that it commonly orbits the stigmatization and exotization of African peoples and cultures; that is, although maestro Letieres Leite's compositional work is based on the Bahian Percussive Universe (thus African-Diasporic), and often uses typically African melodic treatments, and still harmonizes, arranges and improvises everything under the Jazz aesthetics (thus again African-Diasporic), it is still common to see comments describing it as an Africa-West fusion. That is, basically because it uses "typically European" wind instruments and makes a sound that is perceived as "sophisticated" it is presumed to be some kind of "westernness" - as if a given musicality had to be completely or predominantly "rhythmic-percussive" to be categorically understood as "Africanness" and even worse, as if any "non-rythmic" sophistication had to be necessarily some kind of "Europeanness".

In this sense, within the analytical paradigms of this research, even working mostly with instrumental music, Orkestra Rumpilezz could be included in the category of *Panafrican revolutionary music*: on the one hand, for representing one of the various forms of re-cooptation of Jazz to its African identity; on the other, for moving towards the *poetic-musical strategy of total organization* – such as that of the blocos afro, which I discuss here on the third chapter – through projects like Rumpilezzinho,²⁷ as well as other actions of direct replicability, transmission of knowledge and professional training, using Music to achieve socioeconomic and sociopolitical goals of the collectivity.

²⁵ This is also the view of the Maestro, who asserts the Orkestra Rumpilezz to be a work upon "these two worlds: the maintenance of the ancestral culture and the contemporaneity that Black music developed" (Trip, 2019).

On the historical-sociological dynamics of Blues and Jazz, read Jones (1963; 1967; 1967b). On similar dynamics in the Brazilian context, read Lopes (2006; 2014; 2015), Sodré (1998) and Alcantara (2017).

²⁷ Official project website: http://rumpilezzinho.com.br/

1.3 Transculturation and emic narrative

This socio-musicological analysis seeks to understand at different levels of depth some aspects of a specific repertoire cutout, here called *Panafrican revolutionary music*. As I mentioned above, being in this repertoire the *musical dimension* and the *verbal-poetic dimension* often inseparable, mutually influenced and of equal anthropological/sociological relevance, I analyze both dimensions within the selected works, artists and collectives, according to their implications within the focus of my analyses. Because of this, and bearing in mind what I mentioned in the previous chapter about *Cultural Resistance* (Nascimento, 1985; Sodré, 1998), while pondering the *musical elements* of this repertoire and how they influence (and are influenced by) the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle, it is natural that questions arise about the musical components of African (or more African) heritage and those of non-African (or less African) heritage. At this complicated ontological crossroads comes the difficulty of even determining what *is* and what *is not* African, opening the possibility to discuss what some theorists call "transculturation" - always at risk of having to engage in the debate about *cultural appropriation* and *epistemicide* (Nascimento, 1978; Carneiro, 2005; Souza, 2009; William, 2019:29-55).

However, to engineer the analyses in this research, it would be impractical to have to re-evaluate every detail of every musical component found in the analyzed repertoire and rediscuss, one by one, which element is *African*, which is *Africanized*, and which *is not*. Given this unfeasibility, which would irretrievably divert the focus of this research, I chose to rely on the contributions of certain authors of musicology and cultural studies concerning certain African musical heritage - especially through continental and diasporic African authors, with special ballast in the work of Kazadi wa Mukuna (1979; 1997; 1997b) and other valuable references brought by his works. It should be emphasized that such need to resort to consensus and hypotheses of African musicology/anthropology was felt in less numerous and less fundamental situations, since most of the musical components analyzed here are understood as African musical heritage by the musicians themselves, for many generations now, thus not requiring necessarily double-checking nor external relativizations. Therefore, the question of the Africanity of this or that musical element has not become

analytical obstacle in general, but rather a tool quite pertinent to specific situations. The particularly interesting moments of such musical Africanity are, above all, those in which the Struggle (and its Panafrican spirit) is the very existential reason of a certain musical style or musical context, as I discuss in the next chapter; and those in which the international dynamics of the Struggle (and its pan-African spirit) influence the processes and results of the Music and the Struggle in Brazil.

Above all, more than this or that rhythmic pattern, this or that instrumentation, this or that melodic, harmonic, or timbre feature or any other musical component, the main African heritage, the main teleonomic vector of *continuity and updating* is the *attitude*, the episteme and the (senti)mentality that govern the musical and cultural practices of the African-Brazilian peoples. A certain African-Brazilian musical tradition, as well as Blues, Jazz and other African heritages in the diaspora, "is not a musical style, but a *behavior*" as Lazzo Matumbi recalled in our interview referring to aspects of Samba.

At the end of the day, the musician's own understanding of their musical happening is what really matters. The fact that this individual or collective identifies themselves with their African heritage and is proud of (and empowered by!) it - be it through a melody, a rhythm, a soundcolor, a harmonic cliché, or a verse - ends up being more relevant than any "scientific accuracy" summoned up by this or that expert regarding the genealogy and archeology of the musical heritage in question. Something similar to this *identity empowerment* happens in the same direction, when individuals or collectives are proud of the fact that a certain heritage is effectively *Brazilian* - that is, of African matrix, but with singularities that make it truly *Brazilian*, such as candomblé, samba, capoeira, etc. The understanding of each one of them about their own heritage is so sovereign that in these exact examples the two possibilities can happen concomitantly, meaning: the "same" tradition in two different places (or even in the same place, but in two different moments) giving more emphasis to the African of their Brazilianity, or giving more emphasis to the Brazilian of their Africanity.

The discourse of "being not African, but Brazilian" is something spiritually (and sociopolitically!) powerful when felt by the African-Brazilian people in the contexts of the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle. Precisely because it is so powerful, it should never be mistaken for the deceptive co-optations and subversions of this discourse. To be proud of traces of its African heritage being reformated or resignified in Brazil – being thus properly

called "Brazilian" - is in no way similar to the modernist cynicism about the "Brazilian race", about the cultural unity forged in a positive-eugenicist campaign disguised as an ode to the miscegenation of the "three races", about the romanticization of colonialist violence, or as Abdias said, about the lie-repeated-until-it-became *the truth* of a allegedly partyful and pacifist people (Nascimento, 1980:21-33), among so many other *ideological frauds* (idem) designed by a white elite eternally terrified by Haitianism (Albuquerque, 2006; Antonio, 2011). The modernist-eugenicist discourse is part of the colonialist-supremacist project of perpetuating the exploitation, oppression, and genocide of the African-Brazilian people (Nascimento 1978; Araújo, 2006), helping the State Terrorism to select what to murder and what to assimilate from African physical and cultural bodies - that is, the complete opposite, the exact arch-enemy of the Panafrican identity-empowerment of African-Brazilian *aquilombamentos* mentioned above and unfolded at the beginning of this paragraph.²⁸

In this sense, when observing African elements in Brazilian music, one is in fact faced with countless and unfathomable processes of so-called "transculturations" in the musical, verbal and cultural components of Brazilian music, which are also profuse in the repertoire cutout analyzed here. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that this term "transculturation" is obviously descriptive, a posteriori; in other words, when being surprised by the analysis of cultural transformations and continuations resulting from the colonizatory process, authors name such alterations somehow, and "transculturation" is one of the possible names - as I mentioned before, always running the risk of being, even without realizing it, taking refuge in this term to euphemise, relativize, romanticize or deny the various processes of cultural appropriation and epistemicide (Carneiro, 2005; Araújo, 2006; William, 2019). In other words, cultures have not changed. They have been modified or forced to modify themselves in this or that particular way - and in this case, this detail of the passive-reflexive-voice-withomitted-subject makes all the difference in discussing the facts. For this reason, analyses and debates about such "transculturations" demand extra caution, and extra portions of racial, class, gender consciousness, historical-sociological perspective, and critical thinking to avoid at all costs the traps of narrative control (Nkrumah, 1966:239-259; Rodney 1973:31-34; Rolph-Trouillot, 1995) and the trivializations or underestimation of the impacts of

²⁸ To understand the dynamics surrounding the co-optation of African-Brazilian cultures and the eugenic-positive forge of "Brazilian cultural identity" via the modernist movement, read Nascimento (1978; 1980), Araújo (2006), Alcantara (2017) and William (2019).

colonialist violence in general (Agawu, 2016).

In one way or another, I reiterate that my analyses depend more on the understanding of each individual or collective about their own ancestry - and its musical implications - than on scientific determinations about origins and migratory flows of each musical heritage. In fact, the latter in some cases affects the former in the long run - that is, often the postulates of the academic authority begin to modify the emic narrative of a given collective over time as the contact between the two persists/augments. However, this kind of dilemma has not cornered my research at any time, once I have proposed an analysis of music as a mobilizing and organizing force in the Brazilian anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle, and not a treatise on the genealogy of musical styles of this struggle in Brazil - and as I stressed before, there is no strict stylistic delimitation for this phenomenon. At the end of the day, I am much more interested in understanding how, for example, the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê understands its own history, its own ancestry, its impact on the world and its own musicality - or how the Escola de Samba understands itself as a quilombo, or how music in general is seen as an indispensable survival technology and powerful weapon of political education - than trying to determine the origin of each song and letting myself be misled by genealogies and archeologies of African-Brazilian music. In this sense, the complexities of so-called "transculturations" do not structurally affect my analyses, for my focus is more on how such music is used in the African Revolution in Brazil than on how many percent of this music is African, of which ethnicity, when, and by which route it arrived where it is today.

1.4. Remarks on the "strictly" musical dimension

Before finaly going into the analysis of the repertoire to demonstrate four *poetic-musical strategies of mobilization* and one *poetic-musical strategy of total organization*, I present briefly some thoughts on the "strictly" musical dimension of the phenomenon in question. Naturally, the first point to be considered is the epistemological-ontological incoherence in trying - or feeling impelled to - separate analytically an alleged "strictly" verbal-poetic dimension and another alleged "strictly" musical dimension, since it is a method - sometimes totally, sometimes partially - incoherent, depending on the analyzed context. Whether this *feeling impelled* is more factual or more paranoid also depends, in turn, on a series of structural and

conjunctural factors - personal and collective - in the trajectory of the person performing the analyses. The fact is that, within the repertoire investigated here, as evidenced in the interviews themselves, there is a considerable inseparability between the two dimensions - and in other contexts of pertinent comparison, this *music-and-poetry* unity is even more indivisible. In other words, the musical details of a song would be to some extent different if the verbal-poetic content were different, and vice versa. Even more important, the effective impact of a song within the struggle is completely integrated as the *verbal-poetic dimension* and the *musical dimension* feed each other back, both in the compositional process and in the appreciation process, because its communicational efficiency (or deficiency) depends equally on the two dimensions, or better said, depends precisely on the level of *cohesion and coherence* between *music-and-poetry*. Nevertheless, despite the musical composition and musical appreciation being rendered through a complete cognitive integration of these two dimensions, there are occasional instances in which I consider it convenient to highlight certain details of one dimension separately, or even call attention to evidences of such cohesion between the two dimensions.

The second point to be warned is relatively implicated in this cohesion. Although I have asserted above that the Struggle as a sociopolitical and sociocultural phenomenon may be, to some extent, present in all musical styles and traditions in Brazil, it can be seen up from the next chapter that all the examples presented here consist of musical genres germinally imbricated in the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle, for instance, the different branches of Samba, Reggae, Funk, Hip-hop/Rap, Samba-reggae/Samba-afro, and other variations and affinities. Under the same perspective, one could still analyze countless examples, such as the different strands of R&B, Jazz, Blues, Rock'n'Roll, Soul Music (Jones, 1963; 1967; Jacobs; 2017); Rocksteady, Ska, Afrobeat (Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1990; 2006); in addition to the various musical contexts of the Brazilian aquilombamentos already mentioned here (Nascimento, 1985), as well as the aquilombamentos from other places and yet other musical styles - both immemorial and "modern" - from the African continent, the Americas and the Caribbean (Moore, 1982; Labinjoh, 1982; Flèurant, 1996; Costa, 2019), including those that have not become so famous or so internationalized as the styles mentioned here nominally. In short, the examples detailed in this research show the predominance of a vast Panafrican cultural universe with traditions, styles, and musical strains born or developed in the midst of the Struggle, either as a basic survival technology for African physical and cultural bodies, or as a weapon directly aimed at the head and vital organs of the racist-colonialist structure.

Thus, in fact one can find punctually, at different times and in different regions of the country, some projects of orchestral/coral/cameristic music - or even opera, musical theater, or so-called "erudite music" solo - that somehow approach or tap on demands of the Struggle while bearing absolutely none²⁹ or almost no musical feature of African ancestry/ influence. However, the presence of the styles I mentioned above is in fact much more significant, in quantity and intensity, precisely because they have always been conceived and cultivated within the Struggle - in some cases, the Struggle is the very existential reason for that music (Jones, 1963; Gilroy, 1993). Another perhaps more coherent way to explain this predominance is to think of vectors, forces and inertia. If we imagine all these styles - which were mentioned above, nominally or generically - as a gigantic Panafrican revolutionary moral-spiritual vector, their predominance in the Struggle will always be, by inertia, greater or large enough, even if non-African and/or counter-revolutionaries vectors constantly try to brake or co-opt their constituents, unless a colossal opposing force interrupts the cycle of this teleonomy.³⁰ Similarly, if we think of all other styles - that is, all styles strictly or predominantly European or Euro-descendant - as an immense non-African counterrevolutionary vector,31 their presence in the Struggle will always be, by inertia, smaller and relatively inexpressive, even if Panafrican and/or revolutionary vectors constantly try to appropriate their constituents, unless a colossal opposing force interrupts the cycle of this teleonomy.

The greatest proof of this almost irreversible vector is colonialism itself. The colonialist structure spent hundreds of years elaborating, implementing and perfecting the most sordid and violent forms of the most unthinkable atrocities in order to succeed in extricating from the African peoples any remnants of humanity. When this *regime of holistic violence* found

²⁹ Always walking on the crooked lines of what I mentioned in the previous chapter about the unlikelihood of determining what *is* and what *is* not African without falling into stereotypes or shallow generalizations. In Brazil, it is especially difficult to point out musical contexts that have absolutely no African influence; and the sample becomes even more sparse when seeking a total absence of non-European influence in general.

³⁰ Felwine Sarr in Afrotopia (2016) frequently uses the terms *teleonomy* and *teleology* when discussing this kind of inertia in historical-sociological dynamics.

³¹ Here I mean *counter-revolutionary* considering strictly the Panafrican anti-colonialist context. European songs - or from other non-African backgrounds - considered revolutionary within the European context - or within non-African contexts - do not concern my research to any extent, unless they have played some direct and effective function within the African Revolution, in which case the metaphor of *vectors* and *inertia* would perfectly apply.

itself spending too much money and resources trying to contain the Resistance - always facing rebellions and uprisings on the continent and in the Diaspora, but especially after the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) - the colonialist structure then began to invest more and more in the annihilation of culture, spirituality, memory (and therefore resentment), and self-image of African peoples, until they devised impeccable strategies of appeasement (Clarke, 1974), assimilation (Gonçalves, 2015), co-option (Araújo, 2006) and appropriation (William, 2019). If (neo)colonialism itself, which is probably the most monstrous force ever witnessed by the human kind, has not succeeded in stopping or completely co-opting this immense Panafrican revolutionary vector, perhaps it is really an absolutely irrepressible vector - which does not accommodate us; on the contrary, it makes us so much more morally and spiritually obliged to constantly strengthen it, at all costs.

In this sense, I am in fact unable to prove scientifically that the Cultural Revolution achieved by the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê, for example, would have been equally powerful and effective if, instead of the *drum orchestra* and the *vigorous singing* and the sounding magic of the *samba-afro*, it had been used a string cameratta with lyrical bel canto under formal guidelines of Mozartian sonatas - even if it were to sing the "exact same" verbal-poetical contents.³² On the other hand, it does not lay on me the burden of proof. The only thing I can immediately assert with certainty is that the Cultural Revolution did indeed take place, and that the musicality of the Bloco Afro – exactly as it is – was crucial in this battle, as can be inferred similar relevance of music in all other *aquilombamentos*. Having said that, I emphasize that not only *music-and-poetry* are inseparable, but the *musical unity* - with or without verbal poetry - is almost always inseparable from the cultural-moral-spiritual lineage and the sociopolitical vector of each collective, unless an enormous opposing force interrupts the cycle of this teleonomy.

Another point to be stressed - before going into the depths and examples of my analyses - is also linked to this cohesion (*musical unity*) and this teleonomy (*vectors and inertia*). As attested by Meki Nzewi (1997), Kazadi wa Mukuna (1997), Joshua Uzoigwe (1998) and Kofi Agawu (2016), among other specialists, music in Africa is, as a rule-of-

³² Such rhetorical exaggeration - bordering a delirium for being such an unimaginable hypothetical scenario - demonstrates once again the abovementioned inseparability of *music-and-poetry*, as well as the already mentioned power of music and its centrality within the *Panafrican revolutionary struggle*.

thumb, deeply inseparable from other *humanizing forces*³³ and other contextual elements of *individual*<*collective* daily life. Strong evidence of this are, for example, the musical correspondents of the Ubuntu cosmovision, in which collectivity, complementarity, non-protagonism and *generosity* are inescapable premises of the rhythmic-melodic-harmonic-altogether-musical construction (as well as timbre-agogic-choreographic), besides being such elements often the very methodological core for consummation of the psychic, spiritual and corporeal powers of music - as in the *melorhythm*, elucidated by Nzewi (1974; 1997:34), to cite just one example.

In this sense, the maintenance of *Africanism* in the Diaspora (Mukuna, 1997; Maultsby, 2000) carries several layers of indispensability, not only on the various levels consciously and utterly worked out in the musical realization itself, but also on the most intangible, unconscious, or internalized instances. That is, even if today, in Brazil, a certain African musical construction - or even an African musical mindset, trait, behavior or aura - takes place without verbalizing the Ubuntu spirit inherent to it, it is most probably inevitable that its Ubuntu origin, purpose and effect are duly present, operative and effective. Therefore, the maintenance of the indestructible Panafrican spiritual fabric is vibrant in the musical dimension even before any verbal-poetic input seeks to reinforce it. Nevertheless, as we will see below, it is common for this reinforcement to take place twice, in the "strictly" musical dimension and in the "strictly" verbal-poetic dimension. In short, when one listens to Wynton Marsalis' conceptions of the deepest and most inescapable essence of Jazz, one notices that African ancestry is present in the spirit of Buddy Bolden, Joe Oliver and Louis Armstrong long before (and regardless of) the latter having eternalized the anti-racist verses of Black and Blue. Panafrican music is the Struggle itself, even if no verbal text addresses the struggle specifically, or even if it has no verbal content at all. Given the colonialist circumstances and the regime of holistic violence, the maintenance and (re)construction of our musical ancestry is, by definition, a revolutionary act.

An excellent text to discuss the deeper layers of musical implications for African ancestry and prosperity is *Tonality as a Colonizing Force in Africa* (Agawu, 2016). This contribution from Kofi Agawu joins the flanks with other experts in the enterprise of constantly updating and improving an extensive and complex dossier on the systematic

³³ Here dialoguing with Meki Nzewi's concept of humanning (1997:23).

erosion of the physical and epistemological (material and immaterial) pillars of African prosperity on the continent and in the Diaspora. The reading of the authors cited in this chapter - preferably added to the rest of the bibliography of this research - demonstrates many facets of the colonialist project, emphasizing the centrality of the *Cultural War* within this all-out war against European imperialism.³⁴ The immense, permanent and manifold violence aimed at completely dehumanizing African peoples via destruction, demonization, or appropriation of their cultures is counter-attacked by an also immense, permanent and manifold force with which the Resistance defends itself to maintain fundamental elements of its ancestry, even when other essential parts - such as spirituality, language, technologies, social models, etc. - were forcibly amputated.

In a nutshell, music is present - or is the very struggle - in the entire African world, with Brazil being but another confirmation of this rule. Despite occasional exceptions on individual or conjectural levels, it is still today very rare that the totality of a continental or diasporic African nation-state has completely succumbed to cultural colonization, losing all its constituents (on a fractal level) and all its ancestry (on a holistic level) - contrary to the wishes of the colonizer. However, it is obvious that the amount of what was already lost - which is in some contexts exorbitant in the quantity and in the essentiality or strategic value of what has been lost - points to the importance and urgency of the efforts in the direction of this rebuilding and regenerating and reconstructing oneself as a person and as a people. And it is precisely from the investigation of specific poetic-musical strategies applied to such efforts at the level of mobilization and organization in Brazil that my research emerges.

Since immemorial times, music has been an important element of the *aquilombamentos* in the African world in general and in Brazil in particular. As I mentioned above and will continue to discuss below, music - even in the absence of any verbal-poetic content - fights both in the trenches and in the barracks of this all-out war. In cases where there is additionally verbal text, one notices instances of a deep cohesion between *music-and-poetry*. Beyond this cohesion, analyzing in depth the "strictly" verbal-poetic dimension, one then notices distinct forms or archetypes of the use of music to fulfill specific demands of the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle. Faced with these archetypes, I have outlined here four

³⁴ In addition to the readings recommend here in the last chapter, I also strongly rendorse the analysis of Professor James Small's texts and lectures on *cultural regeneration* and *spiritual reconstruction*, especially with regard to the centrality of the *Cultural War* in the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle.

poetic-musical strategies of mobilization - affirmation, awareness-raising, counter-intelligence and counter-humiliation - and yet another model for the effective use of music within the kwamist paradigm of organization, henceforth called poetic-musical strategy of total organization. Besides being remarkable the presence of similar strategies - or proto-models of the same archetypes - in the music of immemorial aquilombamentos (such as capoeira, samba, candomblé, maracatus, jongos, congados, nego fugido, terreiradas, brincadeiras, among countless Brazilian traditions), such a significant presence of music in the struggle and of struggle in music is sustained until today in the various contexts.

Even after so many governmental and mediatic efforts to disarticulate or co-opt the struggle; even after so much time of crystallization of racism ala Brazilian-style (Munanga, 2007; 2015; Silva, 2008); even buried under countless and apparently unstoppable vectors of physical and cultural whitewash (Bento & Carone, 2002) and all sorts of assimilation and appropriation for political emptying and structural sabotage of the troops and weapons of the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle; even so, the Resistance is up and running, still today, and the weapon-music analyzed here is but one of several evidences of the indestructible Panafrican spiritual fabric. Therefore, I offer here my perception of the role of music in this indestructibility, and of the functioning of the musical implications in this struggle.





Chapter 2

2.1. Poetic-Musical Strategy of Affirmation

To elucidate the affirmation in African-Brazilian music I could analyze countless songs, even if I wanted to restrict me only to the most "famous" ones, given the immense number of songs that express or praise the ancestry, cultural heritage, ethnic identity, migration flows, cosmovision or spirituality of an African-Brazilian individual or collective. Very representative of the poetic-musical strategy of affirmation among the eternalized classics of Samba, would be Yaô (Pixinguinha and Gastão Vianna), A Deusa dos Orixás (Romildo Souza Bastos and Toninho Nascimento), Chico Não Vai na Curimba (Dudu Nobre and Zeca Pagodinho), Ogum (Marquinho PQD and Claudemir Rastafari), among so many others, also in various styles of Brazilian music. However, I chose here to personalize the choice of songs, demonstrating then the concepts more pertinent to the analysis up from two very remarkable sambas that were particularly significant in my own life experience as a musician. The first is the samba-enredo (samba style typical of the world-famous Carnival from Rio de Janeiro, something like "samba-story" or "samba-plot") from the Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Beija-flor de Nilópolis in 2007.35 That year, Beija-flor ("hummingbird") was the champion of Rio de Janeiro's Carnival with the samba Africas: from the Royal Craddle to the Court Brasiliana, by Cláudio Russo et al. I chose this samba because it was the first song outside of a Candomblé temple that seduced me so much and called so much attention to the Candomblé "liturgy" and other African heritages.

At the time, I was spending most of my day listening to Samba and researching about it, accumulating a huge digital audio collection of artists like Fundo de Quintal, Zeca Pagodinho, Jorge Aragão, Almir Guineto, Bezerra da Silva, Originais do Samba, Leci Brandão, Paulinho da Viola, Martinho da Vila, Cartola, Nelson Cavaquinho, and many, but so many others. Although that collection contained some songs about African-Brazilian cosmogonies and about things related to the universe of African religions in general, I had

³⁵ Official recording of the Samba School, accessed on July 30, 2020, at 20:30, available on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuO-XrE188k

never listened to a song that, at the same time, had amazed me so much and that was so strongly marked by the Candomble "liturgy". From that point on I came across countless other songs like this, but this samba was certainly a milestone for me.

[See lyrics on the following pages]

In short, this samba is an ode to the African pillars of Brazil, synthesizing in verses from the African gods and deities of the candomblés, to the sacred heroes of the anti-colonialist Resistance, sewing everything together with praises for the ideals of aquilombamento from African-Brazilian cultures (their subjects, objects, places, powers, events, entities and symbologies). They are summoned up by this samba through "the Greatest God" under the names Olodumarê and Olorum, plus the orishas Shango, Ogun Onire, Oshun, and Obatala; through the African civilizations, the Kingdom of Dan (Dahomey) and Ilê Ifé; through the African-Brazilian spiritualities of the Candomblé Ketu (the Nago-yoruba faith), the Candomblé Jeje (Casa da Mina, Kwerebentan), and double-up the Run ("soloist drum" in Candomblé); through the beloved heroes Zumbi, Queen Nzinga and Galanga (Chico Rei, a heroe believed to be central in the genesis of the Congadas in Brazil);³⁶ through the Quilombos, greatest symbol of the African Revolution in Brazil, notably here the Quilombo dos Palmares, and also the Rock of Salt, Gamboa, and the whole Little Africa in general (names of neighborhoods that were sorts of "marron towns", and that gave birth to Carnival in Rio de Janeiro around the end of the XIX and begin of the XX centuries);³⁷ and finally, through the aquilombamentos in a broader and more political-ideological sense, Maracatu, Quilombola Beija-flor, and the great homage to Tia Ciata, the Yalorixá (priestess) and matriarch who was a key figure in the consolidation of Brazilian Samba and Carnival (Sodré, 1998; Lopes, 2014). In this context, the understanding of the Samba School as a quilombo or aquilombamento, as Cultural Resistance (Nascimento, 1985; Oliveira, 2009), expressed in the chorus "I am a Quilombola Beija-flor, king's blood, community!" - that is, the verse synthesizes values and historical concepts of the anti-racist struggle, closely connected to the spiritual and pragmatic pillars of Panafricanism, as discussed here in various sections

³⁶ Lopes (2014).

³⁷ Idem.

of my analysis.

It is worth noting that *Qba*, in this samba, could refer to the Yabá warrior who attends by this name in the Ketu Candomblé, goddess of the troubled waters. However, in this verse, Obá certainly (or ambivalently) refers to Cândido da Fonseca Galvão, known as Dom Obá II d'África (because of the word Obá or *Q*ba, which in Yoruba means "King", named as such because he was the grandson of Alaafin Abiodun, King of Oyó). Friends with Emperor Dom Pedro II, this African Prince entered the History books as one of the main interveners for the African-Brazilian people through negotiations with the State, especially for the population of the *Little Africa* - and although he became perhaps less "famous" than the Rebouças Brothers, Luis Gama or José do Patrocínio, he is also one of the main abolitionists of that time.³⁸ On the other hand, here in my analysis he is not raised up to the sacred pantheon of the Resistance on the same level as Zumbi, Dandara, Aqualtune, Tereza de Benguela and others – which I discuss in the next chapter on "abolition" as a political scam of Brazilian economic and administrative elite.³⁹

Another major force summoned by this samba - that also deserves du complexification - is *Kalunga*, which could be here unsatisfactorily listed simply among the African gods, but in fact is far more complex than that (perhaps one of several examples in which an African episteme does not sit well beneath the semantic templates of Euro-colonialist culture). In addition to being considered a "deity" (or sacred spirit, or force of nature) by some Bantu peoples and carrying a similar meaning to a greater or lesser extent in certain lineages of the African spiritual matrixes in Brazil, Kalunga actually has several distinct uses and understandings, depending on whether it is in *kimbundo*, *kikongo*, *tchókwe*, *lunda*, etc., besides its transatlantic (re)existences. Both in T. Santana (2019), as well as A. Kandimba (2019) and S. Calonga (2020) among so many authors, the understanding of the word Kalunga passes, in one way or another, by the idea of a primordial liquid, of existence, of infinity, of

³⁸ Idem.

A significant number of individuals and collectives in Brazil's anti-racist struggle tend to caetgorically brand moderate abolitionists as "traitors", bringing them closer to white supremacists than to radical abolitionists - that is, closer to oppressors than to liberators. This point of view - of radical abolitionists and their letter barristans - aligns to the conceptual and operational logics of Zumbi dos Palmares, Jan-Jak Desalin, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Kwame Ture, Thomas Sankara, among many others, relatively opposed to the conceptual and operational logics of other leaders such as Ganga Zumba, W.E.B. DuBois, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Barack Obama, among others generally considered to be more integrationist/conciliators (latter) when compared to more radical/autonomists (former). Such dichotomy occurs in countless ways with different names, nuances and particularities in all epochs throughout the African world.

Áfricas: do Berço Real à Corte Brasiliana

(Claudio Russo, J. Veloso, Carlinhos do Detran, Gilson Dr)

[1]	Olodumarê, o Deus-maior, o Rei-senhor
	Olorum derrama a sua alteza na Beija-flor
	Oh, Majestade Negra! Oh, mãe da liberdade!
	África: o baobá da vida, Ilê Ifé
[5]	Áfricas: realidade, realeza, axé
	Kalunga cruzou o mar
	Nobreza a desembarcar na Bahia
F07	A fé nagô-yorubá
[9]	Um canto pro meu orixá tem magia
	Machado de Xangô, cajado de Oxalá
	Ogun yê, o Onirê, ele é odara
[12]	É Jeje, é Jeje, é Querebentã
[]	A luz que vem de Daomé, Reino de Dan
	Arte e cultura, Casa da Mina
	Quanta bravura, negra divina
[16]	Zumbi é rei
	Jamais se entregou, Rei Guardião
	Palmares, hei de ver pulsando em cada coração
F7	Galanga, pó de ouro e a remição, enfim
[20]	Maracatu, chegou Rainha Ginga
	Gamboa, a Pequena África de Obá
	Da Pedra do Sal, viu despontar a Cidade do Samba
[24]	Então dobre o Run
[24]	Pra Ciata d'Oxum, imortal
	Soberana do meu carnaval, na Princesa Nilopolitan Agoyê, o mundo deve o perdão
	A quem sangrou pela história
	Áfricas de lutas e de glórias
	Threas de lutas e de giorias
[29]	Sou Quilombola Beija-Flor
	Sangue de Rei, comunidade

Obatalá anunciou Já raiou o sol da liberdade

Africas: from the Royal Cradle to the Court Brasiliana

(Claudio Russo, J. Veloso, Carlinhos do Detran, Gilson Dr)

[1]	Olodumarê, the Greatest God, the Lord-King
	Olorum pours his Highness onto Beija-flor [samba-school]
	Oh, Black Majesty! Oh, Mother of Liberty!
F=1	Africa: the Baobab of Life, Ilê Ifé!
[5]	Africas: reality, royalty, ashe
	Kalunga crossed the sea
	Nobility landing in Bahia
[0]	The Nagô-yoruba faith
[9]	A chant for my Orisha has magic
	Shango's axe, Oshala's staff
	Ogun ye, Onire, He is odara [marvelous]
[12]	It's Jeje! It's Jeje! It's Kwerebentan [vodun, lineage, temple]
	The light that comes from Dahomey, Kingdom of Dan
	Art and culture, Casa da Mina [vodun, lineage, temple]
	What a bravery! Black divine!
[16]	Zumbi is King
[10]	Never gave himself up, Guardian King
	Palmares, I shall see pulsing in each heart
	Galanga, gold-dust, and the redemption, finally!
[20]	Maracatu, Queen Nzinga has arrived!
	Gamboa, the "Little Africa" from Oba
	From the Rock of Salt, saw the City of Samba emerge
	So, double up (stir up) the Run [soloist drum]
[24]	For Ciata d'Oshun, immortal
	Sovereign of my carnival, in the Nilopolitan Princess [samba-school
	Agoyê, the world owes forgiveness
	To those who have bled through history
	Africas of struggles and glories!
[29]	I am Quilombola Beija-Flor
	King's blood, community!
	Obatala has announced

The sun of liberty has risen

immensity, of death, of the immaterial, of the immortality of everything, the transmutation, the magic and the mysteries; but it also means, in many instances, the oceanic journey of our enslaved ancestors, the crossing itself (materially, and everything that derives from it).

This samba summons in verse all these subjects, objects, places, powers, events, entities and symbologies, sewn together with magic, heart, freedom, royalty, highness, nobility, gold, redemption, art, culture, bravery, divine, immortal; a powerful praise to the unique beauty of Africa, to the unbreakable force of African spiritual and cultural heritage – "Palmares, I shall see pulsing in each heart (...) Agoyê! The world owes forgiveness to those who bled through history: Africas of struggles and glories!"

All the strength and depth in this samba's verbal-poetic text is catalyzed by an equally enchanting musical apparatus (melodic treatment, harmonic contrasts, sophisticated drum arrangement, etc.). Before I was caught up in this samba, I used to be quite bored when listening to carnival sambas on television and radio, and reproduced that mistakenly nostalgic cliché of thinking that "there is no more sambas-enredo like in the od days" – thinking of eternalized pearls from previous generations, such as *Aquarela Brasileira* (Silas de Oliveira, 1964), *Liberdade! Liberdade!* (Niltinho Tristeza *et al.*, 1989), among many others. However, that year Beija-flor surprised me with this masterpiece and finally won my interest, which made me listen carefully to the sambas from other samba schools that year and, from then on, start following Carnival more closely every year. Because of this samba, that same year, I was also amazed by the samba from Salgueiro about the Candaces - queen-warriors (nubian/kushits)⁴⁰ of Meroe that eventually became part of the Empire of Kemet (Egypt) - whose refrain sang the sacred greetings "*Odoyá Yemanjá*, *Saluba Nanā*, *Eparrei Oyá*, *Orayê yê Oxum*, *Obá xi Obá*!", drawing a parallel between the Nubian queen-warriors and the Yabás⁴¹ of the Ketu Candomblé.

These sambas fill their people with pride by reaffirming their greatness, their beauty

⁴⁰ Here, unfortunately, it is necessary to emphasize the Black-African origin of these queens, given that much of the collective imaginary still today does not yet associate the Kemet Empire with the History of the great Black-African Civilizations. The relevance of Kemet's history for the Panafrican revolutionary struggle is remarkable in various contexts worldwide; in Brazil has been strongly revered in some repertories, especially in the *blocos afro*.

According to some Candomblé lineages, the Yabás are the goddesses of the pantheon of the Orixás, each linked to certain forces of nature and human nature (Akotirene, 2019). Traditions differ a little in relation to exactly who they are and how to cultivate them specifically, but they usually agree in general on the importance of the feminine principle in the existential *continuum*, that is, in the generating energy in the time of the universe, as well as in the time/daily of a life - with a certain indissociability in these two dimensions.

and their uniqueness, while emphasizing also their wars, sufferings and victories. What I consider especially relevant in terms of my analytical focus is precisely the poetic-musical device of underlining the consubstantiality (and uninterruption!) between the ancestral Panafrican struggle and the Samba School as a contemporary urban quilombo. As B. Nascimento (1985) and K. Oliveira (2009) reinforce, this understanding attributes the quilombola essence not only to the Samba School, but to Samba itself, to Candomblé, and therefore, to the sambista, to the yalorixá. In this sense, it is the understanding of a (senti) mentality-quilombo, of an attitude-quilombo, of an ideology-quilombo.

Another great example of this *poetic-musical strategy* from these points of view is the song *Kizomba*, the Feast of the Race (Luiz Carlos da Vila et al.),⁴² which perhaps not by chance, was also the Carnival's champion, in this case by *Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Unidos de Vila Isabel* in 1988 (centenary of the judicial "abolition", the so-called "Lei Áurea" from 1888).

The communicational strength of these sambas - attested in their victories in a competitive context and also in the commotion they cause when sung to this day - is the result of the immense anthropological, sociological, political and spiritual value of the *message* they carry and, clearly, of the very *vehicle* carrying it. In other words, the aesthetic experience of each samba - both in its composition and in its appreciation - is a central element in the psychic, emotional, spiritual, cultural and social health of the African-Brazilian people, through certain dynamics in which the individual and the collective constantly feed each other back. Sambistas and *passistas* - and the whole complex network of people involved in the realization of carnivals like these - are not so much *telling their story* as they are, in fact, *living* their history, (re)existing. An art-struggle that sings about itself while sublimating the very art of struggling.

Thus, among so many other examples, *Kizomba* is in fact one of the great anthems of Samba and, within my analysis, a great and powerful weapon of the *Panafrican revolutionary music. Kizomba*, in different languages of Bantu people, means the likes of "party" or "confraternization" or "exaltation". It is worth noting that "quizumba" or "quizomba" in Brazil is an everyday word (also diccionarized), used in the sense of "confusion" or "mess"

⁴² Live recording of the composer, Luiz Carlos da Vila, accessed on July 30, 2020, at 17:22, available at: https://youtu.be/ELJpqxL3SWI. Official recording of the School, accessed on July 31, 2020, at 16:34, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYFemPjfcF8

or "quarrel" or suchlike. In this context, it is likely that composers revered African Kizomba more directly, but knowing that they would be communicating a certain intersection between African "celebration" and Brazilian "chaos" - that is, as explained below, a reverence for Carnival itself, for Samba, for the Samba School, etc. Of course, the totality of this music's power - as of all the others - needs to be heard and is as more powerful as more people singing together. However, part of this power can be gauged in the verses, as transcribed in full below:

[See lyrics on the following pages]

Similar to the champion samba from Beija-flor, this samba reveres subjects, objects, places, powers, events, entities, symbologies and epistemes of Africa and of the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle. Interestingly, this samba sheds light on a fundamental aspect of anti-colonialist counter-narrative, counter-history, and re-cooptation efforts in Brazil. By revering Zumbi dos Palmares, as many songs do, this samba wisely reinforces that the quilombos "influenced the Abolition". Although it was destroyed almost two hundred years before the so-called "abolition", the Quilombo dos Palmares, like all the Haitian spiritual flames (from the struggles within the African continent against the slave trade, all the way to the revolts of the Malês, Cabanos, Balaios, Chibata, and so many others, including all the rebellions on the ships during the crossings), represented the unsustainability of slavery as basis of the economic system (Albuquerque, 2006; Antonio, 2011). This unsustainability should never be mistaken for a "moral unsustainability", even if such a deceiptive discourse appears within different sociopolitical vectors. It was always a question of economic unsustainability and of the financial disadvantage of having to allocate too many resources to supress the revolts and having large material losses due to the inevitable insurrections.⁴³

In addition, *Kizomba* categorically reaffirms the understanding of samba as a quilombo and the indissociability of culture, arts, music, spirituality, collectivity, liberty, justice, unity and Panafrican struggle. This cosmovision is consecrated, for example, in verses of an almost proverbial sensibility and wisdom, as "it has the strength of Culture, it has Art and Bravery,

⁴³ I return to this discussion of the so-called "abolition" in the next chapter, when such sociological and epistemological reflection are deeply complexified and poetically synthesized in verses by Jorge Portugal and Lazzo Matumbi in the 14th of May.

and a good waistband-game that make your ideals count ", or in "Ô ô Black Mina, Anastácia did not let herself be enslaved! Ô ô Clementina, the Pagode is the Popular Party!", also in "Our headquarters is our thirst for the Apartheid to be destroyed!" and above all, "this Kizomba is our Constitution!" Here the inseparability (both conceptual and pragmatic) between the antiracist struggle and the affirmative sentiments of African heritage (and the concept of Samba School as a quilombo) is very clear. In other words, the strength of this verse lies precisely in extrapolating the conception of the material/geographical territory⁴⁴ of the quilombo by emphasizing its psychopolitical/spiritual territory: the most important "place" of the School, the headquarters, is not only the physical space of the barracks, but the ideological-cultural-sentimental space of anti-apartheid Resistance and Revolution. Kizomba is the very constitution of our people and, not by chance, is our main weapon, is the headquarters of our troops.

The musical wisdom in conveying these verses electrifies the message and increases its impact even more, energizing people in communion, and channeling that energy into the Struggle. With a balanced melodic-harmonic composition in a minor tonality,⁴⁷ with a very touching melodic discourse with some vigorous/exalted gestures in the middle-high register of the voice, one can almost measure the communicational-cathartic power of this samba whenever it is sung in Concerts and *rodas de samba*, especially in climatic moments like "ô ô *nega mina...*" and "*this kizomba...*". Whether it's the typical harmony, the general form, the melodic treatment, the various aesthetic signatures of this musical style, the energy and vigor, or the thematics, *Kizomba* is in fact a masterpiece, a samba that is very representative of its culture. It is, therefore, perfect to illustrate here the points of view -such as those of

⁴⁴ It is worth noting the poetic potency of this verse when synthesizing a whole epistemology out of a very pragmatic fact: the Samba School had been without its barracks (headquarters) for a while due to a flood close to Carnival season, but the community organized itself - even in such adversity, rehearsing in the street - and won the championship with a memorable performance.

⁴⁵ In this verse there is an interesting ambiguity around the word Apartheid. On one hand, it reaffirms the irruptible spiritual-cultural connection between Brazil and Africa, calling for the end of Apartheid in South Africa, which had been revoked (on paper) three years later. On the other hand, it refers to Brazil and all the countries of the African world, synthesizing a basic understanding of the anti-racist struggle: to denounce and mitigate the structural apartheid that is, as a rule, maintained even after legal appearances of the ending of segregation.

⁴⁶ It is worth remembering that the term - and the debate around the Constitution - was very heated at that time, with the National Constituent Assembly working between February of the previous year and September of that year. Therefore, the poetic game here is to emphasize this Kizomba as an elementary constituent fact of our people, but also as a major constituent of our ethical and aesthetic statute, our highest Law

⁴⁷ The last section is in its correspondent major tonality, as can be seen in many other sambas-enredo, which ended up becoming almost a stylistic signature of the musical compositions in this context.

Kizomba, a Festa da Raça

(Rodolpho de Souza, Jonas Rodrigues e Luiz Carlos da Vila)

[1]	Valeu Zumbi
	O grito forte dos Palmares
	Que correu terras, céus e mares
	Influenciando a Abolição

- [5]____Zumbi valeu
 Hoje a Vila é Kizomba
 É batuque, canto e dança
 Jongo e Maracatu
- [9]____Vem, menininha, pra dançar o Caxambu Vem, menininha, pra dançar o Caxambu
- [11]____Ô ô nega mina
 Anastácia não se deixou escravizar
 Ô ô Clementina
 O pagode é o partido popular
- [15]____Sacerdote ergue a taça
 Convocando toda a massa
 Nesse evento que com graça
 Gente de todas as raças
 Numa mesma emoção
- [20] Esta Kizomba é nossa Constituição Esta Kizomba é nossa Constituição
- [22] Que magia
 Reza, Ajeum e Orixá
 Tem a força da cultura
 Tem a arte e a bravura
- [26]___E um bom jogo de cintura Faz valer seus ideais E a beleza pura dos seus rituais
- [29]____Vem a Lua de Luanda
 Para iluminar a rua
 Nossa sede é nossa sede
 De que o Apartheid se destrua

Kizomba, the Feast of the Race

(Rodolpho de Souza, Jonas Rodrigues e Luiz Carlos da Vila)

[1]	_Thanks, Zumbi!
	The strong cry from Palmares
	That ran through earth, skies and seas
	Influencing the Abolition

- [5]____Zumbi, thanks!

 Today the Vila [samba-school] is Kizomba!

 It is drumming, chant and dance

 Jongo and Maracatu
- [9] ____Come, little girl, to dance the Cashambu! Come, little girl, to dance the Cashambu!
- [11] Oh, oh! Oh, oh, Black Mina!

 Anastasia did not let herself be enslaved!

 Oh, oh! Oh, oh, Clementina!

 The Pagode [musical style] is the Popular Party!
- [15] Priest raises the cup
 Summoning the masses
 In this event that congraces
 People of all races
 In the same emotion
- [20] This Kizomba is our Constitution!
 This Kizomba is our Constitution!
- [22] ____What a magic
 Prayer, Ajeum [food] and Orisha
 Has the strength of Culture
 Has the Art and the Bravery
- [26]____And a good waistband-game [swag/wit] Make your ideals count! And the pure beauty of its rituals
- [29]____Come Luanda's moon
 To light up the street
 Our headquarters is our thirst
 For the Apartheid to be destroyed

Beatriz Nascimento (1985) and Kelly Oliveira (2009) - on Samba and Candomblés, Jongo, Maracatu as quilombos. Thus, the compositional analysis of the verbal-poetic text and of the musical artistry demonstrates that music, in this context, is not a mere part or mere pretext or adornment or ambiance of the *aquilombamentos*. Music is often the very essence of everything, the *marronage* itself, the episteme, the snake that bites its own tail, in short, the demand and its fulfillment at the same time: the thread that weaves an entire sociospiritual-psychopolitical fabric that is the very (i)materialization of the anti-racist struggle itself.

The attempt to measure and systematize the importance of music in the different forms of aquilombamentos in Brazil sheds light on the total or partial epistemological-ontological inadequacy of European conceptual templates when applied to the African continental or diasporic world (Nzewi, 1999; 2006). To see music as something apart - and even within music, to separate poetry and music as distinct dimensions - is an analytical deadlock in the face of the holistic understanding of what Nzewi (1997) calls the creative continuum. Here, I am strengthening the chorus of those who advocate an musicological-analytical approach that ought to be equated along with historical, anthropological, sociological, psychological, semiotic, emotional, playful and spiritual factors, in order to understand the levels of inseparability and consubstantiality among all these factors. Going deeper into this endeavor, one comes to notice that music has its own episteme and is its own ontology; music has its own ways of interpreting nature, of inscribing and expressing life experiences; its own ways of condensing, dissipating and transforming energies of all kinds; and, for this reason, many times only Music can give account of things that the sum of all other sciences cannot.

Kizomba, the Feast of the Race is a good example of this continuum, this holistic understanding of samba-quilombo. Even with the complement of several interpretative lenses and analytical resources, the music itself still seems to express something inexpressible, it seems to help in the introjection of what is of the order of feeling, and not of saying. In other words, whether saying or feeling, this samba synthesizes a set of values that are constitutive of our African ancestry, which is constitutive of the Struggle, which is the constitution of the quilombo, which is constitutive of Samba, which is ancestral, and so on, in a complex organicity of elements that feed each other back, constantly and permanently. The samba constellates poetically-musically the (i)materials of aquilombamento: the samba

cultivates the quilombo because the quilombo is what produces it and is its own existential reason; the quilombo cultivates the samba because the samba is what produces it and is its own existential reason.

In this sense, what I mentioned in the introduction about the *poetic-musical strategy of affirmation* being predominant among the others becomes then comprehensible. *Affirmation* comprises several layers of struggle in Brazil. A people that had been prevented from singing its songs, playing its grooves, cultivating its ancestors and its gods, that had had to find ways to survive through countless forms of torture, that had been coerced to desaculturation and to lose absolutely any constitutive element that would confer them humanity, dignity, and self-determination; for this people, exercising their artistic and cultural practices already yields, in itself, a powerful revolutionary act (Hall, 1997; Gilroy, 1993).

In a given instance, playing an instrument of one's ancestors - or a rhythm or a melody - is an important *affirmation* of cultural identity, and therefore of extreme importance to the mental, emotional, spiritual, and psycho-political health of an individual or collective (Fanon, 1961:169-207). In another instance, sometimes conjugated, sometimes independent of the *identity empowerment* of musical aspects, the verbal-poetic text⁴⁸ of a certain artistic-cultural practice can, in several ways, be of service to the *affirmation*. For example, when the verbal-poetic text reveres itself or revers the cultural practice itself, its elements, its dynamics, its ideals, its playfulness, its history, its agents; or it praises the people themselves, their history, their values, their heroes, their sufferings, their victories, their identity and (re) existences; finally, the various facets of maintaining the *Ebó de Conduta* (the magic/wizardry of conduct), strengthening and re-energizing the culture itself - and therefore, the people themselves - through fragments or through completeness of artistic-cultural heritages.

Not by chance, it is quite common, in different forms of *aquilombamento*, that the transmission of knowledge - cognitive, ideological, corporeal, spiritual – is to be accomplished totally, mostly or partially through the *doing* itself - not only through mimesis, but also verbalized, like a chant of *samba de roda* that teaches to dance samba in the *roda* (circle), or a capoeira chant that teaches hoe to play/dance/fight capoeira, or a candomblé prayer

⁴⁸ It is worth noting that, for the most part, the different practices of African-Brazilian music and of *Panafrican revolutionary music* operate the strategies of *affirmation*, *awareness-raising*, *counter-intelligence* and *counter-humiliation* also in non-verbal text, like the floats of the samba schools, the outfits of the blocos afro, the dances and other non-verbal elements of performance in general, etc. However, non-verbal language is not the specific focus of my analyses here, and a separate research on this issue is needed.

that teaches the fundamentals and precepts of candomblé, or yet when, even in a context that has changed a lot over time, the poetic-verbal text of a samba-enredo, for example, teaches the constitutive ideals of the Samba School and/or of Carnival (as in *Kizomba* and so many other sambas). Under this paradigm of *knowledge transmission* (Hampaté Bâ, 1981), analyzing these sambas from Beija-flor and Vila Isabel as they represent several other similar examples, the *affirmation* must be truly understood as the deepest essence of this musical culture, as maintenance of the practice itself, as self-regulation, that is, as an *Ebó de Conduta*.

Naturally, one sees with certain frequency the use of the poetic-musical strategy of affirmation outside the context of the samba school or outside any form of aquilombamento. Someone could, in a more simplistic and reductionist way, consider that such cases - in which the typical themes of aquilombamentos are summoned in contexts outside of them - would be mere mimetization, or transculturation, or influence, or even cultural appropriation. However, my analysis of the affirmation in African-Brazilian music seeks precisely to emphasize the perspective of the samba-quilombo, that is: since the sociopolitical-spiritual core of Samba is so strong and inherently quilombola, only immense efforts could totally extirpate it from its quilombola nature. In line with the Haitian (Panafrican) spirit, which many authors enodrse, the African Revolution (Nkrumah, 1973) and the Quilombo (Nascimento, 1980), as our tactical bedrocks and our epistemic-spiritual essence, embrace all African peoples worldwide in all their practices. It is up to each one of us, who are willing to reflect upon it, to sail through analyses as objective and well-informed as possible over the actions/attitudes of individuals and collectives regarding their impact on the Revolution, whether they are contributors, saboteurs or indifferent.

In this sense, I tend to understand that, even outside the direct context of aquilombamento, the affirmation happens in similar ways and follows the same purposes described here up from the sambas of Beija-flor and Vila Isabel. That is, more than the institutional or organizational relationship of being or not being linked to or commissioned by a Samba School or other form of aquilombamento, what really matters is how the artists see themselves and their people, and how they direct their artistic work onto the collectivity—the affirmation being perhaps the predominant form, precisely because, to a great extent, it is one and the same as the very survival and (re)existence of African bodies, minds, and spirits.

Observing until today the strength of the European cultural hegemony, by which

beauty is considered under European standards, institutions emerge and operate under European templates, social, political and economic models are European, arts and sciences operate under European thought-thread, monopolies, oligopolies, cartels and *holdings* of all sectors are mostly European and Eurodescendant, the episteme and the hegemonic mentality are European, the so-called "General History" - taught worldwide - is basically European and Eurocentric, and therefore the history of other peoples is taught (to themselves!) under the European perspective; it is then noted that the quilombo is the main weapon of the Resistance, and the *affirmation* is the antidote and the most urgent remedy of all – and that is why this *poetic-musical strategy* is so powerful, plural and massive in African-Brazilian music.

For the sake of transparency, there are constructive criticisms on some examples of what I have called *poetic-musical affirmation strategy*, including on this very example that initiated this chapter, often from some very respectable and strongly backed critics, such as the brief warning of the composer, writer, historian, and dictionarist Nei Lopes, one of the greatest authorities on Samba and African History and Culture in Brazil.⁴⁹ In the week after Carnival in 2007, when Beija-flor won the competition with the samba analyzed above, Nei published in the newspaper Folha de São Paulo the text *It's not only Beija-flor: everyone lies about the real Africa* (Lopes, 2007), in response to a racist author who had criticized that year's sambas claiming that the image of Africa painted by the songs was deceptive (dishonestly arguing that African peoples and kings were responsible for slavery and, therefore, did not correspond to the romanticism woven by that year's sambas).

Nei Lopes naturally denies this fraud, reminding that Africans were not the inventors of the slavery system (created by the Arab empires during the period of Islamization of the continent), nor the main architects and even less the main beneficiaries of slavery - also recalling the battles of resistance against the European slavery system on the continent, such as the wars waged under the command from Queen Nzinga Mbandi and King Agajá Trudô,

The works and lectures of Carlos Moore (2005:26) explain in detail the fundamental differences between the ancient African societal systems and the Arab and European slavery-based systems imposed on the continent after the Islamization of the continent. Moore, like Nei Lopes and other authors, emphasizes that the European slave industry was so nefarious and ruthless that even the various battles in the attempt to dismantle the colonialist slavery system - whether against the invaders or against the Africans commanded or sponsored by the invaders - ended up in many cases feeding the very colonialist slave industry itself, since the battles that were lost resulted in the enslavement and sale of the defeated troops. It is also important to emphasize the impossibility of defeating the enemy in this case, not only because of the enormous firepower, but also because of the various scam mechanisms, such as blockades and embargoes, espionage, cooptation, enticement, propaganda and cultural warfare, in short, an immeasurable list of atrocities of a *regime of holistic violence*.

for example. Nei vehemently refuted the lies of the racist author, but also wove other caveats to the sambas of that year, criticizing the homogenizing and fanciful narrative about Africa in those sambas. In the end, although I understand what Nei points out and consider it to be a pertinent warning in general, I do not recognize the applicability of this criticism in this specific example of Beija-flors's samba that was analyzed here. Although I don't have the moral stature to confront the position of the greatest possible authority in this field, I believe that in this case the samba effectively acts more in *favor of* than *contrary to* the demands of the Struggle. Moreover, the focus of my analyses is not to glorify nor to condemn specific songs, but rather to outline archetypes of the role of music in the Struggle, taking songs as approximate examples of a vast spectrum of possibilities within each archetype (and their different intersections, hues and volumes). Although we disagree on the specific example of Beija-flor, the samba in question is only one of the possible examples, a tool for analytic debates about the archetype, in this case, the *poetic-musical strategy of affirmation*. 50

In one way or another, as discussed by countless authors of the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle worldwide (Munanga, 1996; Carneiro, 2005; Sarr, 2016) and also discussed here in other sections, the vectors of *self-image*, *self-esteem*, *imaginary*, *belonging*, *pride*, and *inspiration* are fundamental pillars of individuals and peoples, therefore, decisive for self-determination at individual and collective levels. Even the much needed material resources and socioeconomic and sociopolitical opportunities indispensable to prosperity are more easily - or rather, less painfully - obtained when there is peace and solidity on these sociocultural pillars, especially in regards to peoples intrinsically constituted by the precedence/prevalence of collectivity and spirituality, creators and heirs of the *Ubuntu* and *Ujamaa* cosmovisions.

Under this understanding, African-Brazilian music - especially that cutout which is here called *Panafrican revolutionary music*, from the examples analyzed and other examples that can be inferred by similitude - should never be seen as a simple prop of everyday life or mere void entertainment, but as a founding element, maintainer and manager of the struggles of the African-Brazilian people. To fulfill this demand, music operates in different ways,

Not by coincidence, my agreement with Nei's general critique (and my disagreement with the punctual application of the critique to this particular samba) ends up demonstrating another facet - completely different, but also very important - of the role of Music in the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle: to tease people, provoke them and foster debates about the problems and demands of the Struggle.

one of them being the *poetic-musical strategy of affirmation*, explained here in this chapter. In the next chapter I follow this analytical arc by elucidating the *poetic-musical strategy of awareness-raising* up from the song 14th of May (Jorge Portugal and Lazzo Matumbi).

2.2. Poetic-musical Strategy of Awareness-raising

The music 14th of Maio by Jorge Portugal and Lazzo Matumbi⁵¹ is an excellent example of awareness-raising via poetic-musical composition. In a melodically touching and poetically moving reggae, Jorge and Lazzo synthesize a panorama between the so-called "Lei Áurea" - as a masterstroke of the slavery system - and the perpetuation of colonialist violence against the African-Brazilian people.

Just as the "official narrative" to this day convinces the majority of the population that European colonization is over, it also tries to convince them that the "Lei Áurea" has in fact implemented in practice what it pretended to implement on paper - just another "law for the Englishman to see" sanctioned by Princess Elizabeth on May 13, 1888 bluffing a so-called "abolition" of slavery. The song 14th of May strives to spiritually access the pain of our ancestors, to imagine the unspeakable, and to narrate the unimaginable misery of the African-Brazilian people "on that May 14 that never ended" (Matumbi, 2017).

If the history of Brazil had been written by its revolutionaries, the date May 13 would probably not have received much attention, or perhaps not even been celebrated officially as in fact is not celebrated by most people of the *movimento negro* (especially since 1974/78, when the Movimento Negro Unificado proposed the November 20 as "National Black Consciousness Day", the date of Zumbi dos Palmares' assassination). The date of the so-called "abolition" would perhaps be understood as a decisive and very emblematic moment of sabotage of the Panafrican revolutionary struggle in Braszil, in which the colonialist structure has proven to posess sophisticated and powerful coercive strategies, far beyond the obvious physical violence. It would demonstrate, above all, that physical violence alone is the least effective method for perpetuating structures of oppression and exploitation. Physical

⁵¹ Recording in *Lazzo Matumbi - Volume 1* (2019), accessed on July 20, 2020 at 16:20: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilbpzMIUB-s

⁵² The jargon "lei pra inglês ver" was and is still used in Brazil referring to things that are made just to pretend to be doing the right thing while not doing it at all. Stems from the routine of doing things hidden or disguised to cun the British inspectors.

violence, on the other hand, combined with cultural, ideological, political, and economic domination, tends to make indestructible the oppressive structure it serves.

[See lyrics on the following pages]

One fact needs to be properly understood: there is no abolition without agrarian reform and public policies of affirmative action. Any colonialist scam that plays out any kind of "abolition" disconnected from land redistribution and public policies of egalitarian opportunization is doing nothing more than sabotaging the revolutionary struggles, at the expense of the weaknesses of moderate, assimilated, pacifist, or traitors within the struggle in question.

Between the first and fourth lines, the poetic text presents its purpose, already leading the listener to reflect on the direct relationship between the slavery system, the emergence and consolidation of the slums, and the continuous precarization of living conditions for the African-Brazilian people via deprivation of access and opportunities, as evidenced by Angela Davis (2009) and Juliana Borges (2019), to cite just a few. The poet in this music materializes his ancestry in a synthesis of *spiritual-symbolic* and *social-pragmatic* dimensions that feed each other back. In other words, by singing in the first person, he explains at the same time the pain of his enslaved ancestor and the current suffering of his marginalized contemporaries, precisely because these - the ancestor and the contemporary - are the two sides of the same equation, as pointed out by Abdias Nascimento (1978), Carl Hart (2019) and many other specialists.

In narrating that, on the day immediately after the alleged "abolition", he went off without a job, a home, with nowhere to go, the effective non-interruption of enslaving relationships is synthetically elucidated, which is verified in the almost unchanged situation of slavery maintained over most African people and their descendants in Brazil as in most similar countries - attested in studies of W.E.B. DuBois (1978), Angela Davis (2009), Michele Goodwin (2018), Juliana Borges (2019), among many others. As a rule, enslaved

people had absolutely nothing⁵³ that would allow them to build a life from then on, which forced most of them to stay in the house or farm that enslaved them, coerced to work "in exchange" for their stay in that place. Those who tried to free themselves from that context encountered all kinds of difficulties and persecutions, precisely the difficulties and persecutions perpetuated until today, as explained in this song.

Synthesizing in verse this continuity of colonialist violence against the African-Brazilian people, the poet in the third and fourth lines defines it harshly and irrefutably: "carrying the Senzala [slave quarters] in my soul I climbed up the Favela [slum], thinking of climbing down one day, but I never did!" This verse alone says so much that it could be discussed here in a separate chapter, in order to analyze it in several layers of depth and complexity. I try though to briefly point out some of these layers and indicate bibliographies that discuss them more extensively.

By stating that he *carries the Senzala in his soul*, he reinforces not only the African spiritual continuity but also the psychological, psychosomatic, and epigenetic implications of colonialist violence, as mentioned here above. In the spiritual dimension, this verse makes explicit a structural point of many African cultures, which is precisely the eternal return of the soul of our ancestors in the bodies of their direct descendants (Mukuna, 2020). In this sense, *carrying the Senzala in the soul* is not a metaphor, rather the immense probability that the souls of enslaved Africans in Brazil today reside temporarily in the bodies of, for example, Jorge Portugal⁵⁴ and Lazzo Matumbi - making obvious once again the consubstantiality between enslaved ancestors and marginalized contemporaries.

In the sociological dimension, the verse synthesizes deep questions attested in several scientific works, such as Frantz Fanon (1952; 1961), Stuart Hall (2006), Molefi K. Asante (1991; 2003) and Abdias Nascimento (1978; 1980), among many others. To carry the Senzala in the soul means not only the soul itself, but also the soul in the sense of legacy,

⁵³ The exceptions confirm this rule irrefutably. Whether in documentally confirmed cases, such as Brotherhoods and Quilombos, or in more legendary or mythified cases, such as Chico Rei, when newly-freed people exceptionally obtained any kind of material or immaterial capital, such resources were often reinvested in obtaining the freedom of other enslaved brothers and sisters, in the *rescue of* or the *cooperation with* "ex-captives" through the various strategic demands of *aquilombamento* – precisely because of the almost-impossibility of a post-abolition "ex-captive" to achieve an effective liberation all alone without the help of their fellows. About *abolitionist quilombo* and *break-away quilombo*, read M. Castro (2005), and *aquilombamento* dynamics in general in B. Nascimento (1985) and A. Nascimento (1978).

Jorge Portugal passed away during the writing of the present thesis. He accomplished his mission on the Aiyê (world of the physical living) and went on to keep helping us from the Orun (world of the spiritual living).

14 de Maio

(Jorge Portugal e Lazzo Matumbi)

- [1]_____No dia 14 de maio, eu saí por aí
 Não tinha trabalho, nem casa, nem pra onde ir
 Levando a senzala na alma, eu subi a favela
 Pensando em um dia descer, mas eu nunca desci
- [5]____Zanzei zonzo em todas as zonas da grande agonia
 Um dia com fome, no outro sem o que comer
 Sem nome, sem identidade, sem fotografia
 O mundo me olhava, mas ninguém queria me ver
- [9]_____No dia 14 de maio, ninguém me deu bola Eu tive que ser bom de bola pra sobreviver Nenhuma lição, não havia lugar na escola Pensaram que poderiam me fazer perder
- [13] Mas minha alma resiste, meu corpo é de luta

 Eu sei o que é bom, e o que é bom também deve ser meu

 A coisa mais certa tem que ser a coisa mais justa

 Eu sou o que sou, pois agora eu sei quem sou eu
- [17]____Será que deu pra entender a mensagem? Se ligue no Ilê Aiyê!
- [19] Se ligue no Ilê Aiyê!
 Agora que você me vê
 Repare como é belo
 Ver nosso povo lindo
- [23] Repare que é o maior prazer

 Bom pra mim, bom pra você

 Estou de olho aberto

 Olha moço, fique esperto que eu não sou menino

 Olha moço, fique esperto que eu não sou menino

 Olha moço, fique esperto que eu não sou menino

14th of May

(Jorge Portugal e Lazzo Matumbi)

[1]	_On May 14th, I went out there
	I had no job, no home, nowhere to go
	Taking the Senzala [slave quarters] in my soul, I climbed up the Favela [slum]
	Thinking of climbing down one day, but I never did

- [5] Zanzei zonzo [I drifted around dizzy] in all areas of the Great Agony
 One day, hungry, the next one, nothing to eat
 No name, no identification, no photograph
 Everyone looked at me, but no one wanted to see me
- [9]____On May 14th, nobody "passed me the ball" [cared about me, gave a damn about me]

 I had to be good with the ball in order to survive

 No lessons, no place in School

 They thought they could make me lose [perish]
- [13]____But my soul resists, my body is of struggle
 I know what is good, and what is good must be mine too
 The right thing has to be the righteous thing
 I am what I am, because now I know who I am
- [17]____Did I get the message across? Check out Ilê Aiyê!
- [19]____Check out Ilê Aiyê!

 Now that you see me
 See how beautiful it is
 To watch our wonderful people!
- [23]____Notice how it is the greatest pleasure
 Good for me, good for you
 I have my eyes wide open
 Look boy, watch out cos I'm no child!
 Look boy, watch out cos I'm no child!
 Look boy, watch out cos I'm no child!

symbolic universe, self-image, self-esteem, ideological and cultural heritage of the African as an individual and as a people. That same individual and people that the colonialist structure in various ways forced - and still forces - to live in the slums (Borges, 2019), on the outskirts, in the streets, in the jail system, who are, in the first place, those who managed to survive the massive genocide of their people (Nascimento, 1980).

Another layer even more complex in the analysis of this verse, about the people who climbed up the Favela dreaming of climbing down one day but never did, resides very subtly - so subtle that perhaps the composer himself did not rationalize like this - in the second half of the verse. This dream of getting out of the slum is particularly representative of that May 14. The enslaved person, who gathered the courage to leave his "former owner's" house looking for the needle of luck in the haystack of racist violence, came across much more than unemployment, stigmatization and social sabotage. S/he was constantly faced with imprisonment and police violence. For decades after the "abolition", candomblés, sambas, capoeiras, and other similar practices were criminalized,55 which in addition to the racist culture of the police force and of other citizens, severely threatened the integrity, dignity, mental health, and basic resources for individual and collective prosperity of African-Brazilians. In other words, that "courageous" one who left his "former owner's" house throwing himself onto poor chances of survival in the slums dreaming of getting out one day, but never did, in fact never did either because s/he died right there at the hands of the police, or because s/he never got enough peace of mind and tranquility to make any socioeconomic progress - and right up there s/he saw the stigmas and the violences being perpetuated and worsened to this very day.

On the other hand, or better said, on another facet of the "same side", this same issue can be analyzed regarding the "moderate abolitionists", who are mainly responsible for the scam thereby called "abolition". If one disregards completely the white abolitionists of the country's administrative and economic elites, who did not have their physical and psychological integrity - nor that of their descendants - put at risk while pondering the negotiations of abolition, one could imagine that some of the so-called "black and brown" (crioulos, mulatos, mestiços, pardos, etc.) that were members of the abolitionist movement

⁵⁵ On the Law of Vagrancy and other forms of persecution of the African-Brazilian people, read Jacino (2012). On the updates and worsening of the State Terrorism and its centrality in structural racism, read J. Borges (2019) and S. Almeida (2019).

actually accepted the false abolition also dreaming of seeing their people "climbing down the Favela one day". Once it was proven that these abolitionists knew that their people would go straight to the slums after the abolition, and giving them the benefit of doubt – that is, to question their methods but trusting their intentions - we can only conjecture that these abolitionists "preferred any abolition to no abolition" because they were naively expecting the Struggle to continue from that point onwards, and that the Struggle would eventually succeed in overcoming the stigmas, sabotages, precarizations, prejudices, inequality of access and opportunity, structuring racism, cultural appropriation, police violence, mass imprisonment – in short, that they would overcome it all and eventually "climb down the favela". In this sense, it would be a similar case to Mandela and his party, the African National Congress, more recently in South Africa – which many idolize for having managed to "end" Apartheid (at least on paper), but many condemn for having "betrayed the revolution" by conciliating with certain political-economic pressures of colonialist power-holders.

Following the verses, between the fifth and eighth lines, the poet reemphasizes the fears and pains of those who risked trying their luck amidst the sabotages of the racist-colonialist structure, "I drifted around dizzy in all areas of the Great Agony, one day, hungry, the next one, nothing to eat; no name, mo identification, no photograph, everyone looked at me, but no one wanted to see me"! Beginning - perhaps not by coincidence - with a word of Bantu origin (zanzei zonzo), the ancestor (rematerialized in the poet) wanders about into the most agonizing despair. The dizzyness is of hunger, pain, fear, anxiety, a mental health totally sickened⁵⁶ by a constant state of the crudest struggle for survival - a constant state of escape for the "crime" of being born in a dark skin.

In a subtle but accurate way, the poet strengthen the choir of Malcolm X (1964), John Henrik Clarke (1979) and Molefi Kete Asante (1991) emphasizing the inhumanity of the colonialist violence that extirpated from the enslaved their most basic values and humanning forces: his name and identity; taking up again the fact mentioned above, about the soul of the ancestors returning in the body of their direct descendants - something that is integrally related to the rite of choosing the name of each newborn, since each one must be named according to the name of the ancestor whose soul has just returned in that newly born (Mukuna, 2020), and the baby being even called "grandpa" or "uncle" or "brother"

On mental health, read A. Pieterse (2012), Alves (et al. 2015), and Santos (2018).

according to the soul reborn in them.

In other words, the colonialist does not just rape and murder African bodies. He makes sure to rape and murder the souls, the vital roots of the enslaved and his descendants. In this way, the poet stresses not only the loss of identity and photography in pragmatic-material terms that represent the total lack of means and minimum conditions for survival and progress; but rather, an identification document and a tool of self-image as actual metonyms of the shielded and monstrous system of cumulative violence, operating through countless strategies of physical, psychological, and emotional torture. The poet closes the verse by allegorizing the decentralized, systemic and capillary character of the racist stigmas and sabotages, because "everyone looked at me, but no one wanted to see me".

Using the first two poetic-melodic gestures (eight initial lines) to first present the ancestral trauma, the poet then continues using the third poetic-melodic gesture as the pivot between the wound and the remedy, that is, between the problematics and the solutionatics. From the ninth to the twelfth line, he explains that "on May 14t nobody passed me the ball, I had to be good with the ball in order to survive; no lessons, no place in school; they thought they could make me lose"! That is, the poet begins here the deserved praise for the African people, who, even subjected to an unprecedented level of violence, managed to resist the total and perpetual enslavement of the colonialist agenda - and even today resists and makes progress on all sides through their Ubuntu ancestry, putting collectivity above individuality and reinvesting individual achievements into collective demands.

An important aspect in the extensive list of deprivations and misfortunes suffered by the African-Brazilian people, the poet emphasizes the lack of access to schooling - precisely because institutional education, at the time and still today, was the main route for social mobility and prosperity. Perhaps foreseeing the rhyme with "school" (escola), the poet plays cleverly with the words and the different meanings of "ball" (bola) in Brazil, as if his ancestor in the past - and his contemporary today - had played exceptionally well with the ball that was not even given to him, so to speak; he scored goals in a rigged game which he was not even allowed to play. Even further, by coincidence or not, the mention of the "good with the ball" reminds us again of the discussion raised above about "entertainment business" - especially sports, and especially soccer - being historically the African-Brazilian people's main route for attempts of material achievements, thus, "had to be good with the ball in order

to survive".

This verse ends by reaffirming the Resistance – "they thought they could make me lose" – since the people are still firm and strong in the struggle to this very day. Despite the multiple, powerful and sophisticated mechanisms of oppression and exploitation engineered by the colonialist structure (Clarke, 1974; 1991); despite the intention of this structure to perpetuate the total enslavement of the African–Brazilian people, and by failing at it, to try to exterminate them via police brutality and eugenicist campaign (Nascimento, 1980); the all-out war continues today at full speed, eternally strengthened by the irruptible Panafrican spiritual fabric and by the indestructible spirit of Ubuntu.

Done with this poetic-musical pivot between wound and remedy, from the thirteenth line the focus becomes then the unbreakable resistance and eternal struggle of the African-Brazilian peoples: "but my soul resists, my body is of struggle; I know what is good, and what is good must be mine too; the right thing has to be the righteous thing; I am what I am, because now I know who I am"! Here the all-out war constantly discussed in this research is made explicit. It alludes to the nexus between the warlike conflicts (of the warrior bodies, bodies of struggle) and the resistances of all natures which, seeing resilient souls eternally rematerialized into these bodies of struggle to carry on our victories and our destiny.

The spiritual *continuum* of the Panafrican revolutionary struggle (*soul resists...body of struggle*)⁵⁷ and the sense of justice and sovereignty expressed in this verse (*the righteous thing...what is good must be mine too*) are strongly connected to the revolutionary spirit and war strategies of the Haitian Revolution. It is a common sense in contemporary historiography (Albuquerque, 2006; Antonio, 2011) that the scam of such false abolitions was largely resulting of the immense fear the elites had of the so-called *Haitian menace*. In other words, fearing the mass revolution of the enslaved and the consequently definitive overthrow of the colonialist structure - like the Haitian Revolution from 1791 to 1804 - the Brazilian administrative and economic elite saw such "moderate abolitionism" as the best way to appease the constant revolts and insurrections throughout the country, through the institutional pretense of a deceptive abolition.

In this way, the completion of this verse summons up the very core of the Haitian spirit, "I am what I am, because now I know who I am!" Scholars specialized in the Haitian

⁵⁷ Leda Martins (2004) brings important notes on the body as ancestral scripture.

Revolution such as Jean Price-Mars (1928), Michel Trouillot (1995), Wade Nobles (2015), Bayyinah Bello (2019), among many others, assert that the Haitian revolutionaries' understanding of the illegitimacy - and therefore unacceptability - of their enslaved condition was the key to their victory. Therefore, this "I know who I am" produces and is produced by a set of Panafrican revolutionary political-ideological certainties, such as: the unswerving selfidentification of the individual and of the collective as Africans, not as Haitians, Brazilians, Cubans, etc.; the wisdom, mentioned here earlier, about the immortality of the soul and its inalienable connection with its direct descendants; and the complete absence of the fear of death, which in turn consists of a different episteme or cosmovision in the tangent to death, resulting from an understanding of the insignificance of an individual's momentary corporeal life in the face of the eternal spiritual life of the collective. This fearless, radical, revolutionary, irreducible and non-negotiable spirit of Panafricanism (Ayiti) has manifested itself to a greater or lesser extent in the various regions of Brazil in different contexts in different times, but unfortunately not yet to the point of definitively overthrowing the racistcolonialist structure. However, identification with this revolutionary spirit is implicit in this "who I am" which, in this verse, prepares the climax of the poetic-musical communication in this song.

After sharp explanations of the historical trauma of the African-Brazilian people and their social wounds, added to the brief exaltation of the Resistance, the poet then reaches the climax of the debate (on the seventeenth line). There, amidst the intense tactical work of awareness-raising, he asks himself: "Did I get the message across?" This image is so vivid that one almost can visualize the restlessness of the composer while the question resonates intensely in his head and through his body. As one in a worth-life-and-death debate summoning the most distinct arguments and distinct ways to reexplain them, in the electrifying despair of habing to make oneself understood, then is suddenly struck by the light of Obatalá's eternal wisdom in his head. The father of all our heads blows softly the answer, reminding the poet of which Panafrican entity has dedicated decades to awareness-raising, cultural/intelectual abolition, and total organization of the African-Brazilian people: the Black Pearl, 58 the most beautiful of all beauties, the Ile Aiyê!

⁵⁸ Here in the second to last chapter I present the *Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê* to talk about music as a *total organization*.

Between the nineteenth and twenty-second lines, sure of being unable to reemphasize and paraphrase any further in trying to prove his point, the poet finds the most synthesized way possible to say in verse everything that he could ever need to say: "Check out the Aiye! Check out Ilê Aiye!" The poet communicates, first of all, to the listner who does not know the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê, who by trying to figure out what/who is Ilê Aiyê, will immediately understand much of what needs to be understood. In a second level, communicates with those who already know Ilê Aiyê, alluding immediately to the reputation of the bloco afro, to the first things that come to mind when hearing this name. An in one last instance, he inevitably refers to the immense social and psychopolitical work of this bloco afro, which in turn invokes generally the musical and sociopolitical work of other similar groups. In other words, besides the self-affirmation, self-esteem, and all the charm and eloquence of Ilê Aiyê's aesthetic experience. "now that you see me, see how beautiful it is to watch our beautiful people", there is also the bloco afro's "front line" character as an organization directly involved in the social and political demands of the African-Brazilian people.

The closing remarks are between the twenty-third and twenty-sixth line. Ending the song with ta strong exaltation to the Resistance represented by Ilê – "notice that it is the greatest pleasure, good for me, good for you" - and knowing all the load of positivity that is automatically evoked by mentioning the Black Pearl, the poet makes sure of closing it up by recollecting the seriousness and grief of the whole dialogue – "I have my eyes wide open; look, boy... watch out cos I'm no child!" In other words, Jorge and Lazzo could not risk, at the end of the song, giving the impression that the war is won. On the contrary, they needed to emphasize that the Struggle is eternal, structuring and far too deceptive.

Musical dimension

Lazzo Matumbi's musical composition over Jorge Portugal's poetic composition was very accurate, from the more general-structural aspects of the song to the more punctual choices of poetic-melodic gestures. Starting with the primordial option for the Reggae as rhythmic and stylistic base, the music effectively manages to catalyze the communication of its message and to make it even more eloquent. In this case, Reggae dresses the poetry very well, both musically and symbolically, as it is a musical tradition already strongly connected to the Panafrican revolutionary struggle (as I mentioned here in last section of the first

chapter).

Within the musical habits and cognitive commonplaces of Euro-globalized cultural hegemony and its permanently cultivated affective memory of chords and harmonic progressions, Lazzo chose a triadic harmony in minor tonality (Gm - Cm - Gm [...] Eb7 - D7 - Gm) very typical of Brazilian and Latin music – indeed recurrent, but much less common in reggae – which reinforces the painful content of what is discussed in the poetry. Thus, the musical style, the instrumentation, the harmony and the arrangement already confer musically a fair parcel of the psychic-emotional attitude of contrition and reflection, consistent with the poetic content, completing then this rhetorics with the melodic treatment verse by verse.

Another interesting element of ths *musical wisdom*, which enhances this psychic-emotional tuning, is the option for the accordion. In most of the reggae repertoire, the introduction - when is not a standalone groove and brings some additional melodic motif - is made by sonorities like electric guitar, electric bass, keyboard or brass. But on *May 14th*, in the introduction, after the drumming call breaks the silence and takes our attention to what is about to come, a weeping/sentimental sonority is already brought up, in the very choice of the blowpipe instrument, in the choice of the accordion register (probably oboe timbre), and in the introductory melodic motif played by the accordion, whose melody also reinforces the sorrow and introspection. The accordion player reaffirms the cry of this melody in the ways of interpreting it, with rubatos and glissandos. Above the instrumental introduction, Lazzo adds to this musical aura some meodic cries that strongly reinforces the song's psychic-emotionally introspective tuning. This very emotion in Lazzo's interpretation throughout the music is also fundamental in the rhetoric of *May 14th*, his voice being the musical correspondent of that integrated materialization of ancestral/contemporary pain and suffering of the verbal-poetic text.

Once the initial aura is built, the arrangement follows the service of poetic-musical rhetoric. Once the introduction is finished, in order to accentuate the sung text even more in the foreground, all the instruments - that play during the introduction and then gradually return - shut up in a break to highlight the begin of the sung lyrics, leaving only the keyboard with the rhythmic-harmonic groove. Lazzo then starts singing with a vigorous melodic gesture - sometimes straight to the fifth degree of the scale, sometimes in an upward leap

(tonic-fifth) - with repeatedly accentuated notes that descend to the tonic. This concise, austere and vigorous gesture comes to hook the listener's attention and to insert the melodic motif that will be developed verse by verse.

The initial gesture already establishes a certain tension by not starting in a low voice register, rather in a mid-high/mid-tense register. The development of the melodic motif is given by the variation of this gesture: fast, reiterated and accentuated notes, with or without jump at the beginning. To increase the tension verse by verse, the melodic gestures rise progressively; the melody (in the second and third lines) begins in - or jumps to - a degree above the one initiated in the previous gesture (in the minor sixth, instead of in the just fifth), teases the sixth and seventh degrees of the scale, and emphasizes the vigor of the fast and reiterated notes around the semitone Eb/D (sixth and fifth degrees), tensioning harmonically via subdominant (C minor) and melodically via emphasis on the chromatic degree (Eb/D). This tensioning through the chromatic stress of the melody culminates (in the fourth line) in the corresponding harmonic of this same gesture (Eb7 - D7), melodically stressing the fast and repeated notes around the chromatic degree Bb/A (third and second degrees) to close this tension arc with the cadence Eb7 - D7 - Gm. That is, the first four lines accumulate tension going back and forth between tonic and subdominant with emphasis on the chromatic degrees (Eb/D and Bb/A), saturate the tension arriving at the dominant preceded by the chromatic degree, finalizing the four-line stanza upon the tension of the dominant to begin the next stanza in the tonic.

It is interesting to note the musical wisdom in this first four-line stanza, where - consciously or not - the melodic and harmonic tensions of each verse increase according to the increase of "tension" on the verbal-poetic content of the verses. After the melodic theme has been developed along these first four lines, the main melodic base is established and will be repeated with small variations during the following three stanzas (between the fifth and sixteenth lines). Along this opening four-line stanza, a synthesizer counterpoints between verses supporting the groove and keeping up the energy. On the head of the second stanza, bass and drums enter grooving and initiating the gradual filling of the texture. From then on, several instruments - percussive, melodic, harmonic, synths - enter the texture, both as groove and counterpoint, always renewing the listener's attention and reinforcing the sorrow aura.

Another musical wisdom - conscious or not - is that the line nine bears a certain feeling of "arrival", of distension, of a certain resolution, for it is the line that identically repeats the beginning of the verbal text - "on May 14" - accompanied by the identical repetition of the melodic gesture in the song. This sensation is accentuated by the filling of the texture with bass and chimbal of the drums, as well as other instruments such as synth - and also by the break and the turn of the drums at the end of the previous line. Interestingly, this musical distension corresponds to the pivot stanza mentioned above (between wound and remedy, from the ninth to the twelfth lines), which starts from the rhyme with "school" to reverence the Resistance of the African-Brazilian people, "good with of ball". That is, deliberately or not, once again the musical text mirrors and underlines the verbal-poetic text, yielding a wonderful poetic-musical cohesion to the desperate communicational need for making oneself understood, that is, "getting the message across".

Finally, from the seventeenth line, the climax of the conversation – "Did I get the message across?" - matches the melodic climax in a very vigorous leap in the high register of the voice surrounding the chromatic degree Bb/A. This vigorous gesture electrifies the question, whose answer is sung twice immediately after, also in the mid-high/mid-tense register of the voice, sentimentalized by the harmonic movement (subdominant-dominant-tonic) and by the feeling of bonanza generated by descending melodic gestures (consonant, diatonic) with longer notes on the name "Ilê Aiyê". This melodic wisdom often has the result of, after a first listening, retaining the sentence "Check out Ilê Aiyê!" in the listener's memory, which, as I explained before, makes this music's communicational efficiency quite impeccable: if the listener by any chance does not absorb any other information from this music but, at last, remembers to "check out Ilê Aiyê", everything that would ever need to be explained will already be properly understood through checking out the Black Pearl, the most beautiful of all beauties.

The repetition of the entire song begins with guitar and accordion solos over form - and variations of the melody - of the introduction, with the timbres and melodic gestures again reinforcing that sorrow aura and introspection. In the repetition there are no gaps and gradations of texture, but several counterpoints of almost all instruments - mainly the accordion and the guitar - with special emphasis on the counterpoints of the female chorus, between verses and over them, sometimes more harmonic, sometimes more rhythmic. The

women's choir then reinforces two very important passages: "Check out Ilê Aiyê!" and the end of the song, "look, boy...watch out cos I'm no child!"

In the end, the option of repeating this last sentence many times – "look, boy...watch out cos I'm no child", as if it were the bottom-line of the song, the final message - is strongly connected to the very compositional impetus of this song, the context, the feelings and events in a story of more than thirty years that led to the composition of 14th of May. To finish my analysis of this song, I transcribe here this story as narrated to me by Lazzo in our interview, evidencing that finishing this song with this specific verse and choosing to repeat it several times is probably related to Lazzo and Jorge's concern: in general, emphasizing that the war is not won, that the fight is eternal, and structuring, and that our enemy is too cunning; and specifically, preventing this song from becoming another Alegria da Cidade ("Joy of the City"), as explained by the account transcribed below.

Context: the compositional process that took 31 years

In our interview, Lazzo Matumbi explained very wisely the general picture that led to the composition of the song 14th of May, in a series of events that started in 1985 and had partial endings in 2016 and 2020. The depth of Lazzo's account is such that it would be useful to dedicate a few separate chapters to debate the complexity of the grave issues he points out, which are intensely connected to the focus of my research and the nature of my analyses. However, for the time being, I try to present Lazzo's account verbatim, which in itself communicates various layers of structural racism and the immense challenges of the anti-racist struggle in Brazil. As it is a fairly extensive account, I transcribe it here in fluent text with small insertions to optimize the understanding of the content. So spoke Lazzo Matumbi, when answering my question about the compositional process of the song 14th of May:

----- start of the account-----

Lazzo Matumbi - Actually, this song, the lyrics are from Jorge Portugal, my partner on 14th of May and my partner in Joy of the City. Actually, let me rewind the tape a bit, just for you to understand the process. When I came back from São Paulo to Salvador - when I thought

I could experience all the euphoria I was experiencing in São Paulo with the Diretas Já - I found Salvador [almost] 40 years ago singing Fricote, which is that song "nigger lady of the kinky hair, that does not like to comb". It broke me up a little, it made me sad, because I thought that, [for the] time I had spent in São Paulo and the time I had experienced all the history of the Blocos Afro Lazzo's account, I thought that we would be perpetuating ourselves in such a way that, when I came back, three four five years later, we would be full on pumping! And then I find this music bursting in Bahia, having big polemics within the movimento negro in Bahia, and the radios and some producers taking [this song, Fricote] all over Brazil. And I was one of the few who, in my opinion, confronted it. And I was very criticized for it, because the talk [of some people] was that I was jealous or envy of the success of the music from my colleague Luiz Caldas. Which had absolutely nothing to do with it, because my indignation was with the lyrics. To contradict that, the lyrics [of Fricote] were by the same composer who wrote the lyrics for Que Bloco É Esse [Mundo Negro, most famous anthem of Ilê Aiyê]. Just for you to see how this mental slavery plays dubiously, killing ourselves. So when I saw these lyrics, I traveled to Rio, by coincidence, on the same flight as Jorge Portugal and Roberto Mendes, and I talked about this indignation of mine, this sadness of mine. Then Jorge Portugal heard the music, heard this talk of mine, and two weeks after I had returned from Rio, he presented me with the lyrics of Joy of the City. Man, I was delighted with that! I was like... I trembled on my legs, because I knew he was a composer of great MPB stars. But as I always said that my ancestry always accompanied me, at the exact moment that my ancestry clicked, I went on singing the song on the guitar and the song was ready!

Well, I tried to record the song [Joy of the City]. I didn't record it. I gave it to Margareth Menezes to record, Margareth recorded it, and the song burst here in Bahia. It got so big that people even said that the song wasn't mine, that I was singing Margareth's song. It was very interesting, because I laughed... someone said "you sing her song well", I said "yeah, man, you have to sing it right, if you don't, she's gonna be pissed off, right". And then I started to realize the following, man. At the end of the lyrics there is a part that says: "Despite of so much no, so much pain that invades us, we are the joy of the city. Despite of so much no, so much marginality, we are the joy of the city". I noticed in some glances that thing of comodism, like "this is the place I want you, doing only the joy, being only entertainment,

being only circus and bread". It bothered me a bit. It bothered me, and instead of singing I started to recite the lyrics. Where in the end it said "despite of so much ... no ... no ..." [I said] "for now we are the joy of the city, but our desire is that we will be the owners of this city, this state and this country!" Just to justify, and to show that I wasn't there for free. And I reported this to my partner Jorge Portugal, I said "man, this is happening... this... this... and I'm very bothered by what's happening". He said, "Really? But I don't see it." I said "yeah, but you don't sing, I'm the one who sings it, I'm the one who looks at the faces, the countenances". He said "well, I didn't know that... okay, I'll prepare something". According to him, whatching Professor Hélio Santos talking about the next day [of the socalled "abolition"], he woke up and wrote this lyric. And then one day he said "partner, do you remember that order you had?" I say "I remember... so what?!" He said, "That's it, here!" I say, "Damn, what a blast." Then he came to give me the lyrics. When I read the lyrics, I said, "Damn, man! This is a History lesson! Wonderful, wonderful!" There was a little detail in the lyrics that bothered me a little and I wanted him to take it off, so I went to him to ask him to take it off he said "no, man... you're my partner in music... if it's bothering you, just remove it". Well, I went there and stirred. After I retouched the lyrics I started to prepare the song. And that was it. Magic! I put the song in front of me, I started singing. I started singing, I got so excited that I couldn't even record the guitar on the phone, because I was still lost in the chords. The chords were simple, of course, because I'm not a guitarist, I'm a guitar percussionist. So, the chords were still a little of of place, I say "f*ck, I can't do it". Then I recorded acapella! I recorded acapella and sent it [to Jorge Portugal]. When he returned [the call], he was crying on one side and I was crying on the other. "F*ck, what a beautiful thing!" ... and all ... I say ... "That's it, man!"

Well... After that, I went to sing in an event that we have here, that is headed by Margareth, which is called the *Yaô Market*, then I said "f*ck, I will release this song, man!" The name *Yaô Market* calls my attention, and I'm going to sing this song. But I haven't tamed the guitar yet to rehearse the musicians. Then when I was with Margareth's band, which was the band that was accompanying the guest artists, I asked everyone to stop playing and leave only the percussionist banging the big drum, as if it were those burials that someone marks like that "tummm tummm" I said "f*ck, that's all I need!" When he started doing that I started singing the song [14th of May]. Man, it caught my attention

and surprised me a lot, when I looked at people, people were crying, and I said "damn ... this is hitting people very hard!" There was a man there who wrote. He's a poet. Man, he put me in the highest place! And he came to me talking, when he was still listening to the music, which later led him to write this chronicle, he came to me in tears! "Man, what the hell are you singing there, man?! You want to f*ck me, crazy... what a beautiful thing you sang there?!" I kept looking at his face because I had the excitement of the song, but I didn't know the dimensions of what it would do to other people. I didn't have the meaures of that, so when it started to happen, a frisson started to roll inside me, man. I said "damn, man... I need to record this, I need to put this energy out because people need to hear this! What we're talking about is the next day!" People in Brazil worry a lot about talking about the May 13, to the point that, nowadays, people start making fun of black people, saying "today is your day huh? it's free hey... today is the day that the princess signed..." Damn, bro! We need to kick some ass [on this discourse, on this absurdity]! Then I went into the studio, man. I talked to a friend of mine, a friend of mine said "I have a studio where you can enter to record". I went into the studio to record this song, I recorded it, and the owner of the studio said "you're not going to record just one song, you're going to record an album". That was 2016, man... I'm recording this album still today [2020], this album is called My Peace. And this song I took and said "no ... I'll release it, man!" Contrary to a lot of people who were next to me saying "no... let's work on it, let's make a clip, let's do this, let's do that". I released it, bro!

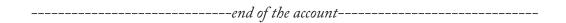
I released the song, the song started singing, until the moment I was invited to receive the *Commendation Senator Abdias Nascimento*. Then I said "boy, look where I'm going... in this place I need to show this song!" In what way? Then I was wondering how I could show this song. When I was invited, I received the Commendation, and Senator Paulo Paim said "Mr. Lázaro, we know here that you are also a great singer, and we would like to know if you feel like singing". I said, "Man, I'd like to talk a little, and then sing" because I'm a little upset with this thing that a singer is just a singing bird, as if he doesn't even think or speak. Then I say "no... I'd like to talk!" I took a poem from a friend of mine called André Luiz Oliveira... who is from there [Brasília], a filmmaker who is a great friend of mine, André Luiz Oliveira...

⁵⁹ Speech and singing in the cerimonie of the Commendation, accessed on July 29, 2020, at 12:50: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XMi5rh0mpxQ

and I retouched a little on the structure of his poem and changed some things, because he made this poem for an album that I participated, which was "100 years of Abolition". Then I began to declare: "500 years have passed and everything remains the same. The whip is now more subtle, and natural. Eternal nights of suffocation in the basement and in the construction. The arm, the strength, [the pillar] of this Brazil, ingratitude. Nobody talks, nobody screams, nobody wants to see my people abandoned today, knowing why. They are vulnerable, indigent, no money. All or almost all descendants of noble African warriors, Indians, men free to love. So many years, not even a roof to live in. Hey, make way! White is the pain that goes away, black is the passion, it's dawn. I know that without the night, there is no day. That's why, my brothers, let's not put off our joy any longer." And then, along with that, I began to sing acapella 14th of May. Dude, I felt that I impacted a little, because the Parliament was silent, both from the people who were sitting in the front line of the board, presiding, organizing the session, and the plenarium itself that was with some senators, some people... people were silent, quiet, listening. When I finished, I said goodbye, I only remember two sentences from Senator Paim: "Strong, very strong what you said ... strong, very strong what you sang". I thanked him and came to my corner, I took my Commendation.

There I had, before that... before receiving this Commendation... I had some friends who even asked me why I was receiving a Commendation in that government. And I told them that I was receiving the Commendation in that government because, for me, the most important thing was not the government, but the name that carries the Commendation, the name of a great hero of my history, that was Abdias do Nascimento, which I would not miss having that in my life, on my shelf. And I went and did it. I recorded it. I released the music. It didn't have much impact. This year [2020] it went viral in a way that I got scared, because I didn't do anything to make it happen. Someone set up exactly this speech of mine, this singing of mine, just my singing in the Senate. Boy, it went viral in such a way that I understood that music has a life of its own. When it has the right message, it has a life of its own, confirming still what Bob Marley said at the time he existed: "I don't have no worries, because the music and the message I'm passing on, it will spread on the planet in such a way that you will remember me and why I'm passing on this message." And if it's always been redemption songs that I've received, I have an obligation to pass it on. So, in my days, at the height of my 63 years of age, and almost 40 years of music, I tell you the following:

My mission, I forward it! If I am doing it right, I don't know, but I continue to serve my ancestry, giving my voice for my people, for a better world. And I would even say in a more conscious way. In favor... trying to be part of a team that dreams to build a better world for all of us, where we can live in an equal way, respecting mainly the differences. Because these indifferences I heard during my whole life, everything I reported to you was what I experienced, was what I saw. So, my wish is that we can build... that my collaboration is this, to your work, that I know in reality that, when I do this, this is the extension of my work... I know that my work will, up from your work, reach a point further than the where I am taking it... and in this I am building a considerably better world, man! So I have no problem at all. I just, every day... it seems like demagogy... I don't ask anything for my ancestry, I just thank them for giving me all this, and with the strongest weapon in the world, which is music!



This panorama of the pains, clashes, yearnings, processes and inspirations that constellate the composition of 14th of May confirms and complements the analyses presented here about the poetic-musical strategy of awareness-raising. In this case, the continuous and cyclical saturation of myriad experiences of naturalization of structural racism (Almeida, 2019), recreational racism (Moreira, 2019), "mental enslavement" (Matumbi, 2020), the effects and rebounds of the eugenicist project (Fanon, 1952), the saturation of individual and collective prospects and frustrations, of the perception of his own anti-racist struggle being co-opted by the racist structure, all this - and much more - ended up inspiring Lazzo to inspire Jorge who re-inspired Lazzo who finally inspired other artists to materialize and spread out this music. That is why I called this song the compositional process that took 31 years. In a way, to a greater or lesser extent, several events over all these years were "cooked" together and were catalyzed in specific ways at key moments that eventually resulted in this poetic-musical potence. In this sense, 14th of May - as "years of compositional process" - is a metonymy of the anti-racist struggle as a whole, in constant re-updating, re-strategising, and improving.

Furthermore, as Lazzo asserts and as I musicologically demonstrated through my analyses, this song has had a very strong impact on its listeners, demonstrating the immense

potential of music awareness in general and the factual exemplification of this "powerful weapon" being used in the Panafrican revolutionary struggle in Brazil.⁶⁰ For all these reasons analyzed here in the verbal-poetic and musical dimensions, the rhetoric of this music is impeccable, a true masterpiece. The commotion it has caused in many listeners proves the deep artistic wisdom "of this team", from the depth and perspicacity of each verse, to the musical wisdom of each melodic gesture, passing through all the perfect choices of arrangement and interpretation. Above all, the perfect coherence and cohesion between verbal-poetic text and melodic-musical content, which gives the 14th of May great communicational power, is attested also in the situations in which acapella is sung.

As mentioned here earlier, part of the musical wisdom of this composition lies in the end of the song, which repeats the last verse – "Look, boy! Watch out cos I'm no child!" - even when sung acapella (and in the recording repeats the chorus twice and this verse five times at the end). This account by Lazzo shows why the song ended with this verse, and not with any previous one or any other that would maintain the optimistic mood of the previous verse: to ensure that this song did not fall in the same place of conformism and complacency in which the song Joy of the City had fallen.

For all this and sp much more, there is much to be discussed and deepened about ideas and demands of the anti-racist struggle made explicit in the poetic-musical content - as well as in the processes that led to the composition - of this music. However, some of these analytical possibilities have been and will be discussed here in other chapters, so I close, for the moment, my analysis of this song, certain of having already given a good part of the implications, explanations, and due references, elucidating the analytical paradigm that made me "classify" this music as especially representative of the *poetic-musical strategy of awareness-raising*.

⁶⁰ It is important to point out that both Lazzo Matumbi and Jorge Portugal have been working for many years in repertories with songs similar to May 14th, such as Abolição, Punho Cerrado, Lamento, Luandaê, Deusa do Ébano; and A Massa, Brasileiro Profissão Sonhar, respectively; among others, as the Joy of the City itself, from both of them together. However, this song was chosen as especially representative, both in the verbal-poetic and musical dimensions, to debate the concepts analyzed here.

2.3. Poetic-Musical Strategy of Counter-intelligence

At first glance, a *Counter-intelligence* may sound very similar to the strategy analyzed in the previous chapter and, in fact, the Counter-intelligence is a form of *awareness-raising*. However, as in a warlike context, Intelligence and Counter-intelligence need to be very focused, specific, and accurate. Too broad scopes end up serving well in more general demands, but help less in more specific ones. Therefore, in my analysis, *counterintelligence* is indeed a form of *awareness-rraising* but hyper-focused, aimed at a very specific nodule of deceiving narrative – usually because the narrative dispute in question is particularly crucial in the dynamics and specific demands of the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle. For example, the political-ideological war around the "Quotas Law" (law no 12.711 of August 29, 2012 and Decree no 7.824 of October 11, 2012) has for decades fuelled heated discussions in all sectors of Brazilian society, as well as in other countries of the African world. Faced with the tactical urgency of defusing the bombs of intellectual dishonesty of the *Central Racist Intelligence* that try to invalidate and demonize the Quota Law, the artist and revolutionary Bia Ferreira composed the song *Quota Is No Hand-out*.⁶¹

This is a very representative example of the *revolutionary counter-intelligence* operated through Music. As we see in other songs, and even in other compositions by the same artist, the topics handled in the music can encompass broader and more generic issues, or approach the issue in question without going too deep, or even focus on the exact same purpose but approaching in a more abstract, ethereal, allegorical, less pragmatic or less piercing way. However, what can be seen in this composition is something quite different: an extremely focused, sociologically based, vividly contextualized, emotionally heavy and visceral argument, and a cohesion between verbal-poetic text and musical treatment that yields an excellent rhetoric to the work as whole - rhetoric that is indispensable when it comes to *counter-intelligence*. This communicational power can be partially perceived here by the transcription of the verses in their entirety:

[See lyrics on the following pages]

⁶¹ Live recording by *Colmeia 22*, accessed on August 08, 2020 at 21:40, available at:: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ClKAJWeJJWE

Not by chance, this song has leveraged Bia Ferreira's career in recent years, re-arranged and recorded in the album *Igreja Lesbiteriana – Um Chamado* (2019).⁶² This revolutionary poetry can be analyzed as an *arc of discourse* divided into five parts: the exposition of the problem (*sociological perspective*), the punctual refutation of a racist argument (*political perspective*), the ancestral nexus (*historical perspective*), the war cries (*revolutionary perspective*) and the rapture (*tool of poetic-musical rhetoric*). This schematic division is clear in both verbal-poetic and musical dimensions.

Beginning with the sociological perspective (from the first to the forty-sixth line), Bia paints a vivid picture of the daily difficulties and sufferings of an African-Brazilian girl/woman. It can be assumed that most of the events narrated in these verses are part of the composer's own life story, added to facts that, although they did not occur directly with her, are notably part of the everyday reality of most African-Brazilian women – thus described in detail by the composer, recovering pains and traumas of hers, of her sisters', her friends', her family's, her colleagues', etc. The opening line already shows its purpose and presents what will be refuted in the following verses, beginning with "There is a lot they didn't tell you at school. Quota is no hand-outs!" Then it opens the argument by summoning up the need for empirical-pragmatic-realistic (and ethical!) analysis in such contexts, "Try it then, to be born Black in the favela, you'll see (...) we know how it ends when it starts like this" – that is, remembering right away that the debate in question is not about numbers on a paper nor about individual subjective opinions, but about the lives of people who suffer daily all kinds of violence resulting from the historical processes of dehumanization, exploitation, oppression and marginalization.

Once the issue to be discussed is presented and the perspective of the analysis is fine-tuned, Bia gives - from the seventh line to the forty-sixth line - the sociological contextualization of the routine of an average African-Brazilian girl/woman: insufficient public and/or community daycare; massive child labor; overwork by all family members to cover the family's minimum survival conditions; insufficient or ineffective public transportation infrastructure (eventual absence of student free-pass and/or increased price of public transportation being far too expensive for people with lower income); excessive

Recording by their own label, accessed on August 8, 2020 at 21:35, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eG9W1mU7Ews

Cota Não É Esmola

(Bia Ferreira)

[1]	Existe muita coisa que não te disseram na escola
	Cota não é esmola! Experimenta nascer preto na favela, pra você ver
	O que rola com preto e pobre não aparece na TV
[5]	_Opressão, humilhação, preconceito
	A gente sabe como termina quando começa desse jeito Desde pequena fazendo o corre pra ajudar os pais Cuida de criança, limpa a casa, outras coisas mais
[10]	Deu meio-dia, toma banho e vai pra escola a pé _Não tem dinheiro pro busão
[10]	Sua mãe usou mais cedo pra correr comprar o pão
	E já que ela tá cansada, quer carona no busão
	Mas como é preta e pobre, o motorista grita: "Não!"
[14]	_E essa é só a primeira porta que se fecha
	Não tem busão, já tá cansada, mas se apressa Chega na escola, outro portão se fecha
	"Você demorou, não vai entrar na aula de história!
[18]	_Espera, senta aí, já já dá uma hora!
	Espera mais um pouco e entra na segunda aula
	E vê se não se atrasa de novo!" a diretora fala
[22]	Chega na sala, agora o sono vai batendo
[22]	E ela não vai dormir, devagarinho vai aprendendo que Se a passagem é 3,80, e você tem 3,00 na mão
	Ela interrompe a professora e diz:
	"Então não vai ter pão!"
[26]	_E os amigos, que riem dela todo dia
	Riem mais e a humilham mais! O que você faria?!?!
	Ela cansou da humilhação e não quer mais escola
	E no natal ela chorou porque não ganhou uma bola
[30]	_O tempo foi passando e ela foi crescendo
	Agora lá na rua ela é a preta do suvaco fedorento
[24]	Que alisa o cabelo pra se sentir aceita!
[34]	_Mas não adianta nada, todo mundo a rejeita Agora ela cresceu, quer muito estudar
	Termina a escola, a apostila. Ainda tem vestibular!
[37]	E a boca seca, seca, nem um cuspe
[4.]	Vai pagar a faculdade
	Porque preto e pobre não vai pra USP
	Foi o que disse a professora que ensinava lá na escola
	Que "todos são iguais" e que "cota é esmola"
[42]	Cansada de esmolas e sem o dim da faculdade
	Ela ainda acorda cedo
	E limpa três apartamentos no centro da cidade Experimenta nascer preto, pobre na comunidade
	Cê vai ver como são diferentes as oportunidades
[47]	E nem venha me dizer que isso é vitimismo
	Não bota a culpa em mim pra encobrir o seu racismo
	E nem venha me dizer - que isso é vitimi
	Que isso é vitimi - que isso é vitimismo!

[51] _São nações escravizadas E culturas assassinadas A voz que ecoa do tambor Chega junto, e venha cá Você também pode lutar E aprender a respeitar Porque o povo preto veio para revolucionar Não deixem calar a nossa voz, não! | 3x [58] RE - VO - LU - ÇÃO!!! [60]Nascem milhares dos nossos Cada vez que um nosso cai! 3x E é peito aberto, espadachim do gueto, nigga samurai! Peito aberto, espadachim do gueto, nigga! | 3x E é peito aberto, espadachim do gueto, nigga samurai! || 2x _Vamo pro canto onde o relógio pára E no silêncio o coração dispara Vamo reinar igual Zumbi e Dandara! Odara! Odara! Experimenta nascer preto, pobre na comunidade Cê vai ver como são diferentes as oportunidades E nem venha me dizer que isso é vitimismo, hein Não bota a culpa em mim pra encobrir o seu RA-CIS-MO! Existe muita coisa que não te disseram na escola Eu disse: cota não é esmola! Cota não é esmola! Eu disse: cota não é esmola! Cota não é esmola! Cota não é esmola! $\parallel 2x$ São nações escravizadas e culturas assassinadas É a voz que ecoa do tambor! Chega junto, e venha cá! Você também pode lutar E aprender a respeitar Porque o povo preto veio RE-VO-LU-CIO-NAR!

Quota Is No Hand-out

(Bia Ferreira)

[1]	There's a lot they didn't tell you at school Quota is no hand-out!
	Try it then, to be born Black in the Favela [slum], you'll see What goes down with Blacks and poor people is not on TV
[5]	Oppression, humiliation, prejudice
[°]	We know how it ends when it starts like this
	Since she was a little girl, doing whatever it takes to help her parents
	Take care of children, clean the house, other stuff more
	Hits noon, she takes a shower and goes to school on foot
[10]	_No money for the bus
	Her mother had to use it earlier to run and buy bread
	And since she's tired, she wants a ride on the bus
	But as she is black and poor, the driver shouts: "No!"
[14]	And this is just the first door that shuts in her face
	No bus, she's already tired, but she hurries it up
	Arrives at school, another door is closed
	"You are late, you won't get into History class!
[18]	_Wait, sit down, it's already one hour!
	Wait a little more to enter in the next class
	And don't be late again!" the School Principal says
[22]	She arrives in the class, now gets sleepyAnd she will not snooze. Slowly starts to learn that
[44]	If the bus ticket is 3,80 and she has 3,00 in her hand
	She interrupts the teacher and says:
	"So, we'll have no bread!"
[26]	_And the colleagues, that laugh at her everyday
	Laugh even more, and humiliate her even more
	What would you do?!?!
	She got tired of the humiliation and doesn't want to go to school anymore
	And on Christmas Eve, she cried for not getting a ball
[30]	Time passed by and she was growing up
[]	Now, on the hood, she is the nigga of the smelly armpit
	That straightens her hair to feel accepted!
[34]	_But it's for nothing!!! Everybody rejects her!!!
	Now she is grown, wants to study
	Finishes school, the textbook, still has the university's entrance examinations!
[37]	The dry mouth dries up, not a spit
[37]	Will have to pay for the college
	Because Black and poor don't go to the Federal University of São Paulo
	This is what the teacher said in school
	That "all are equal" and that "quota is hand-out"
[42]	T' 1 C1 1 . 1 . 1 . 1
[42]	Tired of hand-outs and without money for college
	She still wakes up early to clean three flats downtown Try to be born Black and poor in the hood
	You will see how different the opportunities are
[47]	_And don't you dare saying this is victimism
	Don't you blame it on me to cloak your racism
	And don't you dare saying this is victim
	That this is victimThat this is victimism!

[51]	_Nations enslaved
	And assassinated cultures
	The voice that echoes from the drums
	Step up, come on here
	You can fight too
	And learn to respect
	Because Black people came to revolutionize
[58]	_Don't let our voice be silenced, no! 3x RE-VO-LU-TION!!! 2x
	RE-VO-LU-TION!!! 2x
[60]	_Thousands of us are born
	Everytime one of us falls 3x
	Open chest, ghetto swordsman, nigga-samurai!
[63]	_Open chest, ghetto swordsman, nigga! 3x
	_Open chest, ghetto swordsman, nigga! 3x Open chest, ghetto swordsman, nigga-samurai! 2x
[65]	_Let's go to the corner where the clock stops
	And, in the silence, the heart soars
	Let's reign like Zumbi, Dandara
	Odara! Odara! [Marvellous, marvellous!] 2x
[69]	_Try to be born Black and poor in the hood
	You will see how different the opportunities are
	And don't you say to me that this is victimism
	Don't you blame it on me to cloak your racism
	There are a lot of things they didn't teach you at school
[74]	- II
	I said: Quota is no hand-out
	Quota is no hand-out 2x
[77]	_Nations enslaved and assassinated cultures
	The voice the echoes from the drums!
	Step up, come on here, you can fight too
	And learn to respect
	Because Black people came to
	RE-VO-LU-TIO-NI-ZE!

humiliation; total lack of peace of mind; excessive physical and mental fatigue (excessive workload, going to school on foot, and still having to render educationally/professionally just as much as people who do not face the same difficulties, tiredness, and humiliations); excess of logistical, material, psychological, and emotional obstacles that generate or aggravate misfortunes and precariousness; excessive demotivation and discouragement; all that, from the smallest (and most individualizing) impediments and hinderings, to the largest (and most structuring) facts of systematic socioeconomic sabotage that most African-Brazilians face daily and continuously.

Bia rightly emphasizes crucial points by avoiding any kind of euphemism when it comes to drawing attention to the difficulties inherent to a heavily racialized society. When she speaks of the "closed/shut doors" and exemplifies structural racism in various instances, she makes a point of underlining things that happen more frequently and more intensely "because she is black", not just "because she is poor" (Carneiro, 1997). Unfortunately, one of the serious scabs of the co-optation of Marxism by the hegemonic Euro-colonialist socioeconomic/sociopolitical model is precisely the crystallization of some analytical misunderstandings that presume *social class* as the main marker of the structure of oppression and exploitation, and it is still up to many soldiers of the anti-racist struggle to incessantly prove the irrefutable preeminence of the ethnic-racial factor in such structure when it comes to colonized countries. Roughly put, there are a series of obstacles, traumas, and humiliations that afflict the so-called "black poor people" and do not afflict or afflict less the so-called "white poor people" in general; and, likewise, a series of facilities and privileges common to the so-called "white rich people" that do not extend to the so-called "black rich people" in general.

Knowing this reality first hand, literally "felt in her skin", Bia never lets this understanding get lost along the verses in the whole arc of discourse. For this reason, she painfully emphasizes the psychic, cognitive, and emotional wounds that the racist-colonialist structure causes in African-Brazilian individuals and collectives (Fanon, 1952), giving examples at both ends of the violence, but with a special focus on the excruciating impact that racism has on self-esteem, self-image, self-confidence, self-love, strength of inspiration, ambition, racial pride, cultural pride, sense of identity and belonging, and the potential for empowerment of the African-Brazilian person - resources that are undoubtedly immensely

decisive to individual and collective prosperity. She reminds us of: "her colleagues who laugh at her every day, laugh even more and humiliate her more! What would you do? She got tired of the humiliation and doesn't wanna go to school anymore, and on Christmas she cried because she didn't get a ball. Time went by and she grew up, now she's the nigga girl of the smelly armpitt that straightens her hair to feel accepted! But it's useless, everyone rejects her!"

Closing the first part, which underlies the sociological perspective, the last lines wrap up everything that was said so far, recalling the very beginning: "Try it then, to be born Black and poor in the hood. You will see how different the opportunities are!" This last verse gives an poetic-musical argumentational closing to the first part, placing itself already as the pivot for the next part. In the next line begins the second part, somewhat synthesized, summarizing the political perspective. This refrain categorically refutes a specific jargon of the Central Racist Intelligence, which is the disrespectful denial of the debate altogether - unfortunately still very common among some individuals and collectives - trying to label as "victimism" the public policy of affirmative action of the Quotas Law and all the discussion around it. The importance of the categoric refutation of this disrespect - or better said, of this racist violence - is emphasized by singing twice this chorus: "And don't dare saying this is victimism! Don't you blame me it on me to cloak your racism!" The hard-hitting deflection of this disagreement ends up being a transitional part in the arc of discourse, that is, a compact summary of a political perspective bridging the sociological perspective - built in the previous verses - and the historical perspective called for in the following verses.

From the fifty-first line onwards is summoned up the ancestral struggle, the trajectory of the African peoples around the world, the very essence of structural racism and all its results - "Nations enslaved and assassinated cultures. It is the voice that echoes from the drum!" This ancestral link reinforces then the Dassalu Manifesto⁶³ about the struggle being eternal and being the responsibility of all of us, amending a general call to struggle – "Step up and come on here! You can fight too, and learn to respect, because the Black people came to revolutionize!" After backing the sociological perspective and reinforcing it with the two short bridges to the political perspective and to the historical perspective, the music flows then into the revolutionary

⁶³ Dassalu is the manifesto - philosophy, technology - elaborated by a collective of artivist women of African and/or indigenous descent, such as Doralyce, Bia Ferreira, among others. It consists of a holistic approach to the search for contemporary ethics and aesthetics of the decolonization of bodies and minds, cooperation among agents and resources, and the strengthening of networks of action in various fronts of revolutionary struggle.

perspective.

Between the fifty-eighth and the sixtieth lines the music engenders vigorous war cries in order to electrify the audience and, as Bia says, "plant the seed of the Revolution in people's hearts". Each shout is repeated two, four or more times, invigorating the mood for battle on the part of those who sing, listen, play, dance or in any way share this ritual. It is a true war song, which affects ourselves and our brothers and sisters in the struggle, as well as acts forcefully in the intimidation of our enemies. "Do not let our voice be silenced, no! RE-VO-LU-TION!!! Thousands of us are born every time one of us falls!!! Marielle Franco, here! It's open chest, ghetto swordsman, nigga-samurai! Let's go to the corner where the clock stops, and in the silence, the heart soars! Let us reign like Zumbi and Dandara! Odara! Odara!"

All these war chants are very piercing and quite straight-forward, but it is worth noting a very important and extremely revolutionary detail. When it is sung that "thousands of us are born every time one of us falls", two central issues are raised: first, a structural point of African cultures, which is precisely the eternal return of the soul of our ancestors to the bodies of their direct descendants (Mukuna, 2020), which produces - and is produced - by our ancestral cosmovision in which collectivity is placed before and above individuality, and in which individual resources and achievements are reinvested in collective demands - investing in the struggle, including one's life to it, if necessary; secondly, it is a bravery for battle normally found only in very specific sectors of society, in general, antagonized or vilanized by the hegemonic mindset and hegemonic narrative. In other words, this verse expresses an attitude in the face of death that is totally different from the attitude of Euro-Western hegemony; the understanding that the life of a revolutionary murdered in the struggle is, to a great extent, more valuable to the Revolution than the life of a counter-revolutionary who died of old age; the understanding that, if thousands die in the struggle, they do not die in vain, for millions will forward the Struggle.

Within all my analyses, this cry is, without a shadow of a doubt, the strongest presence of *Ayiti* in the *Panafrican revolutionary music* in Brazil. It is so strong that it is reminiscent of episodes of the Haitian Revolution (1791 - 1804), as well as of the massive uprisings in 2019 in Haiti. The revolutionary Kender (interviewed by Margaret Prescod in the streets of Port-au-Prince during the protest, on the occasion of "hunting down the president" in the mass revolt) assured that "it has been much worse and yet we have managed (...) there are

only fifteen thousand police soldiers in Haiti, and the population is fifteen million people... so... fifteen thousand against fifteen million, when we decide something, we can do it!"⁶⁴ This level of commitment to the struggle is something relatively rare, and perhaps, that is the reason why changes in the racist-colonialist structure occur, in general, so slowly and ineffectively. Such a revolutionary spirit being so strong and outspoken in music is also relatively uncommon, at least in Brazil, and is more present in general in Rap, Hip-hop, Funk and in related styles, derived from or influenced by them.

Finally, the finish-line of this song is constructed from the sixtieth line, analogous to a "coda" of Euro-Western music, which recycles together the previous thematic blocks with reiterations and variations, as a recapitulation to finalize the arc of discourse. Both in a musical composition and in any scientific production and in any discourse, for all intents and purposes, it is common to close any communication by briefly recapitulating the main points discussed throughout the contest, taking the opportunity to stress what constitutes the main core of the message and synthesize a conclusion. In this case, Bia sews excerpts from all previous sections (from the sociological perspective, from the political perspective, from the historical perspective and from the revolutionary perspective) emphasizing the fight against RA-CISM and that Black people came to *RE-VO-LU-TIO-NI-ZE!*

Musical dimension

The five parts that divide the discursive arc of the verbal-poetic text are integrally supported by contrasting sections in the musical treatment. The musical style, in the first place, sounds very representative of contemporary Brazilian productions, merging different musical styles and also carrying siginificant influence of various hip-hop aesthetics. All the melodic nuances and groove variations throughout the song happen approximately upon this chord progression ||: Cm7 | Gm7 | Fm7 | Bb7 | Bø :||65 repeating this harmony from tip to toe. In the different recordings made so far, the rhythmic base changes a little and the groove varies throughout the song, but it roughly revolves around a funked rhythm, like a slow funk. The 2018 voice-and-guitar recording brings at first a groove as a reframing of the

⁶⁴ Sojourner Truth journalistic coverage by Pacifica Radio Network: https://youtu.be/xhRbhadxkwg

Depending on the *groove* and the moment, the last two chords may vary slightly, such as the Bb not being dominant, for example, and the B half-diminished being diminished or being dominant or half-diminished with added just fifth.

USA funk drums translated on the guitar, and then, variations of that. The band recordings differ slightly, being a groove more to accentuate the strong beats (second and fourth). In the album *Igreja Lesbiteriana* (2019), the arrangement is somewhat more complex, with more accentuated nuances of instrumentation, groove and dynamics, but also funked in general—with a subtle accompaniment *atabaques* (hand-drums, without drumsticks) over a bass line and a vocal line that harmonizes and counterpoints the first part.

Taking into account in the compositional analysis only the elements that remain in the different arrangements of the different recordings, one can see that the *sociological perspective* is melodically presented in Rap style, with a less sinuous melody, more spoken/declaimed, without or almost without leaps nor long notes. In this poetic-musical composition one notes the stylistic particularity, quite different, for example, of the sambas-enredo, which rapidly mention facts, people and symbols without much explanation or detail, that is, which consist of more *melodic content/movement* and less *verbal content/movement*. Therefore, here in this music, this typical Hip-hop musical artifice, for being more declared and fitting more words, serves better the purpose of this first part, which has this more detailed, more chronistic character, to narrate a more vividly and complex quotidian, fact by fact, without stopping, deviating nor stretching too much for melodic purposes.

The second part, transitional also in the verbal-poetic text, is already marked by a melodic change, more sung than spoken, rhythmically tighter and more vigorous. The repetition of this part is sung with the same melody a just fifth above, escalating the energy and the tonus of the music, consistent with a harsh refutation of a racist violence. The third part then brings a more sinuous and sentimental melody, well framed to the evocation of the ancestral nexus in these verses. The second gesture of this section, "step up and come on here", is the most melodically moving part of the whole song, with a certain melodic elegance that seduces the listener to understand the message, precisely in the summoning to the struggle as a perfect transition to the war cries that follow.

The fourth part is the energetic climax of the music, where both the groove and the singing reach the peak of tonus to electrify the war cries. Not by chance, it is also the excerpt of greater vocal virtuosity, increasing to the maximum the communicational and cathartic potential of the music, with a melodic design and an emotional, vigorous and visceral interpretation. Emphasizing the climax of the verbal-poetic text with this musical

climax, fortifying the revolutionary spirit and the promptness to war, the final gestures of the music are constructed with the recapitulation of key points and the strong emphasis on the central objective of all this poetic-musical discourse, reiterating in a musically vigorous way - melodically in constant and gradual ascension and electrization - the essential verse "Quota is no hand-out! I said: Quota is no hand-out!" The end is the musical closing-up with rthe eiteration of the third part, precisely the stanza that synthesizes the historical perspective, the call to struggle, and the sociopolitical-moral-spiritual legacy of the African Revolution.

For all this musical wisdom, generating a strong potential for persuasion and recruitment, I present this music as, within the repertoire analyzed so far, the most representative music of the here called poetic-musical strategy of counter-intelligence. Taking the Quotas Law as a vital battle in the anti-racist struggle in Brazil, this song by Bia Ferreira focuses on this specific issue and hit ithard, performing a kind public service via political education and awareness-raising. Unlike the strategy analyzed in the previous chapter, in which awareness-raising is something broader and more generally related to racism and to the condition of the African-Brazilian people, this song attacks a single point of intellectual dishonesty from the Central Racist Intelligence addressing this single issue in depth. That is, the music is not merely an aesthetic expression or any extravasation of a punctual composer in response to a punctual offense. It is a meticulous and accurate anti-racist effort of immense tactical importance in this all-out war. Of course, there are also several other topics of discussion and counter-argumentation that can be addressed in this song - such as the dropouts being lower among quotists than among non-quotist, or the equivalence in the academic performance of quotists compared to non-quotists, or the equivalence in the university's quality in general after the implementation of the quotas system. In this sense, this work of Bia Ferreira, like everything else in the revolutionary struggle, is neither alone nor immediate; it is situated in a complementary and organic way alongside the various brothers and sisters in arms along the most diverse flanks of battle.

2.4. Poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation

Under my analysis, among the poetic-musical strategies that can be assessed song by song, the one that occurs in relatively smaller quantity is the *Counter-humiliation*. However, it is as important as the others. The musical style where this compositional strategy - or rather, this stylistic trait - is most powerful is the Rap/Hip-hop, together with the Brazilian Funk and other styles related to or influenced by them. In fact, in the other styles analyzed here, such as the different kinds of Samba, Reggae, Samba-reggae, other Brazilian musical traditions and the so-called "MPB" (*Música Popular Brasileira*, Brazilian Popular Music) in general, all the other strategies happen massively (*affirmation*, *awareness-raising* and *counter-intelligence*), also very commonly built totally or partially upon issues of social or political nature. Nonetheless, in those last-mentioned styles, even in the "more engaged" songs, arising out of social or political battles, the other three strategies are very common, but much less common is the *counter-humiliation*. Even in the styles mentioned first (the likes of Hip-hop and Funk), where *counter-humiliation* is indeed common, it is not the only strategy, actually sharing space also with other strategies.

Here I present the song From Inside the Apartment (Bia Ferreira)66 as especially representative of the poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation. In this case it is particularly important to emphasize that this analytical perspective - framing this song as a counter-humiliation strategy - is "exogenous and descriptive", that is, "not endogenous nor prescriptive", given that this is not the terms that Bia Ferreira uses to refer to her own work. For the composer, music is a form of awareness-raising, of political education, and of recruitment to the Struggle, and it is not essentially a form of aggression at all. However, in all the repertoire analyzed in my research, I found in fact countless ways of working on awareness-raising, political education, and the recruitment to the Struggle through poetic-musical artistry, but From Inside the Apartment notably differs from the others in some aspects. Looking deeper into such discrepancies in comparison with other songs, I came to the conclusion that there is "something else" in this music, which extrapolates what the others have in common and in fact reaches other processes and other results – the point where I decided then to call it poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation because it seems

Recording by their own Label, accessed on August 8,2020 at 21:42, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xlTsc4nm_NI

to be somewhat based on a certain "pedagogy of mockery" (Dafari, 2019) or something similar.

[See lyrics on the following pages]

As mentioned just above, *mockery* is a discourse tool widely used in certain musical styles, also applied as an effective rhetoric artifice in several other non-musical or not-essentially-musical situations. As Lasimba Dafari (2019) explains, this methodology has already become crucial as survival technology and existential philosophy in many contexts, from the *Repente* (improvised poetry singing) to Capoeira, from *Shade*⁶⁷ to Samba de Roda, from tap to *break*, from daily conversations to the battles of *freestyle*. Therefore, in this analysis it is necessary to get rid of the negative semantic charges and any preconceived notions about the words *debauchery*, *insult*, *humiliation*, *aggression*, *violence*, etc. In short, the hegemonic mentality – strongly biased towards pacifist, conformist, naïvist, institutionalist, and bureaucratizing mindsets – needs to be left aside in order to truly understand what I call here *poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation*.

It is necessary to seriously understand that, in the colonialist context and in everything that results from it, violence is unlimited and ubiquitous, and it is not up to anyone to legalize/legitimize the violences of the State and of the prevailing socioeconomic model, much less to criminalize/demonize the violent reactions of individuals and collectives massacred under that original violence. From Zumbi to Desalin, from Fanon to Nyerere, from Malcolm to Sankara, countless victories of the African Revolution depended heavily on a keen understanding of the funcionings of the racist-colonialist structure, as well as on the understanding that, historically, values like ethical negotiation, rational argumentation, reciprocity, tolerance, indulgence, altruism, and humanist solidarity do not constitute the conceptual and operational bulge of the political and financial elite of Euro-Western society. In other words, it seems neither logical nor fair to expect complete pacifist resignation on the part of people constantly violated and harassed by structural racism. Like the acclaimed

⁶⁷ According to Dorian Corey (1991) in the film "Paris Is Burning", *throw-shade* is a LGBTQI+ cultural heritage that consists of the foremost refined art of exchanging insults, an extremely important and central element in the daily life of LGBTQI+ communities around the world, generating even major championships and festivals. In Brazil the verb *gongar* is also used, among other slang.

De dentro do Apê

(Bia Ferreira)

[1]	De dentro do apê
	Ar condicionado, macbook, você vai dizer
	Que é de esquerda, feminista, defende as mulher
F=1	Posta lá que é vadia, que pode chamar de puta
[5]	_Sua fala nem condiz com a sua conduta
	Vai pro rolê com o carro que ganhou do pai
	Pra você vê, não sabe o que é "trabai"
	E quer ir lá dizer Que entende sobre a luta de classe
[10]	_Eu só sugiro que cê se abaixe
[-0]	Porque meu tiro é certo e vai chegar direto na sua hipocrisia
	O papo é reto, eu vou te perguntar
	Cê me responde se cê aguentar, guria
[14]	_Quantas vezes você correu atrás de um busão
	Pra não perder a entrevista?
	Chegar lá e ouviu um "Não insista,
	A vaga já foi preenchida, viu
	È que você não se encaixa no nosso perfil"
[20]	Quantas vezes você você saiu do seu apartamento E chegou no térreo com um prato de alimento
[20]	Pra tia que tava trampando no sinal
	Pra sustentar os quatro filhos e já tá passando mal de fome?
	Quando foi que cê parou pra perguntar o nome
[24]	_E pra falar sobre seu ativismo?
	Quando foi que cê pisou numa favela pra falar sobre o seu
	Fe-mi-nis-mo?
[27]	Sempre deixando pra amanhã
L J	Deixando pra amanhã
	Miliano que cês tão queimando sutiã 4x
[30]	_E nós, as mulher preta?
	Nós só serve pra vocês mamar na teta
	Ama de leite dos brancos
	Sua vó não hesitou quando mandou a minha lá pro tronco
[34]	Ê ê ê ê!!!
_	Ô ô ô ô!!! 4x
	[repete tudo]
[36]	De dentro do apê!
	Ar condicionado, macbook, você vai dizer
	De dentro do apê, ê ê!
	De dentro do apê!

From inside the Apartment

(Bia Ferreira)

[1]	From inside the apartment
	Air conditioning, MacBook, you're gonna say That you are a leftist, feminist, defend the women
	Post that you are a slut, that we can call you a whore
[5]	Your speech doesn't even match your conduct
	You go party with the car that your daddy gave you
	So, let's face it, you don't even know what "work" means
	And you go around saying that
[40]	You understand about the Class Struggle
[10]	ee :
	My shoot is sharp and will hit straight in your hypocrisy I talk straight, I'm gonna ask you
	And you answer if you can, girl!
[14]	How many times did you run after a bus to
	Not lose the time for a job interview? Then private it just to listen to: "Don't insight."
	Then, arrive at it just to listen to: "Don't insist! The position is already filled, and you don't fit in our profile!"
	How many times did you leave your flat
[20]	And landed down on the first floor with a food plate
	To the auntie working in the street
	To sustain the four kids, and who is already fainting out of hunger?
Fa (3	How many times did you stop to ask her name
[24]	And to talk about your activism?
	When did you step into a Favela [slum] to talk about your Fe-mi-nism?
	TC III IIISIII:
[27]	Always leaving it for tomorrow
	Leaving it for tomorrow
	Thousand years you've being burning bras 4x
[30]	And what about us? The Black women?
	We are no use to you other than to suck our tits!
	Wet nurse for the whites!
	Your grandma did not hesitate to sent mine to the pillory trunk
[34]	Eh eh eh eh
. ,	$\overline{\text{Oh, oh, oh, oh}}$ $4x$
	[
	[repeat everything]
[36]	From inside the apartment
	Air conditioning, MacBook, you will say
	From inside the apartment, eh, eh, eh
	From inside the apartment!

aphorism that Luis Gama (1880) is believed to have said in a court of law in defense of his client: the slave who kills his master, under any circumstances, does so in self-defense. Naturally, in response to constant assault, the thoughts, attitudes, actions, reactions and discourses of the *assaulted ones* will quite often be in the same currency, in different levels and forms of aggressiveness - which finds no exception in the arts, poetry and music.

In this sense, facing this music, as well as many others, whenever the listener senses debauchery, insult, humiliation, aggression or violence against them, it is necessary to understand that, objectively, it is actually about a counter-debauchery, counter-insult, counter-humiliation, counter-aggression and counter-violence, being, as a rule, an infinitesimal fraction of what the composer suffers daily. The hegemonic mindset – largely a legacy of the so-called "modernity" – is so firmly built on the assumption of pacifism and conformism to the *selective legalization of violence* (Carmichael, 1971) that it becomes widely difficult, in various areas of research, to try to discuss debauchery as episteme, methodology, pedagogy, and didactics, or as Bia Ferreira and Lasimba Dafari say, as a *survival technology*. And in this specific example, *From Inside the Apartment*, the tactical value of debauchery is effectively pedagogical and didactic, given the systematic application of music as a *technology of political education* in most of Bia's compositions.

Another particularity that makes this music especially representative is the fact that the message of the music focuses not only on the "convinced racist", as Sueli Carneiro often says, but also - and perhaps even more so - on the "racist by resonance", that is, the person who unconsciously reproduces racist discourse and racist attitude, or who claims to be conceptually supportive of the anti-racist struggle but does effectively nothing - or very little - in favor of the Struggle. In this poetic-musical approach, two very relevant issues of the Panafrican struggle in general can be noticed: first, the understanding that racism is not merely the adjectivation of specific events, but rather an ideology and, most of all, a *structure* - the very core of the Euro-Western political-financial system and the main social marker of this globalized socioeconomic model - that makes absolutely all inhabitants of this system to be racist, a priori, until they consciously seek to neutralize the effects of this ideology on the constitution of their psyche and their behavior (Almeida, 2019); second, the fact that, precisely because it is a *structure*, the anti-racist struggle depends on fighting off racism on all fronts in all sectors of society, and therefore depends not only on mere agreement (or

non-disagreement), rather on the active and effective contribution to the Struggle by as many people as possible, by any means necessary.

Moreover, a very representative and especially contemporaneous point in this song is the relatively recent rise of Black Feminism and its recent consolidation in academic and political debates in Brazil. This song, From Inside the Apartment, turns out to be a poeticmusical testimony of the composer herself, who said in many interviews that she felt, for quite a while, that her person and her people were not contemplated by feminist discourses and attitudes, empirically confronted with various facts that have been moving militants and scholars of Black feminism and mulherismo afrikana - and other movements - to mobilize and organize themselves under new or reformed epistemological, political and strategic perspectives. In this sense, Bia Ferreira takes feminism as a starting point to address a series of complex and urgent issues, precisely because she sees in the commonplace of white feminism a vast set of particularities that, to the good understander, reveals the structure of racism ala Brazilian-style, of white privileges, and the various layers of contradiction, incoherence, hypocrisy, and cynicism of the racist-colonialist structure - which, in turn, impose obstacles and limitations onto the arduous efforts to fight off racism in Brazil. Seeing her art as a technology of political education and knowing that "a good understander" is not born, but made, Bia uses her communicational powers and the mockery didactics to help the listener to break his own inertia of self-deception and incoherence. In short, she tries to explain that the fight against structural racism is not about the mere conceptual agreement with the Struggle, but about the effective actions and attitudes of each individual, about direct, pragmatic and consistently organized engagement.

This message is well synthesized between the fifth and ninth lines, "...your speech doesn't even match your conduct... you go party with the car your daddy gave you, so let's face it, you don't even know what 'work' means and you go around saying you understand about the Class Struggle!" As well as in other moments in which she confronts the listener about the consistency between their speeches and their practices. Through punctual examples, the music denounces some white privileges and its counterpart, the structural traps of racialized socioeconomic sabotages. At the end of the day, what should be learned from this music is that if something said here in verse seems to offend someone, that someone should feel offended by the reality exposed, instead of offended by the person exposing the reality; one should blame and counter-

attack the fact itself, and not the messenger informing them of the fact.⁶⁸ Even if there is a portion of *extravasation* through music, *counter-humiliation* is, above all, a pedagogy, a rhetoric tool. It can come to offend the listener not as an end, but as a means to achieve an effective communication and an eventual compensation/extravasation, a pressure valve.

About the possibility of offense and this eventual portion of extravasation in music, Bia states in another interview that a person is generally racist - supports, reproduces or colludes with racism - "either because they lack access [to information, to awareness] or because they are bad people. So, for those who don not have access, I'm here, talking. For those who are bad people, I'll be the *rock inside their shoe*" (Brasil de Fato, 2019). In this context, the composer declared this in the midst of a broader dialogue regarding the results of 2018 election.

Although each statement and each song refers to specific persons or facts, much can be applied to different facts and different people involved in both "sides" of the allout war. Be it shaking off the comfort of the "convinced racist", be it shaking off the self-deceit of the "racist by resonance" or of the false ally or of the pseudo-combatant. When Bia says "rock inside the shoe", she makes a little clearer the essence of what is here called *counter-humiliation*, or counter-offense, counter-insult. If the interlocutor was rocked by this song and chose to maintain the inertia and inaction, then it seems valid to embarass the inert/inactive and enjoy the mockery while at it. Unfortunately, this war is in fact so cruel and deceiving that we are all constantly drowned in an immensity of contradictions and dilemmas, sometimes quite unavoidable. But it is also true that, very commonly, the unavoidability of contradiction stems from inertia and self-deceit. That is why this song is aimed at everyone, from the convinced racist to the racist by resonance, from the complicit by misinformation to the inefficient by self-indulgence or opportunism.

Another composition of Bia, *Let me tell it*, well represents this need for dialogue and, at times, a need to strongly criticize or to simply rock our allies and non-situated people (that is, potential allies, enemies, or well-meaning unhelpers). Precisely because of all the inertia and opportunism that constitute and result from the racist-colonialist structure, it is necessary to review our efforts and to self-regulate ourselves with great sincerity and objectivity, in order to know if an apparent help or good intention does not end up rendering

⁶⁸ Analogy recurring in different texts of the Revista Òkòtó.

a disservice to the Struggle. These songs discuss examples of such deadlocks, criticisms and revisions, sometimes addressing the enemy, sometimes the ally, sometimes the unpositioned ones.

[See lyrics on the following pages]

Bia's musicality in these songs allows a vivid materialization of a clash, as if this exact discussion between two people had really happened and had been musicked afterwards. In both songs, the "pushes" and "rock-ups" that the poetic-musical text do to us cover already a diversity of issues, addressing the message to any individual who feels addressed, or as the saying goes, to anyone whom the cap fits - and certainly these songs strive to not let us pretend that the cap does not fit. As I said before, this *pedagogy of mockery*, which occasionally offends or bothers this or that interlocutor, must be understood sociomusicologically as an emissary, a herald. If the message brought offends you, it is not for you to attack the messenger. It is up to you to seek to understand the message and to act accordingly.

This poetic-musical style has an empirically emotional and communicative effectiveness, and to those who still have doubts about the rhetorical power of this art, I recommend an in-depth analysis of the work and trajectory of Racionais MC's (Mano Brown, KL Jay, Ice Blue and Edi Rock) and the social and cultural impact they have had since the late 1980's until today. The depth and breadth of the communicative power of Racionais MC's is such, that it would not be appropriate here to approach it superficially, so I advise listening to the work and reading researches focused on the discourse analysis, on the trajectory, and on the socio-political impact of the group (Andrade, 1999; Oliveira, 2010; Santos, 2011; 2019; Macedo, 2007; 2016; Oliveira & Campos, 2016; Pitta, 2019). The sincere understanding of the compositional style and the sociological processes that generate the music of Racionais - and of the Brazilian rap scene in general - shows much of the psychic-spiritual premises and practical procedures of this pedagogy of mockery here called *poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation*, understood primarily as a communicative tactic and, collaterally, as psychic-emotional pressure valve (compensation, extravasation) via counter-offense, counter-insult, counter-aggression - as explained by Bia Ferreira in the duality trying to educate versus being the rock inside the shoe.

As I will discuss later in the conclusion of these analyses, the counter-humiliation is a very representative example of how music has its own way of fulfilling demands of

Deixa Que Eu Conto

(Bia Ferreira)

[1] Quanto tempo faz que eles contam nossa história?
Quanto tempo faz que constroem nossa memória?
Eu vim pra contar que, tão certo como o agora
Estarei nas linhas que contam sua derrota!
Eu vim pra contar que, tão certo como o agora
Eu estarei nas linhas que contam nossa vitória!

[7]____Estudam o meu povo, acham tudo isso "exótico" Viver na minha pele tu não quer!

E fica óbvio o seu fetiche com a pobreza.

Isso me assusta!

Não vê que reproduz tudo aquilo que acusa no outro?

[12]____E já vem querer biscoito:

"Minha empregada é como da família"

Eu tenho nojo!

Deixa que eu conto,

Angela Davis já dizia:

"Não basta só discurso, tem que ser antirracista!"

[18]____Vou falando ponto a ponto

E depois desse encontro

Eu não aceito mais desculpa que não sabia

A minha escrevivência transcende sua teoria

O que tá no seu caderno, eu vivo no dia a dia

[23]____Representatividade!

É nós por nós!

Ninguém vai falar por mim,

Eu tenho a minha voz!

E se minha voz em algum momento falhar

Posso te garantir, tem muita preta pra falar!

[29]____Deixa que eu conto a minha história

Eu me represento

Eu recebo as glórias

Eu aprendo com as minhas

E tão certo como o agora,

Eu estarei nas linhas que contam nossa vitória!

Let Me Tell It

(Bia Ferreira)

[1] For how long they have been telling our story?

For how long they have been building our memory?

I came to tell you that, as sure as now

I will be on the lines that tell your defeat!

I came to tell you that, as sure as now

I will be on the lines that tell our victory!

[7]____They study my people, they think everything is "exotic"

Living in my skin you don't want!

And it becomes obvious your fetish with the poverty.

That scares me!

Can't you see that you reproduce everything you accuse on others?

[12]___And you want a "cookie":

"Is my maid is like my family"

I am disgusted!

Let me tell it,

Angela Davis already said:

"It's not enough the discourse, one has to be antirracist!"

[18]____I will say topic by topic

And after that this meeting

I don't accept any more excuses that you didn't know

My life-inscriperiency transcends your theory

What's in your book, I live in my everyday life

[23]____Representativeness!

It's us for us!

Nobody will speak for me,

I have my voice!

And if my voice at any time fails

I can assure you, there are a lot of black women to talk!

[29]___Let me tell my story

I represent myself

I get my glories

I learn from my sisters

And as sure as now,

I will be on the lines that tell our victory!

individual and collective life, having its own conceptual and operational logic. While on the sociopolitical-academic front - where the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle in Brazil has been fiercely fought since the embryonic processes of abolitionism⁶⁹ at the latest - the other rhetorical strategies are happening massively (affirmation, awareness, and counterintelligence), the occurrences of mockery are less numerous and somewhat polished, decorous, and chained to academicist canons and mannerisms. In music, on the other hand, the counter-bumiliation does not feel hindered or disapproved by the use of debauchery in general, thus enjoying a series of liberties, manners, tools, and efficiencies that singularize its potential as communicator, as awakener. In this sense, there are battles in which the sociopolitical-academic and sociopolitical-military paths manage to advance only to a certain extent - sometimes very little or almost nothing. In many of these situations, the socio-political-artistic flank is particularly complementary and indispensable. Bia Ferreira is a perfect example of this, as well as Racionais, with several works that truly produce social science and widely and efficiently disseminate its data, analyses and critical thinking.

It is important to note that these social-scientists-artists often come to integrate other paths in several ways, for example, with the attention that their artistic works get from other sciences, notably from anthropology, sociology, literature, philosophy, communicology, psychology, historiography, geography, urbanism, musicology, critical theory, art history, etc. However, the social scientists I am refering to - and music as a social science - produce social science in themselves, long before any analysis of musicology or of any other academic area. That is, as I will discuss in conclusion, the abrupt separation between Art and Science is not only a typically white-European construct, but also essentially capitalist-modernist, which, via colonialism, has been causing us epistemological-ontological wounds, cognitive-spiritual ruptures, deep and enduring socio-cultural deadlocks and compromises. An example of these wounds is precisely our resistance to perceiving music as a social science, in the face of social scientists like the ones mentioned here, Racionais MC's and Bia Ferreira. Too attached to the modernist European episteme, one could mistakenly think that music

There is no single, unanimous definition of when began the embryonic processes of abolitionism, and it is sometimes argued that it began on the very minute that the white man set foot on African and Amerindian territory (Singaravelou, 2019; Getachew, 2019), or even before that, still in the arabization-islamization of Africa (Mazrui, 1986). Here in my analyses I endorse this position, but I stress as especially relevant to the abolitionist process in Brazil the consolidation of the Quilombo dos Palmares, approximately between 1580 and 1710 (Nascimento, 1985), and the Haitian Revolution, between 1791 and 1804 (Nobles, 2015), as advocated by several researchers specialized in Haitianism and its unfoldings.

is merely an artifact to be taken as a starting point for "the true social sciences" undertaken by musicologies, sociologies and all other logies. However, I sustain that the basic premises, the results and many of the procedures of these songs are the same as those of the canonized "social sciences", distinguishing themselves only in a few practical details - details which, in my opinion, should further qualify music as a social science, not invalidate it. The ethics and aesthetics of *counter-humiliation*, for example, clearly demonstrate how music differs from the other social sciences in certain points, having its distinct conceptual and operational logic, its own way of concatenating ideas, analyzing data and communicating critical perspectives.



Chapter 3

3.1. Poetic-musical strategy of *total organization*: the most beautiful of all beauties

Among all the *poetic-musical strategies* that daily and ancestrally operate the origins, paths and objectives of the anti-racist struggle in Brazil, all of them are constantly winning battles and recruiting numerous fighters to the various fronts of this all-out war. Yet, none of them alone can be seen as directly responsible for the effective revolutionary organization of the African-Brazilian peoples. As was to be expected, ever since the more intuitive phase of elaboration of my research hypothesis, each musical composition is potentially a powerful resource for anti-racist mobilization, indeed, but one single song alone is never - and as far as I could find historical data, has never been - the exclusive and omnipotent establisher of the Revolution, neither African nor otherwise. However, an artist or group of artists - on the whole of their work, their career and their struggle over the years - is already taking some steps away from punctual mobilization moving towards revolutionary organization, as I have analyzed here under the examples of Lazzo Matumbi, Bia Ferreira, Racionais MC's, among others (besides the contexts of aquilombamento, such as samba schools, etc.). When this forceful, systematic and continuous application of music in favor of the anti-racist/anticolonialist struggle constitutes the very ideological, sociocultural, political and epistemicspiritual core of a certain collective, then I consider, under my analyses, that it should be called musical strategy of total organization, as well demonstrated here through the Black Pearl, the most beautiful of all beauties: the Ilê Aiyê!⁷⁰

In discussing here the "forceful, systematic and continuous application of music in favor of the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle, constituting the very ideological-cultural, sociopolitical and epistemic-spiritual core of a given collective" as an ultimate definer of the musical strategy of total organization, it would in fact be pertinent to add one more factor to

⁷⁰ General presentation of the Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê: http://www.ileaiyeoficial.com/

these defining elements: the direct and effective engagement in actions, initiatives, projects and programs of social, political, and socioeducational nature, thus doing justice to the term "organize" within the kwamist paradigm of *mobilization vs. organization*. However, not by coincidence, in this specific context (from Ilê Aiyê and other blocos afro), it would be somewhat redundant to emphasize the presence of social projects and programs, since, by the very existential reason of these blocos as *revolutionary anti-racist organizations*, they are all - to a greater or lesser extent - engaged in the likes of social, socioeducational, and sociopolitical projects and programs. In other words, the way they have gradually consolidated themselves, when speaking of bloco afro today, a series of battlefronts are already implied, through which that struggles on behalf of the African-Brazilian people - from the most aesthetic and artistic (leisure, mental and emotional health; immediate), to the most socioeconomic and educational (social welfare, community health and political-organizational power; long term). In this sense, I refer here to the blocos afro as a sociocultural phenomenon, in general, but opting for a greater focus on Ilê Aiyê for being the founder and being especially representative of this phenomenon.

Ilê Aiyê was founded on the 1st of November, 1974 in Curuzu (neighborhood of Liberdade, in Salvador, Bahia) by Vovô (Antônio Carlos dos Santos) and Popó (Apolônio de Jesus), parading in Carnival of the following year with approximately one hundred people. Very much based on the wisdom and unconditional support of Mãe Hilda (Vovô's mother, who died in September 2009), Ilê Aiyê has always relied on the physical and spiritual structure of Ilê Axé Jitolú - a jeje-savalu candomblé temple that hosted the activities of the bloco afro for years, being until today its moral and spiritual headquarters - and on the collective work of the whole family, as Dete Lima, Vivaldo Benvindo, Hildelice dos Santos, Val Benvindo and others, coordinating Ilê Aiyê's main operational arms. In 2003, the *Senzala do Barro Preto* was founded, an eight-story building on the "Ladeira do Curuzu" that became the headquarters of all their activities, including schools, rehearsals, administration, studio, etc.

According to Vovô, and confirmed by many involved people, the various racist violences and misfortunes have been saturated for a long time in people's daily life and collective unconscious, including the marginalization within Carnival itself, in which the majority of the African-Brazilian population of the peripheries of Salvador commonly

spent their carnival at the service of the white elite and middle class who culd in turn effectively enjoy the festivities. This saturation had been escalating for a long time, and a sufficient number of people had been electrified by the Resistance of those recent years, culminating in the climax of the anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle in many countries around the world between the 1950s and 1990s, when each ended up influencing each other and fortifying the worldwide African Revolution further and further. In Salvador at that time, as well as in other Brazilian regions, besides the insurgent historians (Carneiro, 2005; Pinto, 2014) who kept rebuilding the narratives and trying to spread the stories of African resistance's heroes in Brazil, also circulated the writings, speeches, thoughts and strategies of Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr, Amilcar Cabral, Angela Davis and several revolutionaries directly or indirectly associated with the Black Panther Party and other international revolutionary organizations - especially through the "black press" (Pinto, 2014) and the activities of individuals and collectives of the movimento negro in general. Just as information and ideals circulated, so did Blues, Soul Music, Funk, Afrobeat, Reggae, among other musical styles deeply rooted in Négritude and in the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle of different countries of the African world.

In the midst of all this, driven by an international revolutionary effervescence but swimming against the strong tide of racism ala Brazilian-style (Silva, 2008), Ilê Aiyê emerged in Curuzu, singing *Mundo Negro* (*Que Bloco É Esse*), translatable as Black World (What Block is this), already in 1975 - at first relatively modest, focused more on the carnival's facet, still without predicting the immense Cultural Revolution that they would help consolidate in the years to come.⁷¹ A historical overview of Ilê's foundation, performance, expansion, and unfolding is so explanatory of structural racism in Brazil that it would yield an entire dissertation on only the most representative details of this history, as noted in F. C. C. da Silva (2001; 2008), J. C. da Silva (1995; 2004), J. C. de Souza (2007), N. Afolabi (2016), and L.P.O. dos Santos (2019b). However, as the objective here is actually to fit this phenomenon

Obviously, in a way, the very foundation of the Bloco was already part of a ongoing worldwide Cultural Revolution, even if initially the intensions were "more carnivalesque" than revolutionary. As I will explain below, it can be seen from the very discomfort that the Bloco caused in people who were still attached to the hegemonic racist-negationist culture, for instance, by prohibiting white people to enter the Bloco, was in itself a revolutionary act at the time. Strongly aligned with the debates and battles of the movimento negro (Silva, 2008), they not only prevented the participation of whites, but also did not allow entrance for people who did not declare themselves to be Black, that is, who declared themselves "brunette, mulatto, cafuzo, chestnut, jambo, tan, burned-ish", etc. The music *Alienação* (Mário Pam and Sandro Teles) demonstrates this issue very well.

into the analysis of a larger fact, using Ilê Aiyê to prove a point, I try to summarize the main topics obtained in the interviews and in the specialized that enlightened my reflections and reinforced structural points of my argumentation.⁷²

During the foundation process of Ilê Aiyê, the will of Vovô and some others was that the Bloco would be called *Poder Negro* (Black Power). It is often asserted that, when trying to register the Bloco with this name, the Federal Police of Bahia - still in the last of the "lead years" of the military dictatorship - did not authorize the registration, claiming that the name had negative, subversive, and alien connotations. There are controversies about the choice of the name Ilê Aiyê, but it is known that Mãe Hilda also advised against the name *Poder Negro*, fearing that this name would exceed too much audacity, maybe infuriate the generals even more, and risk losing the great achievements written on the destiny of the Bloco. Later, already with the name Ilê Aiyê (instead of *Poder Negro*), Vovô accounts that a chief of police at the time was against the Bloco, saying that "those negros are ploting to seize power!" Just as this policeman, governed by the crystallized myth of racial democracy in Brazil, the press and many white sectors of Salvador's society tried at all costs to crucify Ilê Aiyê's revolutionary project with all kinds of demonization and aggression, like the emblematic publication in one of Salvador's most read newspapers:

Racist Block, dissonant tone - Conducting posters where they read inscriptions such as: "Black World", "Black Power", "Black for You", etc., the Bloco Ilê Aiyê, nicknamed "Block of Racism", provided an ugly spectacle in this carnival. Besides the improper exploration of the theme and the American copycat, revealing a huge lack of imagination, since in our country there is an infinity of thematics to be explored, the members of "Ilê Aiyê" - all of them colored - reached the mockery of whites and other people watching them from the official stage. For the very prohibition that exists in the country against racism, it is to be expected that the members of "Ilê" will return in another way next year, and will use in

⁷² In this brief summary I include few additional bibliographical references, as most of the information is present in the official Ilê Aiyê website, in the texts already cited in this paragraph, or was collected in my interviews.

another way the natural liberation of instincts, characteristic of Carnival. Fortunately, we do not have a racial problem. This is one of the great happiness of the Brazilian people. The harmony that reigns between the parcels coming from different ethnicities, is, of course, one of the reasons for the non-conformity of the agents of irritation who would like to add to the purposes of the class struggle the spectacle of the race struggle. But in Brazil, they do not succeed. And every time they put their tails out, they denounce the ideological origin to which they are connected. It's very difficult that it happens differently with these boys from Ilê Aiyê. (Newspaper "A Tarde", February 12, 1975, p. 3, my emphasis)

Immersed in the anti-communist ideology of the time, other conspiracy headlines called Ilê Aiyê "red threat disguised in black" (Silva, 2008:73). It is very important to point out that the strong vilanization and persecution of Ilê Aiyê was not an isolated event, much less a particularity of the military dictatorship, in any way. On the contrary, this total negationism anchored in the myth of racial democracy is a deeply rooted dynamic in Brazilian society (Munanga, 2007; 2015; Silva, 2008), constantly sustained by the numerous and sophisticated narrative control mechanisms of the Central Racist Intelligence. Even after some achievements and after some individuals/collectives gradually "give the arm to twist" - like this same newspaper that started praising Ilê three years later (Silva, 2008:192) - one can still notice today some difficulties and sabotages to the work of the Bloco, in the same way that the movimento negro faces to this day the hard obstacles resulting from this fanatical belief in a "racial paradise" that never existed – a fanaticism made cruelly explicit in this journalistic text displayed above. Therefore, just as it is necessary to understand that this racist-negationist tatics of the newspaper at the time was not an isolated case, since in fact it was shared by a large part of society, it is also necessary to understand that such negationism was not a particularity of the military regime. It is in fact, historically, a central strategy of the racist structure, which has certainly not yet been overcome in Brazil (Silva, 2008; 2009; Munanga, 2007; 2015) - as can be easily verified in the election processes and outcomes of 2018 and other events to date.73

As true revolutionaries, sure of an unstopable spiritual mission, Ilê Aiyê did not weaken in the face of racist attacks, not even in the face of police repression and other difficulties of the city's Executive. On the contrary, it grew every year, already with four hundred people in the second year of parade and soon reaching the level of thousands of members - today with more than three thousand - and gaining international fame with its annual parade that brings together tens of thousands of people in Curuzu. As the poet Jônatas Conceição once said, Ilê Aiyê, as a metonymy of the African people, always knew how to organize themselves to overcome any obstacles and to "negotiate with wisdom and autonomy (...) without giving up their political project - to gather the Vlack people to play, raise awareness, make their claims and fight for power" (2004:47). Thus, Ilê Aiyê has become a legend in the country and around the world, a great artistic-cultural reference of Brazil and of the Diaspora, as well as a reference of the African Revolution. Today it can parade fully assured that a great parcel of the people present are fulfilling the unique dream of "watching Ilê pass by!"

Here I bring a brief reflective addendum, noting that sometimes one hears statements insinuating a supposed deconstruction or overthrow of the myth of racial democracy - being asserted sometimes that the myth actually fell, but we don't feel much improvement yet because we are living in the inertia of the fall. Indeed, no one can deny that today there is a laudable amount of scientific, journalistic, literary and artistic work completely invalidating the fallacy of racial democracy in Brazil, and the tendency is - if we play our cards right - to have more and more, until it becomes truly embarrassing to support this fallacy to any extent in any situation. However, perhaps we should ask ourselves whether such an overthrow really occurs - or has occurred. I certainly do not have the answer, perhaps no one does, and it certainly may seem plausible to refer to an "inertia of the fall" to explain the almost unchanged continuity of racism as a Structure. But as a member of the Academia, somewhat concerned about its perennial need for revisionism and its continuous improvement through (self-)criticism, I wonder whether it would not be a certain hyperestimation - or self-indulgence - of academic practices to presume that "the myth fell" only because the academic community had the sensation bringing it down. I wonder if, preserving due proportions, it would not be analogous to say that "racism fell" when eugenicist craniometric theories were scientifically invalidated. Or to say that "colonialism fell" when the concept of false evolutionism was coined. And so on. The first point is to be able to explain why structures do not change after the myths "fall". The second point is to remember that, for those who have been and are in the struggle, the myth was always nothing more than a myth and never necessarily depended on a consensus in the academic community to be seen as nothing but a huge lie. So, to say that the myth fell when scholars "managed to bring it down" seems, at the very least, imprecise, if not boastful. If the myth "falls" conceptually along the paths of knowledge production and does not result in a real structural fall, then perhaps it is up to us to investigate deeply and sincerely, with the utmost urgency, why this impediment in the consummation of the fall exists in the first place. Would it be a gap between the production of knowledge in higher education and the transmission of knowledge in basic education? Would it be a gap between the production of knowledge in higher education and the formation of opinion via mass media? Would it be a gap between the production of knowledge in higher education and the work of the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities? Would it be a gap between the production of knowledge in higher education and the strategies of party politics? Would it be a gap between the production of knowledge in higher education and the revolutionary struggle? Would it be a gap between the individual/punctual effectiveness of each barristan and the articulation of this effectiveness at the organizational-national-massive level? Would it be the sum of all these gaps? Regardless of the answer that each one formulates, it seems very urgent to seek a truly effective solution. And as long as the solution is not implemented, we must be sure that the myth has not fallen and remains what it always was: a myth.

In the second year of the parade, in 1976, the tradition of the Queen of Ilê began, a competition that in 1979 was renamed as Night of the Black Beauty to elect the Ebony Goddess. It is a very special event, because one of the main pillars of the Cultural Revolution undertaken by Ilê Aiyê is precisely the praice for African beauty, pride, self-esteem, empowerment - as they say in the Bloco, "being Black and wanting to be Black". It ended up becoming an especially exciting moment of Carnival, year after year, a true dream of thousands of women: to be graced with the cloak of the Queen of Ilê, the Ebony Goddess. Also for this reason, the song *Deusa do Ébano* (Geraldo do Rosário Lima) is one of the main hits of Ilê Aiyê, which went far beyond the boundaries of the Bloco and was eternalized as one of the anthems hymns of Bahian carnival. From the opening parade of the Night of the Black Beauty, the Ilê Aiyê Dance Group was created in 1985, another operational arm of the Bloco and another level of expansion of its valuable work.

The socioeducational and sociopolitical focus of Ilê Aiyê has always been in the foreground, which is noticed since the beginning, through the researches that result in the choice of the thematics of each parade and the researches that result in the artistic composition (visual and musical) of the chosen thematics, always related to the history of African countries, African civilizations, African regions/ethnic/nations/cultures, African spiritualities and religions, wars of independence, African revolts and revolutions, quilombos and heroes of the Resistance, sometimes continental, sometimes diasporic. That is, through music, aesthetics and organization, Ilê has always had identity affirmation, forms of ethnic-cultural expression, racial pride, physical and psychic abolition, self-love, knowledge transmission, awareness-raising, political education and radical fight against racism as the

Two particularities are worth noting here: firstly, that the competition was created because, at the time, the founders of Ilê had no news of any beauty contest aimed at people of African descent in Brazil and also had no news of Brazilian beauty contests with winners of African phenotype; secondly, that the Night of the Black Beauty differs strongly from other beauty contests, by the fact that the candidates abdolutely never present themselves nor are evaluate naked, half-naked nor scarcely dressed - on the contrary, the beauty of the sumptuous dress, the beauty of the dance, the black consciousness, the affirmation of blackness and the knowledge about the history of Ilê and of the African people in Bahia are the determinants for the choice of the winner. I recommend the appreciation of texts and videos about this contest (Benvindo, 2016), especially the testimonies of the Ebony Goddesses, the candidates and other people involved in the realization of this event, for a profound understanding of this event's sociopolitical/sociocultural relevance as a true revolutionary act of great impact on the local community and on Bahian society.

core of the organization.⁷⁵

However, in the case of a revolutionary organization, its breadth and effectiveness are the main concerns, and that is why, still today, Ilê continues in constant improvement and expansion. Aiming to further increase the impact of the Cultural Revolution, Ilê Aiyê transcended the musical and artistic dimension, and began to act directly into basic education, as early as 1988, with the creation of the Escola Mãe Hilda. In 1995 they reached a new socioeducational level with the creation of the Pedagogical Extension Project, which accomplished, among other works, the training of fifty teachers from public schools of the Liberdade neighborhood and systematized the production and distribution of the Educational Notebooks of Ilê Aiyê. The pedagogical material is another strong evidence of the sociocultural relevance and the aggregating/catalytic power that music has, also proving the typically African creativity, ingenuity, inventiveness, and economic intelligence (Nascimento, 1980; Malamusi, 2016): the Educational Notebooks reuses, expands, and disseminates even more the results of the researchs that elaborated the thematic, philosophical, aesthetic-artistic, visual, and musical content of carnival parades; and also, by serving as knowledge production and didactic material, ended up building a valuable basis for effective replicability, that is, to be used in basic education far beyond the neighborhood - in the school system at district, municipal, state, federal levels.

A very moving and particularly representative account of Ilê's work was given by the historian and educator Arany Santana in an interview (Ocupação Ilê Aiyê, 2019) attesting to the historical importance of Ilê Aiyê by stating that:

Curuzu became a convergence point, everybody came here.

And another more interesting thing... in class, the students asked "Who is Dandara? Who is Akotirene? Who is Zumbi?"

And then the teachers answered "go to Curuzu to find out,

Here I emphasize the *radical* fight against racism aligned with what is advocated by perhaps the cast majority of experts in this field, out of which I summon Kabengele Munanga in particular. Etymologically derived from the word "root", *radical* as an adjective in this case does not refer to extremism, fundamentalism, or radicalism in the frivolous sense, but to attacking the *root* of the problem; that is, a certain manifestation of racism is not the cause of the problem, but rather one of several symptoms of a structural problem. The cause of the symptom is an ideology, a mentality, a political-economic system of racial domination historically maintained and sophisticated via (neo)colonialism. Therefore, educating the population – in various ways, on various issues, to suppress the reproduction of this ideology – is the radical solution against racism. This is precisely the conceptual and operational logics of Ilê Aiyê. To counter and expand this vision of what is a radical fight against racism, read Juliana Borges (2019) about other strategies equally – or even more efficient – than education.

[here] no one knows who these people are." Then there was a migration of students from public and private schools, to come to Curuzu to find out who are these characters that we sang so much about! And that nobody knew, it was not in the official historiography, the teachers didn't know, exactly because of this thing, that we don't have in our professional training the knowledge about the History of Africa, nor the history of the Black resistance here in Brazil, nor of our heroes and heroines. Those who discovered these figures and our history were, in fact, the Blocos Afro. (Arany Santana, Ocupação Ilê Aiyê, 2019, my emphasis)

This account of Arany Santana - also confirmed by other people, such as Maria de Lourdes Siqueira, Jônatas Conceição, among others - summarizes straight-forwardly the process and the extension of the Cultural Revolution undertaken by Ilê Aiyê. In and outside the school, through multiple strategies, the Bloco has become a true faculty of radical antiracist struggle, managing to remedy some symptoms of structural racism and, at the same time, directly treat the root of the disease in massive scale. From this perspective, it is worth noting the revolutionary vanguard character of Ilê, since the it had been doing autonomously and efficiently what the Bahian executive authorities only decreed (at least on paper) in 1985 and the federal law only decreed (at least on paper) in 2003.

The federal laws no 10.639/2003 and 11.645/08 and the Bahian state ordinance no 6.068/85 decree the mandatory teaching of African history and culture in basic education. It is important to emphasize that, soon after the promulgation of this Bahian ordinance, Ilê starts to transcend more and more the aesthetic/musical sphere and to act more and more directly and intensely via school system per se, initiating the Escola Mãe Hilda soon after the signing of the Ordinance and qualifying public school teachers seven years after that, with a robust pedagogical program. In other words, Ilê not only precedes the law and the ordenance, but also becomes a key piece in the effective implementation of what they determine. Probably, in this Bahian state governmental context, Ilê was one of the pieces of a complex political engineering, influencing in its own way the processes of planning and implementation of that Ordinance, as well as being influenced by it. Furthermore, as

I discuss below, some people act directly on several fronts at the same time, such as Arany, who was part of Ilê's Board of Directors, was part of the MNU, and was part of the political ensemble responsible for the implementation of the Ordinance, among several other fronts of individual and collective action. Commonly, although institutional boundaries are well defined, the personal, the affective, and the logistical boundaries between Ilê Aiyê, MNU, State Departments, Foundations - and other blocos afro, organizations, and articulations of the *movimento negro* - are not so fragmented nor insulated, that is, many members of these entities are divided among several of them in multiple battlefronts in a manifold and complementary way. This polyvalence is not a particularity of Salvador, rather a striking feature of African individuals and collectives around the world.

Naturally, it is necessary to pay attention to the widest possible conjuncture in terms of the general dynamics of the Struggle, always immersed in an all-out war that impels it to yield plural and multi-strategic approaches, as Petrônio Domingues (2007; 2008) confirms. In this sense, one must seek to understand where and to what extent the successes of a given organization also result from the efforts - joint or parallel - of other organizations. Ilê in this case catalyzes other struggles and achievements of the *movimento negro* and is also catalyzed by them. Each struggle, being both creator and creature of the Ubuntu philosophy, articulates with other battlefronts, which benefit mutually and feed each other back, both conceptually and operationally.

Indeed, the fact that the Struggle is not unified/centralized, but rather very heterogeneous, generates particular difficulties and inefficiencies. However, when analyzing such difficulties, one needs a very sober historical, sociological and structural perspective to evaluate, with sincerity and objectivity, to what extent the disarticulations within the Struggle are full responsibility of its individuals and collectives, and to what extent such obstacles are actually the "merit" of the sophisticated (neo)colonialist mechanisms for maintaining racial hegemony. It would be naïve to believe that the disagreements and repulsions within the Struggle are merely the result of egoic quarrels, impatiencies, ideological discords or personally/institutionally conflicting interests. We must keep in mind that the very same historical process that uninterruptedly dehumanizes and sabotages the African peoples – physically, psychologically, socioeconomically, sociopolitically and spiritually - is also the process that stifles our spirit, shatters our self-image, degenerates

and subverts our cultural identity; to steal our ancestral values, knowledge, and technologies; to impose alien epistemic, civilizing, and human constitutions upon us; to drown us in an ocean of individualism, materialism, pessimism and mistrust; to turn us against each other; so on and so forth. One must then honestly reflect on whether it is not actually a kind of reproduction or reminiscence of racist discourses to think that the difficulties and limitations of the Struggle are simply the result of incompetence, misunderstanding or incapacity of its individuals and collectives. Wouldn't it be worth reflecting on whether this "historical picture" would be actually painting a somewhat proverbial image, as we say in Brazil, like "scalded cats" outflanked by steaming boilers? Any tiny splash could be a gota d'água ("the water drop", as the proverb in Brazil for "the last straw to break the camel's back). Wouldn't it be exactly from these steaming water splashes (these last straws) that conflicts and disunity and disarray arise within the Struggle, at least in part, if not always? Wouldn't it be like a premeditated victory of the racist structure every time one African individual/collective turns against another for the smallest discord or dissent?

Obviously, the exchange of different ideas and points of view within the Struggle is very healthy and even crucial to collective progress. And for this reason, divergences are part of the process, but they should ideally take place without polarization, without hasty judgments, without aggressive impatience and frivolous offenses of any kind. In other words, as mentioned above, even within the *pedagogy of mockery*, one must maintain the brotherness and the focus on common interest - in other words, the gibe only works when used as a pedagogy, as a didactic method, because as gratuitous agression it is totally undesirable. However intangible the differentiation between these two intentionalities may seem, it is indispensable to know - or try to know - how to differentiate them.

A good example of these disagreements within the Struggle was accounted by Vovô do Ilê on the occasion of our interview, in which he - narrating about the foundation of Ilê Aiyê - said that, in the early years of the Bloco, some members of the MNU (one of the most important anti-racist organizations in Brazil) were not very enthusiastic about Ilê Aiyê's proposal. This was partly because they argued that the culturalist path was not the best method for structural changes in society, and that the predominant struggle should focus on the directly political fronts (that is, properly legislative, executive, and judiciary mechanism at the state, parastate, and private levels, with all the grassroots, technocratic,

organizational, journalistic, and academic works involved); but partly also because the MNU always collaborated horizontally with anyone willing to contribute to the struggle, including white people, which was then another point of discord in relation to Ilê's proposal. According to Vovô, before the Cultural Revolution carried out by the blocos afro, most women in the community straightened their hair, did not wear red lipstick nor any hairstyles, men and women only wore outfits of discreet color palette, due to a series of racist stigmas:

(...) then as we assumed our Blackness, this changed (...) with the emergence of Ilê Aiyê, everything changed, the posture [attitude] changed (...) and when the songs of the Blocos Afro began to enter the head of the youth, this new attitude began, without seminars nor anything else, only with the proposal of the Bloco, composed of Blacks and directed by Blacks (...) we all were quite aware of racism, but many people had nowhere to express themselves, so we started through music (...)....) and I always stress the importance of music in this great awareness-raising (...) of retelling the history of Black people from our perspective, instead of from the perspective of whites, from Portuguese, French, German historians (...) telling the story of the great Black references that we began to unearth (...) and it is very interesting to go out in the morning and listen to the children singing these songs. We had a discussion in 1978, when the MNU emerged, and some people in MNU didn't accept it much. They thought that the struggle had to be only in politics, they didn't believe much that through Culture we could do that. So, there was a lot of... because sometimes we were in a meeting of the movimento negro or of MNU, and always in alien spaces because we wer still under the [military] dictatorship... there were around twenty to thirty people. And there were a lot of white people there, researchers, who were not prevented from partaking! But in a rehearsal of the

Bloco, in the street, open for public, without charging for the entrance nor for nothing, it began to spread. It was a lot of people! (...) And one important thing about music, also very interesting, is that composers started to pop up! People who were always there with you, sometimes a fellow who liked to drink a lot, you would never know that he had a huge potential and creativity to write... then, really wonderful things started to come out in music, which were memorable, and became references, anthems of Ilê Aiyê, such as Deusa do Ébano [Ebony Goddess], for example. (Vovô do Ilê, August 19th/2020, my interview and my emphasis)

Added to what I just said above, this account sheds light on many important points in the Struggle, especially on a delicate issue that is constantly and extensively debated, namely the polarization between *political* and *culturalist approaches*. This polarization - which in my opinion should not exist, or at least should happen always in a constructive and complementary way, once they are not actual "poles", much less "excluding poles" - is present to a greater or lesser extent in many instances of the Brazilian movimento negro (one way or another, ever since the abolitionist movements, and with a special intensification between the 1930s and the 1990s). And this forced polarization has been sharpened/deepened more recently by the academic dialogues between Michael Hanchard (1994); 1996) and Luiza Bairros (1996), a debate which authors such as Osmundo Pinho (2002), Petrônio Domingues (2005), among others, have also joined. 76 In a similar direction, one can take as an expanded example of this forced polarization the debate between Kwame Ture and Molefi Kete Asante at the event Africa and the Future from the University of Cincinnati, in 1996, where Asante argued that the African Revolution can only be effectively consummated and shielded if built upon a solid cultural-philosophical, epistemological and spiritual basis, which he calls Afrocentricity. To what Ture responded that the Revolution will be consummated through the organization of the masses towards a global Panafrican socialist unification (not necessarily excluding the cultural-philosophical basis of Afrocentricity, but not necessarily

As this is not the main focus of the research, I will not go into too much details, but I recommend reading all these works for an in-depth understanding of the dilemmas of the worldwide anti-racist struggle and the specific Brazilian particularities scrutinized throughout these books, articles and reviews.

dependent on it neither).⁷⁷ Here in this research, I argue that, not only is the culturalist way is as important as politics, but I also that music carries a unique revolutionary potential, as attested by Lazzo Matumbi, Bia Ferreira and Vovô do Ilê in our interviews. Furthermore, I argue that the two approaches are not two poles, but two inseparable facets of the same phenomenon, two battlefronts of the same all-out war. Hardly, almost impossibly, would sociopolitical revolutions not result in sociocultural reforms at all, and vice-versa.

Back to the history of Ilê Aiyê, besides the Band (1975), the Beauty Contest (1976), the Dance Group (1985), the Music School for children (since 1992), and the Carnival itself, Ilê works heavily on socioeducational demands through the programmatic content of the Escola Mãe Hilda⁷⁸ (1988) - Oral and Written Communication, Exact Sciences, Geography, English, African-Brazilian History and Culture, Philosophy, Arts-education, Physical Education and Capoeira - and through their Pedagogical Extension Project (1995), complemented by professional courses (since 1997) on Afro-aesthetics, Citizenry, Informatics and Real State Electricity. All this, it is worth remembering, with focus on racial and social awareness in the most holistic and effective way possible. This set of social and socioeducational actions has changed the lives of thousands of people over the years, with just the Escola Mãe Hilda already responsible for educating over 2000 children, and for influencing the education of thousands more through training courses on African History and Culture for public school teachers. In addition, the capillarization of the effects of such projects - in terms of the impact that their beneficiaries cause on society and pass on what was passed on to them by Ilê - leads one to realize that "the most beautiful of all beauties implemented" carried out a true Cultural Revolution with important socioeconomic/ sociopolitical unfoldings in Salvador, which to some extent, also affected other regions of

For the sake of transparency, I stress that Kwame in that event actually rejected Afrocentricity, asserting that the philosophical basis of Panafricanism - which he defended there as spokesman for the All-African People's Revolutionary Party - was Nkrumahnism, thus not needing any other epistemological-ideological bedrock. However, Asante himself - and most of the attendees who partook on the debate - saw the two proposals as complementary, not excluding in any way, and Asante (to Kwame's ultimate displeasure) even implied that, in his understanding, Kwame Nkrumah was an Afrocentrist. The insistence on rejection or polarization, in my opinion and that of most of the attendees, was more likely due to personal or micro-political issues (communication flaws, obstacles of masculinity and of the hardwired colonizing episteme) than due to actual ideological or strategic incompatibilities between Afrocentricity and Panafricanism.

⁷⁸ I recommend reading Ilê's pedagogical project for a better understanding of the educational revolution they carried out: http://www.ileaiyeoficial.com/acoes-sociais/escola-mae-hilda/

the country. It was not enough ⁷⁹ to have been responsible for the regeneration of self-image and self-esteem that set forth a drastic and contagious change of attitude of African-Brazilian people, Ilê has always looked for several ways to directly and effectively impact people's lives, as we can notice through its several social and socioeducational projects and programs.

In this sense, in my opinion, the above mentioned discussion about culturalism vs. politics should not take Ilê Aiyê as an example of the "strictly culturalist approach", given that Ilê has carried out and still carries out several projects and programs far beyond the "artistic-cultural path" - that is, this artistic-cultural route is actually a methodology, not "an end in itself" as Hanchard (1994) insinuates. Certainly, Ilê Aiyê is not a political party, but it can be clearly seen as grassroots work, equating itself to the premises and political prerogatives of a social movement - in this case, as an arm of the movimento negro with a central importance in this struggle in the last 45 years. In other words, Ilê may not launch its own legislative and executive candidates institutionally as a political party per se, but it clearly possesses all the organizational power necessary to elect candidates, 80 which directs the Bloco to an ambivalent place within the *culturalism-versus-politics* dichotomy - or perhaps it places the Bloco on the politics route, but based on an artistic-cultural methodology. Such remarks already bring the first evidences that a polarization is problematic in itself, pointing to the need for working "double shifts" (as typical for any marginalized people) and investing equally in both "sides", since any defficiency in either one of them seems indeed to strongly harm the Struggle. As I have stressed before, despite the forced polarization already crystallized, these two "sides" are not opposing/exluding poles, rather a continuum that achieves in distinct ways the fulfillment of distinct demands, while maintaining the same unity, the same cohesion - or rather, the continuum itself being producer of and produced by the level of such cohesion. In fact, the demands themselves are primarily the same, but the difficulty lies in a systemic problem: once inserted into a Euro-colonialist episteme that is stifled by specific social, economic and political models, many of us who donate ourselves

⁷⁹ After the foundation of Ilê, several other Blocos Afro emerged in Salvador and other cities in Brazil. As mentioned, all of them based on the same spirit of cultural revolution, and all of them also linked to social and socioeducational projects, to a greater or lesser extent.

⁸⁰ Evidence of this reality is the fact that Vovô do Ilê ran for mayor of Salvador in 1988 and precandidate for mayor of Salvador in 2020. But then to understand why he was not elected would require a separate research. Even so, election results in general inform way more about the power of those who *were* elected than about the difficulties and limitations of those who *were not* elected.

to the Struggle tend to find ourselves, to some extent, conceptually and operationally rigged by the same dichotomies and contradictions of the very system we seek to overthrow or reform. The contradiction is, perhaps, inevitable. But allowing the contradiction to become an incoherence – or be aggravated into a hypocrisy, or sedimented into cynicism - can and must be avoided at all costs.

In the midst of this baffling crossroads, I emphasize the immense value of Ilê Aiyê's cultural revolution by summoning the analyses made by M. K. Asante in dialogue with Kwame Ture at the above-mentioned event:

have no common interests and objectives. (...) Panafricanism, or any Movement, fundamentally needs to be based first and foremost on the notion that the individual sees themself as subject and center, not as an object on the fringes of the European experience. (...) We are dying in fratricidal wars precisely because we do not have a [unified] philosophical basis. (...) Europe is creating a situation that does not allow us to have Consciousness. We do not have the same Mission in mind! And that is why we do not have any African Government. In 27 African countries I have been, I have not seen any African Government. What I saw were Africans within governments, I saw Africans running governments, but I did not see any African Government. Exactly because the African people still do not have a [unified] Afrocentric Philosophy, in terms of the masses. We have Afrocentric Clubs, of course (...) but we don't have the masses. So what we have in the governmental structure are individuals imposing the European system onto the masses.81 (Asante, "Africa and the Future", 1996; my emphasis)

In this and other works, M. K. Asante states that, in a way, the African Revolution was

⁸¹ It is important to note that, for many authors, when it comes to "imposing Eurocentric models", the European communist-socialist model is included - as consecrated in the wisdom of Julius Nyerere (1974:12), when he explains that the Ujamaa model "opposes capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society based on the exploitation of man by man; and also opposes doctrinal socialism, which seeks to build a happy society based on the philosophy of the inevitable conflict between man and man".

not consummated because it was mostly a sociopolitical and military revolution, commonly unaccompanied by an equally systematic and strong cultural-philosophical revolution. Hanchard (1994), in the opposite direction, 82 states that the main difficulty of the African-Brazilian people is to have organized themselves mostly along culturalist movements, without sufficiently strengthening a directly political battlefront of national and massive character. Guided by Voduns and Orixás, and by the wisdom and revolutionary spirit of African ancestry, Ilê Aiyê undertook a cultural revolution knowing that the *symbolic* and the *pragmatic* are inseparable, and even further, perfectly aware that the *individual psychic-spiritual* and the *collective social-political* feed each other back in all instances.

That said, I suggest the following food-for-thought: wouldn't the reinforcement of such hyper-polarization between culturalist approach versus political approach be actually a cognitive rupture or an epistemic scab of (neo)colonialism? Wouldn't the true understanding of the socio-cultural-sociopolitical continuum be indeed an urgent demand of Brazil's notorious process of reaffricanization - that is, to urgently recover the civilizing values and the African episteme (Almeida, 2005), in which arts, sciences, spirituality, medicine, engineering, urbanism, daily life and politics, at individual and collective levels, are inseparable energies of the human entropy? Based on this reflection, I am relatively opposed to Hanchardian criticism around an allegedly "excessive culturalism" in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle in Brazil, but above all, I strongly refute the polarization itself, not recognizing the legitimacy of this dichotomy in the first place, and emphasizing the high risk of ultimately finding such polarization to be one of several cognitive-epistemological scabs of colonialist violence – and especially of the sophistication of neocolonialist violence. For the sake of transparency, I emphasize that Hanchard (1996), in his review of Luiza Bairros review, humbly accepts the criticism of the Brazilian anthropologist Júlio Tavares and the Ghanaian political scientist Anani Dzidzienyo regarding a certain inconvenience in wanting to "deprive Black movements of their own vehicles of political mobilization, namely cultural practices, when all other paths - public positions, union leadership, etc. - have been until very recently denied to Blacks" (p. 229).

In this sense, I place Ilê Aiyê at the same time as an excellent example of music as

⁸² Hanchard (1996) even criticizes the legacy of M. K. Asante, attributing to him the same "excessive culturalism" that he attributes in general to the Brazilian movimento negro and to the Jamaican rastafarianism.

a revolutionary organization in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle, as well as a perfect example of the partial invalidity of the dichotomy in question, just as, like accounted by Vovô, individuals from the MNU initially discredited Ilê's proposal at the time of its foundation and, fortunately soon enough, became convinced of the opposite when they saw the cultural revolution achieved by Ilê and other Blocos Afro. Preserving due proportions - knowing that no country in the African world has a sociocultural constitution identical to any other, and that the African revolution in each country has unmistakable singularities in each country due to an intangible web of complex factors - I venture here to assert that Ilê Aiyê in Brazil is our Black Panthers (without rifles!), and the Black Panthers in the USA are their Ilê Aiyê, without the colorfulness and without the drums (and without the hillside!).

After this brief historical overview of the Black Pearl and my brief case-study analyses of the *culturalism-versus-politics* polarization, I conclude this chapter by summarizing what I have defined here to be the *poetic-musical strategy of total organization*. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, a single song alone could never be considered directly responsible for revolutionary organization in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle - at least not without completely distorting Kwame Ture's definition of what *organization* means. However, the whole of an artist's work or his entire career can already become a considerably more consistent and effective effort, moving somewhat further away from *mobilization* and towards *organization*. Therefore, when the forceful, systematic and continuous application of music in favor of the Struggle constitutes the very ideological, sociocultural, political and epistemic-spiritual core of a given collective, I call it then *poetic-musical strategy of total organization*.

In the example presented here (Ilê Aiyê), the musical strategy of total organization is the complex system containing the repertoire, the history and the totality of sociocultural and sociopolitical impacts of this Bloco Afro, which carried out a profound Cultural Revolution through the lyrics of the songs, through the spiritual power of music, and through the use of music, dance and visual arts as a magnet bonding together the revolutionaries attracting thus more and more brothers and sisters to the Struggle. For this reason too, I am not presenting here any specific musical example of Ilê, since absolutely all the songs in the Bloco are directly engaged in the struggle, and at the same time, none of them alone can sum up at once all the depth and complexity of what I defined here a *poetic-musical strategy*

of total organization.

By mentioning the repertoire of the Blocos Afro, I take this opportunity to briefly point out an interesting facet of the analytical paradigms presented here. As was to be expected within the kwamist perspectives on the dichotomy *mobilization vs. organization*, the context in which actions and attitudes take place ultimately determines their own value. That is, just as a given activity carried out in an entirely *individualistic* and *unconscious*⁸³ context obtains a totally different value when carried out in a *mobilizing context* and reaches yet another level of magnitude when carried out in an *organizing context*, the poetic-musical strategies analyzed here carry different efficiencies, potentials, and tactical values according to the context in which they take place (whether *individualizing*, *mobilizing*, or *organizing*).

A perfect example of this is the question of "love songs" and "everyday life songs", which here in the first chapter were presented as "barracks songs" as a complementary counterpart of the "front-line songs" analyzed here as *Panafrican revolutionary music* upon four distinct *poetic-musical strategies of mobilization*. These so-called "love songs" become notably "front line songs" - that is, directly and forcefully channeled onto the most central and urgent demands of the Struggle – in the exact moment that they deal with the love between African bodies, minds, and hearts. In other words, in a context in which this love (and this repertoire) is situated as a *mobilizing/organizing* element of African peoples fin the face of the various facets of the Struggle, in particular, the urgency to (re)build values, virtues, and resources essential to individual and collective prosperity, such as self-esteem, self-image, self-confidence, racial pride,⁸⁴ family/community health, autonomy, self-determination, inspiration, aspiration, ambition, socioeconomic and sociopolitical empowerment, etc. Love, and the music that generates, cultivates and reveres it, is an indispensable survival and mental health technology to enable us to forward the Struggle, as Bia Ferreira pointed

⁸³ Here I refer to *unconscious* not as in the concept of psychology (in the sense of "subconscious" or "involuntary" or "subliminar"), but as the opposite of consciousness/awareness, in the sense of actions and attitudes that are not to any extent based on a racial, social or political awareness.

As explained here in the very introduction, it is important to remember that racial pride, like many other facets of the Struggle, should never be mistaken for nor compared with the occurrence of the same phenomenon coming from the hegemonic race/culture. They are two weights and two measures, two opposite ends of a persistent historical violence. Precisely because they are completely opposed, to apply any principle of isonomy, exemption and impartiality is, by definition, unfair. Analogous to the judicial archetypes of *self-defense* and *reparation*, the victim cannot be forbidden to climb up the pit that the aggressor forced them into. Fostering racial pride in the oppressed group is to remedy some of the effects of structural racism, in the same way as reserving entrance for higher education is about doing justice to the oppressed in the long run, and not at all about penalizing the oppressor; treating differently the oppressor and the oppressed (or rather, the privileged and the impaired) is not a deviation from the ideals of justice, but rather an attempt to reach them truthfully.

out in our interview. In this sense, Ilê Aiyê not only masterfully fulfills this demand, in total consonance with all the agenda already synthesized decades ago by the *black power* and *black is beautiful* movements worldwide, but is also strongly aligned with the conceptual and operational logics of radical fight against forced miscegenation and the whitewash of African physical and cultural bodies in Brazil - a problem already denounced by Abdias Nascimento (1980:23) and by so many other barristans of the anti-colonialist/anti-racist struggle.

Besides the Cultural Revolution through music, Ilê Aiyê has been a true *quilombo* in constant battle for various demands of this all-out war, such as social work, school training, professional training courses, arts school, band and drum-orchestra for children and youth, dance company, beauty contest, composition contest, research in African History and Culture, specialization courses in African History and Culture for teachers of basic education of the public school system. This last line of action has been particularly crucial, trying to close the gap between higher education and basic education to remedy the lack of awareness in the educational system. This lack or insufficiency of awareness-raising in the educational system is largely responsible for the perpetuation of prejudice, discrimination, and racism as a hegemonic ideology and its structural and structuring consequences. To remedy this lack or insufficiency within the school system constitutes a radical form of combat against racism, as I mentioned above making reference to Kabengele Munanga.

The importance of Ilê in this sense is, on the one hand, to precede the Law in the fulfillment of this demand, breaking the inertia of eternally waiting for the State or for third parties to resolve issues of such urgency and gravity (that is, a conceptual and operational logic of extreme importance in the African Revolutions around the world, at all times: the popular, tenacious and revolutionary character of the Struggle, strongly based on autonomy and self-determination); and, on the other hand, to make use of intelligent and particularly powerful solutions, such as music and arts, highlighting creativity, ingenuity, and Africanity. That is, once trapped by the Euro-colonialist episteme, by the dilemma between the political and the culturalist approach, our Black Pearl, the most beautiful of all beauties managed to dodge all these traps and follow a more coherent route: the African route.





Conclusion

Closing here the analytical arc on the role of music in the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle, before summarizing in a single breath all my conclusions and final considerations, I present a brief retrospective of the main topics discussed in each chapter. In this attempt to synthesize the pillars of my research, I already begin to weave my *conclusion* as I distil the analyses and reflections presented so far in order to sew up the key points of my argumentation. The communication of the premises, processes and analytical results in this work followed a specific sequence: before beginning to scrutinize the repertoire selected under the lenses of its complex anthropological, sociological, philosophical and political implications, I presented four brief sections to justify the cutout of the repertoire and to tune in the epistemological-ontological bases that determined my choices and guided my analyses. I also placed the cutout in relation to other repertories and signaled in which direction I visualize an eventual applicability of my paradigms in the repertories "left out" of the present research. I took advantage of these four introductory sections to elucidate some points that could cause doubt throughout the following chapters, and also to establish some premises to avoid repeating them later, case-by-case.

Music "unrelated" to the struggle: I began debating, in general lines, about African-Brazilian music itself being a central element in the Struggle - that is, African-Brazilian music is situated as central to the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle in Brazil. It is another confirmation of the rule that predicts the essentiality of music in the human condition (or as I paraphrase, the centrality of music among the humanning forces). That said, I proposed that no music could be considered entirely "unrelated" to the struggle, if not heavy caveats, bearing in mind that each song, without exception, fulfills a certain demand within the war, whether in the "front line" or in the "barracks". As an inescapable premise, attested by artists and scientists from the most diverse areas, Music is a survival technology; it is an endogenous and exogenous psychoactive basilar to mental health (of the individual as well as the collective); and is a powerful socioeconomic and socio-political tool, both in what it provides directly on its

own and in what it enables as a resource of *social mobility*, redistribution of wealth, collective prosperity, and accumulation of financial-material, human-organizational, political/partisan capital (given the *potential for reinvesting* these capitals in the demands of the Struggle and the special relevance of the musical career as a *political springboard* for oneself and for one's people). Therefore, the repertoire not analyzed in the present research - that is, "left out" for not directly and not forcefully addressing the demands of the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle - can only be considered "unrelated" to the struggle under heavy caveats, since to be considered truly contrary or indifferent to the Struggle would depend on a web of complex factors (including a series of extra-musical variables) that would need to be considered on a case-by-case basis. From these reflections, I emphasized that my analyses of *Panafrican revolutionary music* consist only of a methodological question, of restricting the analytical focus, and not at all a value judgment nor a hierarchization of repertoires.

Instrumental music: forwarding the presentation of the methodological basis for the cutout of the repertoire, I explained that instrumental music was partially left out of the present research, at least preliminarily, because the epistemological-ontological complexity of trying to understand in depth the role of instrumental music in the anti-racist/anticolonialist struggle would require a separate research (if wanted to understand it in terms of specific archetypes and plausible models of mobilization/organization, as was the purpose here). However, I emphasized beforehand that in addition to the aforementioned value as a humanning force (and other indispensable qualities identical to those reported in the previous chapter: survival technology, mental health, socioeconomic/sociopolitical tool, financial/human capital), instrumental music and the instrumental dimension are undoubtedly essential in various contexts of aquilombamento and other contexts of the use of Music within the Struggle (and of the Struggle within Music), as can be seen, for example: in the magical power of the sound of the Berimbau in Capoeira and the Adjá in Candomblé; in long instrumental moments even in situations with predominance/prevalence of verbal content (spoken/sung voice); in the unequivocal semantics of drums in the choreographic coordination of the entities in Candomblé; in the use of sound or of music in the concentration or manipulation of energies, and of bodily, psychic, spiritual, telluric, liturgical, or cathartic actions (individual or collective) in the most diverse contexts. Finally, in these many examples and countless cases identical or analogous to these, for all that they imply, explain or replicate the anti-

racist/anti-colonialist struggle. I have also exemplified that, in certain cases, the importance of the instrumental dimension reaches the point of becoming instrumental music itself, as in samba schools and blocos afro where, despite of a relative "protagonism" of the sung poeticverbal text, a niche of its own - often called Batucada - has been created, fully based on repertoires of rhythms, breaks and variations, totally dispensing with the sung voice or any additional elements beyond the drum orchestra itself. Partly because of the debate about such drum orchestras, and partly because of the terminological inadequacy of distinguishing what is "vocal," what is "melodic-harmonic," and what is "rhythmic-percussive" from an African perspective (referenced by Nzewi's concept of melorhythm and creative continuum), I discussed some implications of this kind of epistemological deadlock (pertinent in many other points in my analyses from then on), and drew attention to the colonialist stereotyping that presupposes rhythmicity/percussiveness in African music (which reaches the absurdity of presuming Africanity whenever faced with rhythmicity/percussiveness in general). Finally, I closed the chapter by citing Orkestra Rumpilezz to fulfill two demands at once: to demonstrate that this orchestra is the fusion of two Africas (the Africa of the Bahian Percussive Universe, and the Africa of Jazz harmonization, improvisation, and stylistics); and to signal an eventual suitability of instrumental music within the archetypes systematized in the present work, placing Rumpilezz as Panafrican revolutionary music by approaching the poetic-musical strategy of affirmation (by fostering Panafrican musical ancestry) and also by approaching the poetic-musical strategy of total organization (by engaging in socio-educational projects such as Rumpilezzinho, which is typical of the bloco afro culture).

Transculturation and emic narrative: unfolding some facets of these and other epistemological-ontological deadlocks and of this and other problems of colonialist stereotyping, I continued to briefly discuss a question that could arise to the attentive reader already in the first lines of this work. Taking into account my elucidations about the importance of (pan)African musical ancestry in the use of Music within the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle, how can we even identify in the first place what is musically African and what is musically non-African amid centuries of complex processes of "transculturation"? Faced with this pertinent question, I highlighted that even the consolidated genealogies and archaeologies of music supports certain speculations, complexifications, and perspectivations – like the Bantu episteme in musical behavior, demonstrated by wa Mukuna, or the inevitable

physiological-psychological-spiritual effects of music, explained by Nzewi. However, within the purposes of my analyses, academicist postulates were, in general, less fundamental than the emic narratives of the practitioners of the analyzed repertoire and the poetic-verbal content of the compositions themselves. That is, in many aspects, the capacity of each person to empower themselves through their own understanding of their own ancestry (and the musical implication of it) and the way in which this empowerment is employed (and becomes decisive!) in the Struggle is the core of my research, regardless of any disagreements with (or distances from) academic theories. By briefly discussing the aforementioned dilemma of transculturation, I have thickened the ancient and robust chorus of those who constantly alert about the risk of using the term "transculturation" to euphemise, relativize, romanticize, or invisibilize colonialist violences - there citing Agawu and other authors about *epistemicide* and *cultural appropriation* as main pillars of colonialism.

Remarks on the "strictly" musical dimension: closing the preliminary conceptual topics, I have reinforced the inseparability between the musical dimension and the poetic-verbal dimension, not only from an African perspective (as discussed in the previous chapters), but also within the specific context analyzed - since the repertoire's practitioners more often refer to an indivisible music-and-poetry unit. Then, I said that this cohesion and coherence between the two dimensions - and the ways in which they feed esch other back - have a central importance in my analyses, replacing eventual insulated approaches to music and poetry. That is, even when I chose to comment on musical or verbal semantics or syntaxes separately, I did so punctually to lighten the density of the present text. Instead of asserting in a single paragraph everything I had to say about a certain verse/stanza, in some moments I divided my explanation between discourse analysis (poetic-verbal) and compositional analysis (musical aspects), such method being merely a writing tactics to communicate the reflections, which does not reflect the phenomenon analyzed nor is reflected by it. Therefore, I wove beforehand some examples of inseparability and mutual feedback between music and poetry, already taking the opportunity to establish analytical assumptions that are valid in many other moments from then on. The first musical implication of this inseparability is the strong predominance of certain musical styles/traditions: although any kind of music can and indeed is to some extent - present in the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle, there is a predominance of musical styles born/developed within the Struggle or that the Struggle is

the very existential reason for that style, as in the cases of Samba, Reggae, Funk, Hip-hop, Rap, R&B, Jazz, Blues, Rock'n'Roll, Soul Music, Samba-reggae, Samba-afro, Samba-funk, Samba-rock, Rocksteady, Ska, Afrobeat, etc., among countless other examples of music-inquilombo and of aquilombamento through music. This fact, on the one hand, evidences the magical powers, or rather, the spiritual constituents and results of Music (and therefore, the uniqueness of Music in the humanning experience), since I have not yet heard of any account of a (pan)African Revolution, anywhere, at any time, that has taken place via or linked to an entirely non-African musical style, while on the other hand, all the inflection points in African history and African reality have taken place previously, subsequently, or concomitantly with equivalent musical inflections (as demonstrated by the styles I have just named above). Attentive to this fact, I highlighted that the importance of African musical ancestry - like the musical result of the Ubuntu cosmovision, for instance, among other issues of identity, symbolic universe and ancestral technology - renders Music as particularly indispensable in the (neo)colonialist Cultural War, since the process of smothering a people's episteme is precisely the quickest and most efficient way of killing that people by its roots, and the whole of a people's cultural heritage is the very substance of a people's episteme. I closed the chapter by emphasizing other evidences of the importance of music and ancestry in the Struggle, which points to an applicability of these archetypes of music in the anti-racist/anti-colonialist struggle far beyond recent/contemporary examples, namely the possible occurrence of similar poetic-musical strategies within immemorial traditions from capoeira to candomblé, from jongo to nego fugido, from maracatu to samba de roda.

Once these conceptual and methodological foundations were established, I began to discuss the four *poetic-musical strategies of mobilization* and one *poetic-musical strategy of organization*.

Poetic-musical strategy of affirmation: consists of various semantic-verbal and semantic-musical forms of continuously reasserting one's cultural heritage, strengthening individual and collective identity, generating, cultivating and fortifying the sense of belonging, and reinforcing/energizing the physical, psychic, emotional and spiritual connection with one's ancestors/ancestry (in addition to variations, expansions, combinations and complexities of these and other similar attitudes). In the examples, two carnival-winning sambas with extensive and particularly exciting exaltations to African deities, queens, empires and

civilizations, emblematic characters and facts, symbols of African History and Culture, heroes of African resistance in Brazil (like leaders of important quilombos and revolts), glorifying the Samba School and Carnival itself as the heritage of African royalty and sacredness. Being one of the most common themes and compositional styles - if not the most common - in this tradition (and also very recurrent in several Brazilian musical contexts), it was certainly a methodological challenge to choose which example would best demonstrate the archetype. Weighing among the possibilities - knowing the value of subjectivity as a methodological compass and its scientific value as creator-creature of the Whole, as constituent of the continuum - I chose these songs for their musical qualities: electrifying/ emotional/gripping chorus and counter-chorus (sometimes double chorus) that grabs the listener and is easily fixed in their memory; the use of harmonic contrasts to highlight words/verses/stanzas; the use of breaks (sometimes in very sophisticated ways) to emphasize parts of the poetic-verbal text; along other elements of strong cohesion/coherence between poetic-verbal composition and musical composition (musical wisdom) that demonstrate the singularity of the communicational power of Music (of the aesthetic-musical experience) in the transmission of ideals, feelings and facts. Indeed, in other cogitated examples, the poetic-verbal composition would express even better the ideas that I wanted to highlight, and some even had a greater personal appeal to me, but I chose those examples precisely because of their musical qualities - and this aspect of musical wisdom was decisive in the choice of all the examples presented here, with the exception of the last archetype, of total organization, in which Ilê Aiyê was chosen also for its musical quality, but primarily for its pioneering spirit and protagonism in the context of the Blocos Afro.

Poetic-musical strategy of awareness-raising: consists of the semantic-verbal and semantic-musical forms of pointing out the reality of the majority of African-Brazilians, vividly describing sufferings at individual and collective levels, emphasizing historical causes and the numerous daily/systemic facets of structural racism in its three pillars - social condition, economic condition, and subjectivity. Also acting in verbalizing/visibilizing/amplifying frequently silenced/relativized facts, connecting the historical-sociological perspective with possible pragmatic solutions in present times at the level of individual and collective/community/national/global autonomy, as well as debating political engineering, among variations, expansions, combinations, and complexifications of these and other

similar topics. The analyzed song fulfills this kind of demand by poetically synthesizing the "day that never ended", drawing the equation between the reality of the African-Brazilian people on the day after the supposed "abolition" of slavery and the historic/contemporary situation of their descendants. The *musical wisdom* in this case is quite special: the increase in harmonic-melodic tension accompanies the increase in tension in the verbal content of each verse; the climax of the melody is the climax of the poetic-verbal text with a vigorous leap in the melody in the high register of the voice adding energy and impact to the question "did I get the message across?", precisely to answer this question right away with one of the solutions to the problems addressed up until that point of the song, "check out Ilê Aiyê!"; among other examples of a communicational power widely attested by the impact this song has caused on the public so far.

Poetic-musical strategy of counter-intelligence: consists of semantic-verbal and semantic-musical forms to generate awareness in a particularly hyper-focused way (similar to the previous strategy, but aiming at elaborating very specific counter-arguments or counter-narratives), such as disarming certain racist lies and intellectual dishonesties, neutralizing or undermining certain misleading narratives, fortifying political education efforts by categorically defending certain ideological positions, as well as variations, expansions, combinations and complexifications of these and other similar attitudes. The analyzed song vividly describes the average routine of an African-Brazilian girl/woman from the peripheries, presenting a sociological dossier in favor of the Quotas Act. The musical wisdom there attests to the uniqueness of the moving force of Music, addressing a theme already exhaustively debated in Brazilian society, but with the power of poetic-musical persuasion – which made this song go viral – lifted the career of the composer, and gathered lots of people who have changed their minds due to this song (or who sought to learn more and eventually changed their opinion).

Poetic-musical strategy of counter-humiliation: consists of various semantic-verbal and semantic-musical forms of using the pedagogy of mockery, the didactics of scorn, the comunicology of gibe, that is, to taunt opponents and indifferents, primarily as an educational tool, and secondarily, as a pressure valve, a mental-emotional health tool, of compensation, of extravasation, of playfulness, which is common (and sometimes is the existential reason) of various artistic traditions in Brazil and throughout the world. The song impatiently questions

the audience about what they are really doing for the Struggle, as a "heated dialogue" that has a mainly pedagogical/didactic purpose to rock the listener and call them to action, but the "didactic mockery" ends up serving collaterally to refract/redistribute aggression.

Musical strategy of total organization: finally, consists of using music as a full-blown revolutionary organizing force. In this case, I explained that it is not a specific song, but the complex system - the ideology, the consistency/permanence, the conceptual and operational logic - that encompasses the totality of the repertoire, the history, and the socio-cultural and socio-political impacts of a certain collective. The Bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê implemented a deep Cultural Revolution through the poetic content of songs (educational tool, pedagogical method, moving force), the spiritual power of music (bridge between the world of the living and that of the ancestors), and the use of music and the arts as a magnet bonding, uniting and multiplying the revolutionaries, effectively constructing a revolutionary environment and implementing a organization within the kwamist paradigm. Besides the Cultural Revolution through Music and Arts, Ilê Aiyê has also served as a quilombo fighting for various demands of the Struggle, such as: social work, elementary school, elaboration of pedagogical material, professional training courses, black beauty contest, school of arts, professional band and also youth band, dance company, and specialization courses in African History and Culture for teachers of the public basic education system, all this on the pillars of social justice and radical fight against racism. This line of socio-educational work, as I discussed above, has been fundamental to the Struggle to close the gap between the higher education, the black movement, and the primary education, in order to remedy the lack of information/ consciousness within the school system that leads to the perpetuation of prejudice, discrimination, and other structural and structuring elements of racism. Understanding the formation of the individual as the root of the problem, this strategy acts educationally both through the hegemonic-culturalist Euro-colonialist school system (cement building, centralized electrical grid, blackboard, enrollment, shifts, Monday-to-Friday, grades, college entrance exams), and through the Panafrican revolutionary structure of ancestral methodologies, technologies, pedagogies, resources, and cosmovisions (music, dance, art, spirituality, collectivity, ginga, mandinga, kizomba, kilombo, quilombo). Thus, I closed the chapter by proposing that the poetic-musical strategy of total organization represented by Ilê Aiyê does not fit into the dichotomy political approach vs. culturalist approach, since such

polarization does not contemplate the historical-sociological constitution of the *racism ala Brazilian-style*, and even less takes into account the complexity of Ilê Aiyê as a revolutionary organization in its context.

I finished that dense chapter by closing an arc. An interesting sociopolitical-musical result of this paradigm of music as a revolutionary organizing force is that, as in kwamist paradigm, the same action/attitude with a certain effective tactical value when within an individualistic or mobilizing context takes other proportions (another effective tactical value) when within an organizing quilombo context. The best example of this is what, in the first chapter, was called music under-harsh-caveats-unrelated to the struggle, because when it takes place within the blocos afro it becomes, by definition, a vector of affirmation, awareness, counter-intelligence and total-organization - that is, the "love song" seen as "barracks song" when within the individualizing/mobilizing context, immediately becomes "frontline song" in the context of total-organization, because it is not merely acting on the survival and mental health of African-Brazilian individuals, but rather healing (on the root!) the historical scabs of the eugenics program - deep scars of inferiorization, depersonalization, forced miscegenation, and the whitening of physical and cultural bodies of the African-Brazilian peoples.

This point brings us closer to an important conceptual premise that I have avoided repeating too much throughout the chapters to not instill conceptual confusions, namely: the identification case-by-case of different intersections, nuances and instensities of the archetypes outlined here. In presenting the analytical paradigms of the five poetic-musical strategies (of affirmation, awareness-raising, counter-intelligence, counter-humiliation, and total-organization) I outlined the characteristics of each one of them without much emphasis on the real entropy of all their determining factors, without emphasis on the complex hues between all these factors, whose variations, expansions, combinations, and complexifications constitute the "category" in which most of the songs of the Panafrican revolutionary music would actually fit. That is, many songs have poetic-musical elements (compositional impulses, creative contexts/processes, intentionalities, and semantic-interpretative possibilities) corresponding to more than one of these strategies, such as affirmation & awareness-raising, or counter-intelligence & counter-humiliation, affirmation & counter-humiliation, and so on. Another important assumption is that the songs exemplified here are merely a support for

the appreciation of the archetypes outlined, with no hierarchy between them and other possible examples "left out" of the discussion about each poetic-musical strategy - in reality, whoever has the opportunity of knowing the immensity and diversity of Brazilian music (in immemorial traditions as well as in music market and phonographic industry), knows that for each work or artist or collective presented here, there are at least hundreds (if not thousands) of other identical or similar examples that might as well be used to exemplify these archetypes, and precisely for this reason, these archetypes of poetic-musical strategies were thus "categorized", because they represent extremely common musical behaviors within the most varied repertoires. And to illlustrate the fact that, for each artist exemplified here, there are thousands more that I haven't mentioned, I recall James Small's speech in the Bayyinah Bello webinar in April 2020, when he stated that we need to abandon this typically European heroicizing episteme, and recover our African episteme to understand that, as exceptional as a certain hero may seem (be it Zumbi, Desalin, Malcolm X, or Thomas Sankara), in reality they were simply correct, coherent, upright; and so, we should not heroicize them by placing them beyond the reachable horizon - on the contrary, we must rather see them as something we all can (and must!) become.

It is also important to emphasize that the aforementioned predominance of a certain archetype - namely that of affirmation - does not represent a hierarchy in relation to the others either. More probably, the poetic-musical strategy of affirmation is prevalent because it is the closest (the most "natural") to the primordial positioning of Music in human experience: transmission of knowledge (masters); community historiography (griots); defense of the quilombola constitution (community); teaching of wisdom and of technologies of survival (organization); (re)existence tool of ancestry and of people's imaginary. Probably for this very reason, the self-reference in this repertoire is a remarkable feature, like various songs of Ilê Aiyê that speak about the bloco afro itself, as well as countless other songs paying homage to the bloco or in reverence to it or mentioning it, like the May 14th, analyzed here, which very explicitly answers the question "did I get the message across?" with the answer "check out Ilê Aiyê!". So to speak, Music fulfills the urgent demand of breaking the spell of the tree of oblivion, and in many instances, the affirmation is the very blood running through the veins of the collective-body, that is, the most immediate, constant and indispensable way to combat this nefarious spell. The other strategies have their specificities to correspondingly

fulfill more specific demands, all equally important: if the *affirmation* is the blood in the veins of the collective-body, the *awareness*, the *counter-intelligence* and the *counter-humiliation* are the other organs, clearly less voluminous and less spread than the blood, but equally vital to the health of the organism. In this same analogy, the *total-organization* would be the brain, and therefore the most urgent of all, to prevent the organs of one collective-body from being commanded by the brain of another.

With all this in mind, as a synthesis of the more in-depth discussions and analyses, detailed and referenced throughout this work, I present the final part of my conclusions, starting with the most axiomatic, and ending with the most deductive, more directly resulting from the efforts of this research.

* * *

Anti-colonialism needs to be understood as an *all-out war* - inherent in the fight against a *regime of holistic violence* - with apparent centrality of the Cultural War among its battlefronts and its most decisive fortresses, and which in Brazil, seems to have Music as one of its strongest pillars. As has often been highlighted, to murder a people's culture or to culturally dominate a people is to kill it by its roots. In equivalence, therefore, winning the Cultural War is the only way to avoid being completely annihilated - to protect the roots even if branches and leaves have to be sacrificed in the process.

In Brazil, music seems to have at least the same strategic value within the anticolonialist/anti-racist struggle as the work of renowned academics and politicians, not
necessarily relying on them to deal with the same issues and overcome the same demands
by different methods. On the contrary, if there is any relationship of dependence, it is in the
exact opposite direction, since the Academia operates fundamentally in a descriptive rather
than prescriptive way. A good example of this is the concept, discussed here extensively,
about the understanding of Escolas de Samba and Terreiros as quilombos, consolidated/
expanded/complexified within the human and social sciences by Abdias Nascimento and
Beatriz Nascimento from the 1970s to 1990, at the latest. But before that, it was already
the understanding of the master Sambistas and Yalorixás themselves, such as Candeia, Iá
Nassô, among so many of their predecessors, contemporaries and successors. In other words,

despite the political-institutional value of the research that documentally demonstrated the *quilombola* origin of several Terreiros and Favelas and communities, and that crystallized the connection between *physical* and *ideological* quilombo, this *quilombo-continuum* (space-quilombo, episteme-quilombo, attitude-quilombo) was already duly crystallized in Music itself and in other *quilombola* cultural practices. Not only it was consolidated there, but music itself sang it constantly - exactly as I stated above, the *affirmation* being the greatest weapon of (re)existence, the purest essence of the collective-body, the snake that eats its own tail; that which is made while it is made, that *never not existed* and always *re-existed*.

In the currently-hegemonic Euro-colonialist socioeconomic and socio-political model, the Academia is situated within the Struggle primarily as a means of social ascension. And once inside (endowed with certain infrastructures, financial/human capital, and legitimation resources), as Bia Ferreira herself stated in our interview, the individual has (or should have) the mission of *recording* the conjuncture, the historical moment, the ideas, the trajectories and the reality as they see it - and this *record*, not by coincidence, is fully aligned with the postulates of Meki Nzewi and Mwazulu Diyabanza on the urgency of protecting/retrieving African intellectual property and cultural/spiritual heritage, continuously and massively plundered, usurped and murdered by the (neo)colonialist structure. In this sense, it is then realized that such an *academic record* (and all its episteme) was never and probably never will be "The Way" to inscribe, multiply and perpetuate the processes and results of the *humanning forces*, but merely "one way" - as we see, not by coincidence, this same point of view of Bia Ferreira being reinforced academically by the concept of *oralitura* by Leda Martins, among other instances of confirmation of this understanding, both in the arts, sciences, and intersections.

Examples of the descriptive (posteriori) and restrictive (limited) character of the academic practice are profuse, but the last one I add here was also given by Bia Ferreira in another interview, and is strongly worked on in her songs, when she emphasizes that "it is very beautiful to talk about *feminism*, but back in the slum where I lived, nobody ever went to talk about it, and the women already practiced for a long time. It's been a long time since Black women left their daughter with their neighbor to go wash clothes in the river" (Rio Adentro, 2019), highlighting that "*sorority* has existed for Black women for a long time, it just didn't have that name, because it's an academicist term" (idem). The understanding of

this dynamic explains much about the (neo)colonialist obstacles to the longings for social justice and historical reparation. It explains, in particular, that Academia's function in our society is only as pragmatically relevant and ethically legitimate as the access to Academia is radically universal and egalitarian.

All these analyses and reflections were woven up to highlight many facets of Brazil's historical-sociological constitution, and also clearly demonstrate that - confirming my research hypothesis - all the pillars of the anti-racist agenda are addressed by Music to a greater or lesser extent: public policies of affirmative action, social precariousness and systematic exclusion in general, stigmatization, impoverishment, unemployment, socioeconomic and socio-political sabotages, educational obstacles, miseducation, epistemicide, identity issues, cognitive ruptures, colorism, self-esteem and empowerment, cultural assimilation and appropriation, autonomy and self-determination, culturalist approach vs. political approach, (de)construction of Brazilian cultural identity (modernist-eugenist agenda), state terrorism, mass incarceration, genocide, police brutality, and so on - among so many other issues that are collectively processed through music, including some that most scholars refuse or have a hard time trying to discuss within the scientific community, such as nationalism/separatism, bi-racial relationship, opportunism and co-option by white leftism, armed struggle, nonpacifism and legitimacy of counter-violence, etc. Another very relevant point in the role of Music in the Struggle, and which also dialogues with the quilombo-continuum discussed above, is the fact that this complex anti-racist/anti-colonialist agenda has always been battled through Music, whereas in the Academia, since the beginning of the European invasion in Amerindian lands up until today, the African-Brazilian population has spent literally more time forbidden than liberated to access it. Until the 1930s and 1940s, eugenicist (and colonialist) ideals still prevailed in the scientific community, not to mention that the "leading" University in the "academic market" had the first African-Brazilian student only in 1960 and the first professor only in 1980 (and only implemented the first social quota program in 2006, and only adhered to the Federal Racial Quotas Act in 2017), not to mention the flood of the words "...first black to..." up until today in the most varied sectors and institutions, not to mention the markedly elitist environment and the enormous persistence of the colonialist conceptual and operational logics within the Academia to this day. In other words, Music and Arts seem to be the weapons of the Struggle par excellence, and they seem to continue sustaining such stature today, even after the turning points in the Brazilian anti-racist struggle in the 1930s and 1940s, in the 1970s and 1980s, and in the first two decades of the present century, when more and more academic efforts have been gradually added to the flanks of this all-out war.

For all this, Music seems to be a really unique tool in sociocultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic dynamics. Music has its own way of fighting the same battles, its own methods, its own logic, its own capacity to express the inexpressible, its own powers to manipulate spiritual, psychic and emotional energies capable of achieving unique results and to complement other forms of political engagement in a crucial way, from *mobilization* to *organization*. As all the artists confirmed in our interviews, Music has the power to carry messages to pierce the armors of hearts and minds, even of those who are more distracted or unwilling to listen. Thus, Music not only has a greater impact than many other cultural strategies and tools, but also a much greater reach, and can add to all the others to increase their impact and their reach. Music has the ability not only to survive to the transatlantic crossing, but to gradually close or shorten the cultural, epistemological, and spiritual distances, despite the geographical abyss; the capacity not only to resist all colonialist violence, but to sustain and strengthen the indestructible revolutionary Panafrican bond worldwide.

In this context, I propose that there should be no hierarchy between the battlefronts of the Struggle, since musical works, academic works, social works and political efforts are equally vital to our collective achievements, that is, instead of a verticalizing pyramid-like system, we organize (or should organize) ourselves in a circular and horizontal system, based on mutual influence and holistic feedback. Despite some academic debates, such as the Hanchard/Bairros series of books and works in response to each other, or Ture/Asante dialogue, trying to convince each other of the need for the political approach to prevail over the culturalist approach (and vice versa), we should benefit from such disagreements by understanding all approaches as equally vital, and by realizing that deficiencies in either approach can be extremely detrimental to the collective prosperity and the Struggle for structural changes in (neo)colonialist racial hegemony. All these battlefronts are experiencing the same pains and challenges and finding their own solutions to the same problems. In this all-out war, we will be much more victorious (and also much faster!) if all the battlefronts

seek to unite as much as possible, as our ancestry desires, instead of competing with each other, as the colonialist structure wants.

Similarly, this same polarization and hierarchy that should not be accepted between Music and other battlefronts, should not be accepted within the Music itself. In other words, just as an "aggressive" song of the strategy of counter-humiliation should not be considered "more revolutionary" than others, a "polished" song of the strategy of affirmation should not be considered "better", nor more legitimate or more important - just as both should not be considered superior to the "song of love and everyday life". Similar to this scenario, in which each song has a certain function and fulfills a certain demand, each battlefront has its existential reason and its procedures, and will reach distinct achievements through different methods, whether musical, academic, social or political. Much because of this continuum and this holistic perception of the different demands of this all-out war, I have proposed in several moments of the present work some instances of indissociability, in search of an analysis as sober as possible within the limitations of subjectivity and circumstances, namely: the inseparability of music-and-poetry; the complementarity of barracks/frontline; the complementarity mobilization-organization; the interdependence and nuances between the five poetic-musical strategies; the indivisibility of politics and culture; the theoreticalpractical continuum between arts-and-sciences in the African perspective; and above all, the feedback between all the points of inflection and victories of the Panafrican revolution around the world, which in turn are (apparently always) tied to a musical correspondent.

This last point is the most crucial of all, because it is precisely a key point in understanding the indestructible Panafrican spiritual fabric. From Zumbi to Desalin, from Dandara to Abdias, from Aqualtune to Malcolm X, from Beatriz to Nyerere, from Garvey to Nkrumah, from Fanon to Gilroy, from Mbembe to Sarr, from Asante to Ani, from Small to Bello, from Mazrui to Nobles, from Oyèwùmí to Malema, it is known and felt that the power of the unity of African individuals and peoples is tremendous, it has the strength of human existence itself, of the mighty chain that links the Orun to the Ayé, of the origin of everything, of the primordial *ebó*. And it is precisely because of this intangible and implacable force that Music, in the Struggle as in life, is one of the most essential *humanning forces* that exists: in the beginning it was nothingness, then music was made, and we got together to sing, play and dance, and we never aparted ourselves, and from there, because we were

together, we created everything exists in this world. The aggregating, seductive, transforming, transcendental, and humanning power of Music is what explains why it is always closely connected to the transitions and revolutions around the world, in all times. In fact, the antiracist and anti-colonialist struggle is an all-out war against a sordid, inhuman, and perverse structure. In fact, fighting this structure is the greatest challenge possible within human proportions. To overcome it, it takes a lot of organization, a lot of resources, and a lot of power. Inevitably, the first step to achieve all this is to *bring people together*, unite the people, converge the combatants, and gather the allies. And it is precisely to achieve this first step, first of all, and to follow successfully in all the following steps, that we need the magnetism of Music to unite us and organize us towards our destiny.

Invoking Ali A. Mazrui:

"The beginning of wisdom is to know who you are, grow near, and listen! We are the People of the day before yesterday, and the People of the day after tomorrow. Way back before slave days, we were all in one huge village called Africa. And then, strangers came and took some of us away, scathering us to the four corners of this Earth. Before this dispersal, our village was the world. It was all we knew. But now we are scattered so widely that the sun never sets on the descendants of Africa. The World is our Village! And we plan to make it more human, between now and the day after tomorrow". (*The Africans – A Triple Heritage*, *Episode 9, 1986*)

* * *

Closing remarks

Concluding this work, I share a reflection that has accompanied me throughout my investigations and that has become deeper and more pertinent every day. It is about trying to demonstrate that Music also belongs to the Social Sciences and should be recognized as such. Songs are not merely parroting or paraphrasing what social scientists are saying. They are actually elaborating and communicating complete sociological postulates. Constantly confronted with the same (and sometimes more) data, plots, demands, and challenges that confront social scientists, composers find their own explanations and perspectivations. As I discussed above, Music has its own way of seeing and listening the world, and its own way of

communicating its views and points of listening. I invite all readers to discuss possible aspects of "non-scientificness" in Music to see which of these aspects apply equally or similarly to the canonized Social Sciences, in order to find out to what extent Music has a legitimate claim to this Agora. I defend, for all I have discussed in this research and for many other reasons, that Music has the same scientific value as the other social sciences. And here I am referring to Music itself, long before any musicological enterprise.

Withholding due proportions, to say that an art has no scientific value is as absurd as saying that the magic of the prayer of an Yalorixá is only consumated after it is ethnographed. As Hampâté Bâ's proverbial wisdom teaches us: "writing is the photography of knowledge, not knowledge itself". As I emphasized earlier, it is necessary to keep in mind that academic sciences work imperatively on a descriptive rather than prescriptive basis. We need to reflect on whether the currently-hegemonic Euro-colonialist educational model (cement building, centralized electrical grid, blackboard, enrollment, shifts, Monday-to-Friday, grades, college entrance exams) would not actually constitute, to some extent, a complex structure of sabotage of African potentials, powers, personality, existential root, and episteme (arts, spirituality, collectivity, ginga, mandinga, kizomba, kilombo, quilombo). Wouldn't the "place of art" under the colonialist episteme be a powerful weapon to empty our struggle from the typhoons and magic torrents of our ancestry? Our historiography, our sociology, our anthropology, our psychology, our philosophy, Ebomi Cici, Conceição Evaristo, Carolina de Jesus, Clementina de Jesus, Solano Trindade, Jovelina Pérola Negra, Mateus Aleluia, Cartola, Nelson Cavaquinho, Jamelão, Candeia, Lupicínio Rodrigues, João da Baiana, Tia Ciata, Luiz Gama, Lima Barreto? Many researchers have already attested to the accuracy of what is sung by the West African griots and the extremely relevant role of their Art in many organizational demands of the collectivity. Newspapers in Tanzania have used rhymes and metrics to present the news in poetic form in Kiswahili since 1910 and even more so after 1967 with the Ujamaa model. Several other similar examples can be seen in this bibliography and its developments. It seems to me that a hyper-segregation between arts, sciences, politics, spirituality, and daily life is not the only way to organize ourselves collectively, and perhaps it is in fact a Euro-colonialist heritage that will always be a hindrance in our path, delaying our victory until we overcome this vice, this unconsciousness.

Finally, I close this hard work by recalling when composer and singer Lazzo Matumbi

was called to our Federal Senate in 2016 to be honored for his efforts in combating racism. Remembering that four years before that, in 2012, renowned social scientists (of the greatness of Sueli Carneiro, Kabengele Munanga, José Vicente, Marcos Antônio Cardoso and Mário Lisboa Theodoro) served on the Supreme Court as *Amicus Curiae* (Friend of the Court) to defend the urgency of the Quotas Act, and the Supreme Court ended up deciding in favor of the Quotas Act, which significantly changed the paradigm of access to institutions of excellence in higher education in Brazil. Having presented here my understanding of music as a social science, I say goodbye with the following reflection: would it be too dreamy for me to hope that one day artists like Lazzo Matumbi, Bia Ferreira, or Mano Brown will sing in front of the Court to persuade the Supreme Court to approve public policies in favor of a more just and equal society?



The day the Hill [the Favela] comes down and it's not Carnival

No one will stay to watch the Final Parade At the entrance gust of fires for those who have never seen It will be shotgun, machine gun, grenade and rifle (it's the civil war!)

The day the Hill comes down and it's not Carnival

It won't even give enough time to have the General Rehearsal
And each wing of the School will be a gang
The Evolution will already be guerrilla
And the Allegory a tremendous arsenal
The Plot Theme will be the broken city
The day the leather eats [things go south] in the Avenue
If the Hill comes down and it's not Carnival

The People will come from the slums, swamps and favelas

Displaying the misery on the Catwalk

Without the fantasy that comes out in the newspaper

It will be a single school, a single drum battery

Who will be jury? Nobody would like to

For a parade like this, will have nothing like it

It has no official organ, no government, no League
No authority to put up this fight
Nobody knows the strength of these people
Better is the Power to give back the joy to this people
Otherwise everyone will dance [fall, lose] on the day
That the Hill comes down and it's not Carnival

(Paulo César Pinheiro and Wilson das Neves)



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Declaration of Honour

I hereby declare in my honor that I have prepared this work whitou improper help from third parties and whithout using any other means than those indicated. The information, methods and concepts taken directly or indirectly from other sources are identified by reference to the sources. This work has not been submitted to any other examination authority in Germany or abroad, in the same or similar form. I affirm in good faith that, to the best of my knowledge, I have told the whole truth and have not concealed anything.

Kamai Freire

