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## *Anraje to Angaje: Carnival Politics and Music in Haiti*

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At Haitian Carnival 1991, a street performer playing a doctor acted out a phone call from “the bourgeoisie” asking him to resuscitate the notorious *ton-ton makout* (member of the Duvalier family’s militia) Roger Lafontant, who was then in prison after he failed in a coup against the newly-elected president. After various serum injections to the stuffed dummy representing Lafontant, the doctor re-examined the lifeless figure. An onlooker cried out, “Is he dead?” The doctor stuck his stethoscope into Lafontant’s groin, grimaced, then screamed, “No, his cock is still twitching!” This grotesque image was understood by onlookers as a warning not to underestimate the latent power of Duvalierism to “screw” the country. In this small carnival street drama, Lafontant, strikingly like the figure of the traditional carnival king, was sacrificed to the crowd and then reborn. As the actor collected his props and passed a cup for donations, the carnival brass band Ozanna streamed down from the lower class neighborhood of Bel Aire heading to City Hall playfully singing, “*Nou mande nou mande, pou nou konyen kampe, Nou mande nou mande, lavalasaman*” (We’re asking to fuck standing up, but we’re asking in the spirit of President Aristide’s Lavalas political movement: with the persistence and power of a deluge). A wide range of obscene, exuberant, inverted, and debasing political tropes were played out in a few moments of this carnival vignette.<sup>1</sup>

Carnival is the most important annual musical event in urban Haiti. As the preceding passage indicates, Haitian carnival exuberance is thoroughly permeated with political meanings. Struck by the importance that musicians in Haiti attach to carnival and by carnival’s seemingly powerful role in Haitian political history, I undertook a historical and ethnographic study of carnival under and after the Duvalier dictatorship. The period in question (1957–93) comprises three relatively distinct historical phases for a study of carnival: the reign of François (Papa Doc) Duvalier; the presidency of his

son, Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier; and the period following the exile of the Duvaliers, and these emerged as interlinked case studies. Two phonetically similar Creole adjectives—*anraje* (a charged or exuberant emotional state, used to describe people caught up in carnival ambience) and *angaje* (politically committed)—capture the complex weave of popular pleasures and political pressures that has characterized Haitian carnival musics of the last 35 years.<sup>2</sup>

The literature on carnivals has proliferated in the last two decades, accelerated by the publication of Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff's *Secular Ritual* (1977), a compilation that extended anthropological analysis of religious ritual into studies of political and celebratory secular events, and by the translation of Mikhail Bakhtin's treatise on carnivalesque tropes in the works of French Renaissance writer Rabelais (1984). Carnivals in the Americas have generated a body of scholarship rich in attention to dramaturgical and visual modes of expression (Nunley 1988; Hill 1972). Some scholars have viewed carnival as a window into class, racial, gender, sexual, and national identities and conflicts (Guillermoprieto 1990, DaMatta 1991, Parker 1991, Kinser 1990, Lipsitz 1990, Spitzer 1986). Scholars interested in immigrant cultural identities and transnational cultural flows have focused on the emergence of Caribbean-style carnivals in the major cities of Europe and the U.S. (Manning 1990, Nunley 1988, Hill and Abramson 1988). Few studies, with the exception of Keith Warner's book on Trinidadian calypso as oral literature (1985), demonstrate a central interest in carnival music.

A debate in cultural studies and allied disciplines has raged over the political significance of carnival, and this debate spilled over into many of the works listed above. On one end of a spectrum of viewpoints is the "instrument of social control" theory (Gross 1980:238), which holds that carnival diverts popular attention away from oppressive social realities. Some theorists (Eagleton 1981) acknowledge carnival as a site of popular pleasures that challenge taboos, hierarchies, and social conventions, yet they argue that carnival (often licensed by the authorities) perpetuates dominant systems by functioning as a "pressure valve," venting popular anger into symbolic, rather than material, reversals. Bakhtin's medieval carnival—with its grotesque humor, uncrownings, mockery, images of change and renewal, bawdy sexuality, laughter, and suspension of hierarchies—squarely opposed the official culture of church and state, celebrating the unity and fearlessness of the people and affirming their "immortal, indestructible character" (1968/84:256). David Kertzer similarly stressed the resistant, rebellious, and revolutionary potential of carnival, which brings the powerless into collective organization and encourages the "mockery of the politically powerful" (1988:146). In these studies, carnival is too often treated

as an ideal type, an essence transposable onto different settings. What was needed, I felt, was a larger body of local case studies exploring the political implications of carnival and its music—the local meanings of carnival that defy easy cross-cultural generalization. My own findings on Haitian carnival square with the more open-ended interpretation of carnivals by John Fiske, who notes a continuous presence of rebellious potential in carnival, a potential that can be set into motion by a sharpened level of political struggle (1989:100).

Various projects in the social sciences have attempted to theorize both emotion and the role of the body. Raymond Williams characterized the “feel” of entire generations and historical periods with a term, “structure of feeling,” that purported to cover territory excluded from “ideology” and “worldview” (1977:132). In carnival, participants expect to be moved, to be swept up in collective enthusiasm, to “lose one’s body,” and these expectations structure the event—or rather, the event has its own structure of feeling. I argue that these feelings are the lynchpin of carnival’s political potential. Carnival also foregrounds bodily pleasures. The body (and its pleasure) occupies a crucial place in Foucault’s theories of modern regimes of discipline and power/knowledge. Foucault views bodies as the sites upon which power is enacted (1978:157) and there is a vague sense in at least some of Foucault’s work that bodies are prior to, and potentially transcendent of, techniques and practices of power. In Haitian carnival, “overflowing” exuberance and “letting go of the body” create an event that pushes the limits of social control. But carnival’s anti-authoritarian—and even revolutionary—potential also motivates the state and elites to intervene to contain and co-opt carnival and its meanings and to transform carnival (and carnival bodies) into a terrain of class and political conflict.

Carnival music establishes the carnivalesque ambience, sonically symbolizes and projects the power of the carnival masses, and is the vehicle for topical texts that run from playfully ambivalent to defiant, texts that are particularly effective in building mass consensus.

### **The Struggle for Carnival**

In Haiti, as in many countries that celebrate carnival, there has been a stark division between official, elite-sponsored activities and those of a mass or popular nature. The written record on twentieth-century carnivals shows a clear contest for the “soul” of carnival. During the American occupation of Haiti (1915–1934), Haitian president Louis Borno offered a remodeled, bourgeois-style carnival patterned on French and Italian prototypes which was meant to subordinate and undermine a popular festivity that combined the spirit of the medieval European carnival with neo-African expressive

culture. The newspaper *L'Essor* saw hope for a bourgeois festival as early as 1924: "Our carnival is in full development. The evolution of carnival is already far from an African stage. It promises something splendid in the years to come" (5 March 1924, quoted in Corvington 1987:308). After 1925, businesses such as Guilbaud Tobacco Manufacturing sponsored *cha madigra-s*<sup>3</sup> (Mardi Gras floats, often allegorical in nature). Elite social clubs such as Cercle Bellevue held *mardi gras* balls, typically concluding with a rendition of the traditional *mereng* (French: *méringue*) "Bonswa Danm, Mwen Kale Dodo" (Goodnight Ladies, I'm Going To Bed). A king and queen were first elected in 1927 by a new entity, the Carnival Committee. This elite carnival, aiming for a graceful and delicate spectacle (organized by the government and social elite and observed by the masses), falls into a category of events held "by the establishment for the people" (Falassi 1987:3); however, these exclusive balls constituted events held by the establishment *for* the establishment.

The Haitian state and elite class have been remarkably unsuccessful over time in their effort to turn carnival into a parade or spectacle; official Haitian carnival has always been wedded uneasily to a popular, participatory, and political event. In occupation-era carnivals, a growing Anti-Americanism confronted the foreign presence in Haiti. In 1926, the police were forced to disperse a demonstration by a masked carnival entourage protesting the reelection of collaborationist President Louis Borno. Two years later, even the Cercle Bellevue cancelled its carnival grand ball to protest the incarceration of some of its members by the American-led Garde d'Haiti. The American fact-finding mission sent by President Hoover in 1930 had the misfortune to arrive just prior to carnival. To protest the American presence, the carnival queen returned her crown to the Commission and a general boycott of carnival kept the crowds at bay. In place of the carnival *kòtèj* (parade), a patriotic *manifestasyon* (protest march) led by a women's organization implored God to enlighten the Americans (Corvington 1987:63).

The popular character of carnival expanded during the latter part of the occupation. The public was permitted a delirious celebration at their own "outdoor ball" at Vallière Market. A famous early carnival orchestra, the Otofoni G.B. de Hiram Dorvilmé joined in the *kòtèj* (parade) starting in 1931.<sup>4</sup> Otofoni's instrumentation included bongo, *tchatcha* (rattle), friction drum tambourine, and *manman tanbou* (mother drum) (Fraget 1989). Many bands also used flutes or brass instruments, as they were closely patterned on military *fanfa* (fanfares, brass bands) through which many Haitians received their first musical training. In the days before amplified carnival bands, groups such as these were referred to as *òtofonik*, a creolized version of the word Orthophonic on the old Victrola 78 rpm records, because the megaphones that the lead singers used resembled the horns from old phonograph players. Over the years some of these groups, such as Otofoni

G.B. from Rue Neuf and Titato (Tic-Tac-Toe) from the neighborhood Belair, became carnival stars, attracting thousands of revelers to their entourage.

A similar tension between elite and mass or popular events survives from the occupation-era carnival to the present. While sponsorship and decisions on official themes, awards, parade routes, and security remain the responsibility of the elite, carnival's celebratory energy emanates from the urban proletariat and peasantry. Urban workers are given two *konje-s* (days off) in addition to Sunday in which to occupy the streets. The general term for popular carnival entourages, *bann apye-s* (groups on foot), immediately distinguishes them from the official elevated floats and symbolizes the class difference. Although it is often said that Haitian carnival is a time when all classes mix freely and in mutual tolerance, there are powerful limits on the extent of interaction.

### **Popular Motion, Emotion, and Commotion**

Hundreds of types of *bann apye sòti* (turn out) for carnival. Some bands have a life outside of carnival, notably the peasant *rara* bands (also formed by the urban poor) with their accompaniment of *vaksin* bamboo trumpets, tin horns, and percussion; maypole dance groups (*trese riban* or *ribanyè*); and stick dancers (*batonyè*). *Endyèn Madigra* (Mardi Gras Indians) engage in stick fighting to the accompaniment of side drums. A popular masque called *chaloska* (Charles Oscar, an infamous general and presidential aide who massacred prisoners in 1915) is patterned on Napoleonic military uniforms (Mirville 1978:39).

In the 1959 Carnival (in the early Duvalier period), for example, *gwo tèt* (large heads, an old European masque) mimicked politicians and well-known figures; clowns with steer heads ("boeufs") cracked whips; a group called "Malades" (the sick) ran through the streets pretending to have diarrhea; Indians followed a King of Carnival; "Yoyo" featured a hula hoop demonstration and cha-cha-cha dancers; the Troupe Folklorique put on a show about Haiti's African heritage; and there was a historical float on the theme of the escaped slaves of the island. Other *bann apye-s* masqued as *zonbi-s* (zombies), Arabs, *lougawou-s* (werewolves), and *djab-s* (devils) (*Nouvelliste* 1959a:3).

Carnival revelers march with their favorite or their neighborhood band; size is an immediate indication of a group's popularity. Bands *balanse an plas* ("rock in place," practicing in the neighborhoods without marching) on the Sundays following 6 January, the *Fèt Dewa* (Festival of the Kings). Many hold ceremonies in neighborhood Vodou temples to baptize the bands. As carnival approaches, these groups circumambulate their neighborhoods, rehearsing songs and building neighborhood interest and loyalty. At night,

participants carrying *lanp tèt gridap*-s (oil lanterns, literally “kinky hair lamps”) on their heads to illuminate the scene. Crowds attract *machandèz*, sellers of all types of food, drink, and sweets, including *frèsko* (flavored shaved ice), *tablèt pistach* (peanut brittle), *gwiyo* (fried pork), coffee, and *kleren* (raw sugar cane liquor).

The musical focus of elite carnival is the song competition; as the lyrics to one old *mereng* put it, “*San mereng, nanpwen kanaval* (without the *méringue*, there is no carnival). In the last year of the American occupation, the mayor of Port-au-Prince instituted a competition for best *mereng kanaval*,<sup>5</sup> although it applied at first only to instrumental compositions (*Nouvelliste* 1934). The government, through its Carnival Committee, influenced or controlled the structure of carnival song entries through the competition.<sup>6</sup> The first printed description of a competition winner (“Nibo,” the 1934 entry by art music composer Ludovic Lamothe) praised the “unbridled joy” elicited by this composition, although the writer neglects to mention the impending end of the occupation and departure of the American Marines, which may have boosted the effervescence of the celebration: “[T]he author, in an inspiration that one could call unbridled, appears truly to have expressed the *obé! obé!* [carnival refrain] soul of the reveling crowd. The rhythm is erotic and inclines, in the first measures, to the most frenetic joy. We repeat that this is not a personal opinion, rather it is supported by the delirium that this captivating composition achieved with the public on the evening of Mardi Gras. Everyone, old and young, from the most serious to the most careless, was tingling with excitement [*avaient des fourmis dans les jambes*; literally, had ants in their legs, used here to suggest a compulsion to dance]” (*Nouvelliste* 1934).

The successful carnival song is to be judged, therefore, by its affect on the crowd (delirium, frenzy, joy, eroticism, urge to dance) rather than by any specific formal musical criteria. From the first competition on, a special genre developed in and for Haitian carnival, characterized by rapid tempo and intensity as well as by a less morally-restricted content. Playful obscenities abound in songs of the *bann apye*-s as well as in the composed *mereng kanaval*-s. Skits, costumes, gestures, carnival dance, and general demeanor all reinforce this efflorescence of what Bakhtin calls the “material bodily lower stratum” (1968/84) at carnival in Haiti.

The peak of carnival exuberance—the ambiance of carnival in its final days on the road—is known as *koudyay* (French, *coup de jaille*, a spontaneous bursting forth).<sup>7</sup> *Koudyay*, while rooted in carnival habitus, can be severed from Carnival and harnessed for events—either political or purely celebratory—at any time of year, as long as the organizers supply copious *kleren* [sugar cane liquor], crowds, and carnivalesque music. The components of *koudyay* or carnival habitus include a heightened playfulness, sexuality, expressiveness, and danger.

Carnival and *kouidyay* enthusiasm, an intersubjective peak experience, is described in terms such *debòde* (overflowing, exuberant, furious), *anraje* (worked-up, turned-on, crazy, enraged), or the colorful *antyoutyout* (exuberant, excited). Carnival participants achieve these states in a progression of escalations involving music and movement. Musicians try to *chofe* (heat) the crowd with exhortations to physically respond. Revelers are encouraged to *lage ko-w!* (let go of yourself!), *mete men nan lè* (put hands in the air), *balanse* (sway), *bobinen* (spin), *souke* (shake), *vole* (fly), *gwiye* (grind the hips), and *sote* (jump). When a band has a crowd *anraje* or *antyoutyout*, they have actualized their potential power; the music is fully persuasive and the event and context are deeply internalized.

Ritualized types of combat are integrated into carnival at all levels. Muscular men, many of whom train for months each year before carnival, engage in a popular, informal carnival contest called *gagann*. In *gagann*, the combatants face each other within a semi-circle of their supporters and attempt to shove one another down with strong blows to the chest. One participant told me, "I have a reputation to uphold. I go out with the band Nouvèl Jenerasyon [a *bann apye* from Pétion-Ville]. I have never been beaten at *gagann*. So I have a lot of people who walk with me and bet on me to win" (Personal communication: Fils-Aimé 1990).

If inspired by the music and the ambience, revelers often *lese frape* ("let hit," what might be called "slam dancing" in the U.S.), hurling themselves through the crowd with their arms spread wide and colliding with others. *Lese frape* is the most commonly evoked behavior in discussions of carnival. But the threat of violence is not just from *lese frape* and escalating *gagann*; the chaotic nature of carnival provides a perfect cover for specific acts of revenge and even assassination. As one musician told me, "If somebody hate you, or have a grudge against you, carnival is the best time to kill you" (Interview: Franck 1993).

Many Haitians criticize carnival behavior from a moral standpoint. Generally these critics, from middle or upper-class backgrounds, strict Catholics or evangelical Protestants and self-identified as *moun seryè* (serious people) or *moun byenelve* (well-mannered people), concentrate on carnival's more obscene and violent tropes. They characterize carnival disorder (*dezòd, debanday*) as a blight on Haiti's reputation and as fodder for the propaganda of Haiti's enemies. "The most visible in this way have been the Haitian groups who shake themselves noisily and hit with more force than the others. Sometimes this became violence pure and simple . . . The foreigner who is not very habituated to this type of behavior sees in it a kind of unbridled violence. And this is in part correct, because there were many broken heads" (*Haiti-Observateur* 1989:5–6).

At the street level, violent modes of interaction are a natural outgrowth of *anraje* exuberance and ritualized combat, competition, and polemic.<sup>8</sup>

Haitian carnival balances between a celebration and a *deblozay* (fracas, blow-up) in which images of disorder (*dezòd*), chaotic mess (*gagòt*), and chaotic sound (*tenten*) characterize an event in which the desired ambiance teeters just short of chaos. Recalling the sense of the term *debòde* (to the brim), one friend used a Haitian proverb to describe carnival: *pise krapo kab fè rivye desann* (the frog's piss is all that's needed to make the river overflow). This ambiance is the site of carnival's most important political meanings, which are formed in relation to the aforementioned struggle over individual and collective bodies. Michel Foucault, analyzing the relation of the body to political control in European societies, stressed that it is in the nature of power to repress "useless energies, the intensity of pleasures, and irregular modes of behavior" (1978:9). The undisciplined quality of carnival behaviors qualifies them as transgressive; carnival bodies express non-normative codes. Michel de Certeau finds a "narrativity in its most delinquent form" in carnivalesque celebrations, characterized by the "privilege of the *tour* over the *state* (1984:130, emphasis original), with "tour" standing for "spatializing action" or "practiced places." But, as John Fiske points out, "the body remains a desperately insecure site for social control" (1989:94), and in Haitian carnival the state intervenes to constrain carnival transgression and "delinquent narrativity," attempting to impose metanarratives on carnival's meaning (stability of the state, consent of the governed, a happy people). To view this through another filter, the loss of control implied by *lage kò w* (let go of yourself) is a public, collective version of the ecstatic loss of self (Barthes's "*jouissance*," 1975), and this becomes the target for attempts to impose a more socially-productive and normative pleasure ("*plaisir*") on carnival.

At an outdoor Haitian Music Festival that I helped to organize in Miami at Carnival time in 1989, the final band, Miami Top Vice, launched into a spirited carnival medley. I looked out into the crowd from the stage to see a number of men spread their arms to *lese frape* (let hit) and I realized too late that I had neglected to inform the police that this might occur. As officers dove into the crowd to arrest the men for "drunk and disorderly" behavior, the announcer grabbed the microphone, silenced the music, and encouraged the crowd to surround the police to demand the release of the Haitians. A police call for help (scarcely two months after the infamous Overtown riots in Miami) yielded quick results, and what seemed like every squad car and fire engine in downtown Miami arrived on the scene within minutes. As we negotiated with the police for a tense half hour, members of the crowd began to make use of the three-toned whistles passed out as free souvenirs by the sponsor, the Nutrament Corporation (manufacturer of a sports drink). Crowd members combined the three tones into hocketed patterns resembling those of *rara* and carnival bands. Empty Nutrament cans filled in for bells, and anti-

police carnival songs were composed on the spot. As I watched these makeshift carnival ensembles fire up the crowds, I remember being in awe of the power of the carnival spirit to spill over into—and animate—a confrontation of this sort.

### **Papa Doc's Government on Parade**

One of the defining moments in modern Haitian history was the election of Dr. François Duvalier as President in 1957. Duvalier had been a leading figure in the *noiriste* movement that grew out of the *indigène* (indigenous) and *ethnologie* movements. Although the earlier movements were chiefly concerned with studying Haitian peasant culture, formulating an “authentic” Haitian cultural expression, and challenging hegemonic Europhile norms for Haitians, the *noiristes* sought to advance the political agenda of Haiti’s black middle class and masses against the mulatto elite using the notion that only Blacks could authentically represent the masses. The *noiristes* captured state power in the post-War era in two stages, first with the election of Dumarsais Estimé (1946–50) and then with the campaign for Duvalier in 1957.

Once elected, Duvalier set about ruthlessly to destroy his enemies and all potential bases of oppositional power, regardless of ideology. Duvalier perfected the tactics that Haitians had come to call *kansonfè-isme* (iron pants politics). The thugs that had terrorized his opponents in the election (*cagouleurs*, from the masks or *cagoules* they wore over their heads) became a permanent fixture on the political landscape, earning the nickname *tonton makout-s* (literally “Uncle Side-bag,” the name of a malevolent figure from Haitian folk tales who steals little children by placing them in his bag) due to the frequent disappearances of Duvalier’s opponents. This private militia evolved into one of Haiti’s only truly national organizations, giving a taste of power and the hope of getting ahead to thousands of Duvalierists (from the middle class to the lumpen proletariat). In 1962, Duvalier formalized the organization as the *Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale* (VSN). With a reign of *makout* terror, with ruthless campaigns to subjugate all private and public organizations to the state (and the state to Duvalier), and with increasing control over communications and symbolic systems, the Duvalier presidency evolved into a twenty-nine-year dynastic, totalitarian dictatorship.<sup>9</sup>

François “Papa Doc” Duvalier masterfully orchestrated carnival and carnival-like events for political purposes, using carnival to divert popular attention from social and economic problems. A bandleader summarized this political strategy in language reminiscent of the “pressure valve” theory of carnival: “When there’s a problem, the political problem for example, everybody is concerned with politics, but if the rulers or the head of the country would like to remove something from the consciousness of the

people, they offer the people . . . a popular concert. It's the same thing with carnival" (Interview: Pierre 1988).

The first two carnivals under Duvalier were marked by press and governmental concern that the economic situation ("plus que précaire") and the diminished funds available for carnival would reflect badly on the new president. Pro-government journalists opined that the public should not hold the government responsible for the state of carnival (*Nouveliste* 1959c). For Duvalier's first carnival in 1958, the government experimented with a stationary event, a "Foire Carnavalesque" (Carnival Fair), on the waterfront grounds of the 1949 Exposition. Duvalier promised to keep traffic out of the area in order to assure carnival's smooth functioning (*Nouveliste* 1958b). This was perhaps the most ambitious effort to reconfigure carnival's meaning since the ascendancy of bourgeois carnival under the American occupation. Traditional carnival ambiance requires moving through, taking over, transforming, and transgressing space, and carnival crowds resist map-like or tableau stagings (see de Certeau 1984:115–30). The lack of public support for the experiment was evident on the first day, and the Committee reinstated the traditional *kòtèj* (parade) for Monday and Tuesday.

During the early years of the dictatorship, Duvalier was still perceived by the masses as anti-status-quo and anti-elite, as a *moun-pa-yo* (their guy) and even a *manje milat* (a "mulatto eater," someone willing to use violent means to subdue the elite). Accordingly, the *bann madigra*-s were mobilized in support of his revolution. In 1959, Titato carried signs proclaiming "Long Live Duvalier, the Successor to Dessalines" and "Don't touch Duvalier" (*Nouveliste* 1959b). In the next few years, carnival groups sported names such as 22nd of May,<sup>10</sup> New Haiti, In Danger of Dying (*Nouveliste* 1962a:4), and the group Thank you Papa Doc, We Have No More Yaws (*Nouveliste* 1965c:1).<sup>11</sup> As the carnival processions wound their way to the park area known as the Champs Mars and past the front gates of Haiti's magnificent white Palais National, all the bands, whether on foot or on a float, stopped to play an *ochan* (salute) to Duvalier. Musicians have told me of the awe that they felt as Duvalier stepped onto the distant balcony, silhouetted by the palace lights, to receive the salutes. The practice of playing *ochan* was inherited from *fanfa*, military bands, but has diffused widely in Haitian music. Various types of *ochan* are played by Vodou drummers, *contradanse* musicians, and commercial dance bands, testifying to the pervasive influence that militarism in the colonial and post-colonial eras has had on all aspects of Haitian culture. In general, musicians play *ochan*-s at the residences of dignitaries, who are then expected to bestow gifts on the ensemble. Carnival practices as diverse as *koudyay*, *ochan*, *drapo* (flags), and band hierarchies all harken back to military culture.<sup>12</sup> Figure 1 shows my transcription of a common *ochan* melody from the playing of a Port-au-

Prince *bann apye*, Zepi Band (Spice Band). They performed the *ochan* in front of City Hall; the *mèt* (director) of the band signalled it by rolling his hands, and cueing a *woule tanbou* (drum roll) from the *kès* (snare) player.

**Figure 1.**  
**Carnival Ochan (Zepi Band, 1991)**

The image shows a musical score for a trumpet part. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'Trumpet' and starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 6/8 time signature. The melody begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and then a dotted half note B4. The second staff continues with quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and then a quarter note G4. The third staff starts with a quarter note G4, followed by an eighth note A4, a quarter note B4, and then a quarter note G4. The fourth staff begins with a quarter note G4, followed by an eighth note A4, a quarter note B4, and then a quarter note G4. The fifth staff continues with quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and then a quarter note G4. The score ends with a double bar line. There are measure numbers 1, 6, 11, 16, and 21 indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. A 2/4 time signature change occurs at the end of the second staff.

*Ochan* as played by the *bann apye* Zepi (Spice) Band in front of City Hall in Port-au-Prince on Mardi Gras, February 12, 1991. This transcription is of the melody played on trumpet. Percussionists accompany the trumpet with a single-headed frame drum and a snare drum (*kès*), played in synchrony using the “rudiment” techniques of European signal drumming.

During the early Duvalier epoch, commercial dance bands became the center of carnival drama. The two most popular of these commercial bands, the Ensemble Nemours Jean-Baptiste and the Ensemble Wébert Sicot with their Dominican-inspired dances called, respectively, *konpa-dirèk* and *kadans ranpa* in Creole, played at carnival on flatbed trucks powered by generators (called *dèlko-s* after the battery brand name) (see Averill 1993a for a general discussion of the music and the bands). In 1958, Cadence Rampas de Wébert Sicot played for the *bann apye* “Hanté”; Nemours Jean-Baptiste outdid his rival by registering his Compas-Direct as its own carnival band. Sicot registered separately in 1962. As the two groups’ popularity grew, the competition between them came to dominate discussion and interest in the urban carnival, transforming carnival into a venue of the incipient commercial music industry. The period from the late 1950s until at least 1968 is etched into Haitian popular memory as the *epok polemik Nemou ak Siko*

(period of the controversy between Nemours and Sicot). The polemic provided an engaging popular theatre, a cock fight (*bat kòk*) on a national level that was a natural outgrowth of other forms of ritualized carnival combat.<sup>13</sup> The *polemik* was a commercial strategy that continued throughout the year, but which was polished and perfected at carnival.

Nemours and Sicot both commanded broad support throughout urban Haiti and in the rural provinces to which they regularly traveled to play *fèt chanpèt* (country festivals) and *fèt patwonan* (patron's day festivals). Fights often broke out between partisans of the two bands. Sporting the colors of their favorite band (red and white for Nemours; red, white, blue, and black for Sicot) carnival revelers marched in groups many thousands strong close to the Nemours or Sicot floats. The *tonton makout*-s were divided in their loyalties and split into two camps for carnival, each camp adding the appropriate colors to the standard *makout* uniforms (denim with red handkerchiefs and sun glasses). A prominent *makout* named Antoine Khouri (immortalized in Nemours's 1966 song "Carole") led the Nemours ensemble on a motorcycle. His counterpart, another *makout* named Jean Fils-Aimé, also on a motorcycle, led the Sicot band (Antha 1991:26). The final float in the carnival parade was reserved for the year's favorite band, but, in one legendary instance, fourteen-year-old Jean-Claude Duvalier sent a group of *tonton makout*-s to intimidate the Nemours party into parading before Sicot. Jean-Claude, as one might surmise, preferred Sicot, while his sister Denise was a fan of Nemours Jean-Baptiste.

Government ministries and the *tonton makout*-s patronized Nemours' *konpa* and Sicot's *kadans*. The new Duvalierist *klas politik* (political class) formed a large part of the audience at nightclubs in which the bands performed. They commissioned pieces and hired the bands to play not only at carnival but at *makout* parties, campaign rallies, and for tours by the President's family. A member of the Ensemble Nemours Jean-Baptiste discussed the group's relation to the regime: "That's the way it was with the government. They give us jobs to play and they pay. That is our job, so we play . . . You play the government's song on radio. Sometime the government member calls you and he say, "I give you that subject, so you have to make a song." But we would never put that song on record! [He laughs] Sometime we could make a song for the president, so when we have to put that song on the record, we get the same song and put other words on it" (Interview: Lalanne 1988).

Nearly every major commercial group in Haiti played at some time or another for the government, at least tacitly cooperating with the regime.

I had to play for Duvalier, because, let me tell you, my band was the number one band in Haiti at that time, Ambassadeurs. You don't decide to play for the government—they force you to play. I was not a Duvalierist, but they come to

your house talking to you like, "I got a contract for you. You have to sign it . . . some papers, a little money." They say, "Listen, tomorrow morning I want to see you at the Palace at eight o'clock." That's it! You think there's any Haitian who says, "No, I'm not coming?" No way! Only if you want to kill yourself, because POW! That's it. Who can say no to those guys who had such a lot of power? They'll kill you in a second. When you are a Haitian, you have to deal with those things every day. I sang for François Duvalier [sings] "Duvalier, pala la la la la, Duvalier!" So people used to look at me—"HMMMM!" [scornful] People want you to say no, when nobody dare say no to those people at that time. (Interview: anonymous 1993)

The government made use of *konpa* bands for carnival even in the provincial cities. A member of a 1960s-era band from the northern city of Cap-Haïtien told me: "Every time there was a political manifestation, every time there was a carnival, the mayor or police chief would come to us and give us orders to go out . . . The last thing they did was to arrest a guy in our band who was going to Port-au-Prince in his truck with a load of lumber in order to make him stay in Cap-Haïtien and play at carnival" (Interview: Morisseau 1988).

The 1964 carnival was organized around the theme "Papa Doc For Life" in preparation for the upcoming plebiscite on the proposed "Presidency for Life." Carnival songs became campaign theme songs, broadcast throughout Haiti in the period before the vote. The day of the plebiscite was organized as a *koudyay* with music and alcohol provided to potential voters.

With the further consolidation of his revolution, Papa Doc made his presence keenly felt at carnival. The mayor reminded the population to experience an "explosion of joy and a triumph of art under the sign of the order of the country of Duvalierists" and asked residents to decorate their houses and vehicles (*Nouveliste* 1965b:1).

Wébert Sicot won for best carnival song in 1965 with his "Men Jet-la" (Here Comes the Jet), encapsulating that year's carnival theme: "to pay homage to His Majestic Excellency President for Life, the Incomparable Leader Dr. François DUVALIER, the Inspired Constructor of New Haiti, who wrote, to the glory of the Fatherland, the most beautiful, the most dazzling page of National History after that of January 1, 1804 [Independence]: the construction of the Mais Gate INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT" (Augustin 1965).

Duvalier's grand carnival ball in honor of the airport took place at the nightclub Cabane Choucounè featuring Jazz des Jeunes in a folkloric show and l'Ensemble Nemours Jean-Baptiste playing for the dancers. The Nemours Jean-Baptiste entry that year was "Tout Limen" (All Lit Up) in recognition of Duvalier's electricity program.

In 1967, the "Year Ten of the Duvalierist Revolution," carnival enthusiasm was dampened by the economic crisis (aggravated by a hurricane) and by a short-lived guerrilla war waged by the new United Communist Party of

Haiti (PUCH). The competition between Sicot's "Bon Jan Vant" (A Good Wind) and Nemours' "Pwen Fè Pa" (Merciless) was the centerpiece of the event. 1967 was also the year Duvalier celebrated his 60th birthday with a second five-day April carnival called the "Carnival au Printemps." Opponents of Duvalier (reputed to be either the Communists or close aides of Duvalier) set off a bomb at this carnival in a *frèsko* (shaved ice) cart under a float on which a band was playing a pro-Duvalier *mereng kanaval*.

1968 was the year in which Duvalier "involved himself personally in the organization of Carnival by offering four floats symbolizing important projects of his government" including the Temple of Culture, and the new Red Cross building (*Nouveliste* 1968b:1). The theme for carnival was "Peligré in Action," commemorating a new hydroelectric plant, and represented by a float from the Department of Economic Affairs with a giant V for the victory of Papa Doc over *blakawout-la* (the blackout). The *tonton makout* float represented a planned housing project, Cité Simone Olvide Duvalier, named after Duvalier's wife; Public Transportation financed a float depicting the new airport; and Foreign Affairs sponsored a float on the theme of the writings of Papa Doc (*ibid.*).

Nemours and Sicot continued their polemic in song texts. Nemours Jean-Baptiste's group sang, "*Siko se mawoule, nou pote fèypou ba li medsin*" (Sicot is a goatherder, let's bring him leaves for medicine"), casting Sicot as an ignorant peasant. In return, Sicot's group boasted of the band's effect on their carnival *fanatik-s* (fans), "*Depi Siko parèt, gason pa kanpe, fanm mare tete yo sere*" (When Sicot appears, guys can't stand still, women have to tie their blouses on tight). The success of this carnival was ascribed to "the climate of peace and order installed in the country by the preeminent Man of State, his Excellency the President for Life of the Republic Doctor François Duvalier . . . *who has been able to muzzle and exorcize the demon of political adventurism*" (*Nouveliste* 1968a:2, emphasis added).

Duvalier also regularly offered a July festival called the "Carnival des Fleurs." Special carnivals and impromptu *koudyay* were essential weapons in Duvalier's politico-cultural arsenal. For example, after an attempt to kidnap his children in 1963, Duvalier launched one of the bloodiest massacres of his reign. Then, with potential victims seeking asylum in the Dominican embassy, Duvalier decreed a special carnival. Bands, floats, and masques surrounded the embassy, intensifying a diplomatic impasse that almost brought the two countries to war. Not long after, on 30 April 1963, as an Organization of American States investigative committee arrived in Haiti, Papa Doc trucked thousands of peasants into the capital and supplied them with rum and music in order to impress the committee with Duvalier's fanatic support from the people (Diederich and Burt 1986: 211–13). A similar demonstration was staged for Nelson Rockefeller's 1969 visit to Haiti.

The data from the period of François Duvalier's presidency clarify Duvalier's strategies toward carnival and the possibilities for a state to co-opt carnival. Duvalier's early popularity with the masses resulted in an outpouring of pro-Duvalier (and anti-elite) activity by *bann apye-s*, harnessing the anti-structural impulse of carnivalesque celebration to support an emergent political force against the residual economic status quo. The Duvaliers contributed to the popularity of *konpa* ensembles and to the particular form of competition and polemic that characterized the music scene during the 1960s. This competition helped to divert popular attention from the very real difficulties faced by the country (a skyrocketing level of terrorism, a decline in tourism and foreign aid, international isolation, declining agricultural productivity, a shocking level of graft and inefficiency, and so on). Duvalier's revolution transformed carnival into an event that was saturated with the state apparatus, a "government on parade," with each carnival devoted to the achievements of the state. Carnival groups and commercial bands that tacitly supported or cooperated with the regime became part of what Trouillot calls the "unofficial network of redistribution" (1990:189) by which a part of the state coffers (filled through taxation of peasant export produce, graft, extortion, and theft) was redistributed to secure the consent of broad segments of the population. Carnival, in turn, conferred prestige on Duvalier and his revolution, and the money spent by the government assured ordinary Haitians that Duvalier took their simple pleasures seriously. Papa Doc died on 21 April 1971, but not before appointing his teenage son, Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") to succeed him and planning a carnival to herald the future president-for-life. A \$1000 prize was offered at the 1971 carnival for the best *mereng kanaval* composed in Jean-Claude's honor.

### **Baby Doc's Bacchanalia**

After his father's death, Jean-Claude sought to attract more American light industry and secondary manufacturing plants to the Port-au-Prince area; he also avidly courted the Haitian merchant bourgeoisie that had continued to fear the *noiriste* rhetoric of his father (however much they benefitted materially from his father's policies). *Jeanclaudisme* was the label later applied to the new, more technocratic and liberal, phase of Duvalierism.

Jean-Claude's reign also coincided with the ascendancy of a new kind of musical ensemble in Haiti, *mini-djaz*. Featuring two electric guitars, drum set, congas, bell and tom, and often a tenor saxophone or organ, these groups grew directly out of the wave of young rock or *yeye* bands that were inspired by the imported American and European popular musics in the early 1960s. *Konpa* remained a dominant, although not exclusive, component of the *mini-djaz* repertoire. Jean-Claude Duvalier, who was said to care

more for his motorcycle and his music lessons than for affairs of state, was a fervent fan of *konpa*. Even before becoming president, he sponsored his own *mini-djaz*, Bossa Combo, purchasing their instruments, producing their first record (on the "Dato" label, a nickname for Jean-Claude), providing them with a music tutor, and installing them as the "court musicians" of the Duvalier clan.

The 1970s are remembered by Haitians who participated in carnival as the time of Haiti's most spectacular carnivals. The floats were well-financed, there was always a large brigade of "queens" with various titles. Jean-Claude also expanded the participation of the *mini-djaz* bands in carnival. In the early 1970s, it was not unusual for the government to pay a top band \$15,000 to play carnival (Interview: Déjean 1988). This figure increased in the late 1970s, although much of the government's contribution was in equipment and instruments.

*Mereng kanaval* increased in tempo during the Baby Doc years, propelled by the carnival competition between *mini-djaz* such as D.P. Express and Scorpio. The hyper-tempo of the 1970s-era *mereng kanaval* stretched the abilities of the players; the songs were marketable only in the exuberant ambience of carnival. Recorded singles of carnival entries were played on radio in the weeks before carnival, but often never made their way onto albums, especially albums targeted to Creole speakers in the French Antilles. "I would never put like a Scorpio-like carnival piece on a compilation, because you can't sell it in Martinique and Guadeloupe. This kind of carnival, it's too fast, they don't like that. . . . Sometimes you need to take economics into account" (Interview: Paul 1991).

For the three (or sometimes five) days of carnival, bands play their carnival entries nearly continuously, a brutal exercise for the musicians. Haitian writer Ralph Boncy described the carnival route and routine during the 1970s:

The carnival parade in Port-au-Prince represents a route of six to eight kilometers through the city. The group, mounted on a truck disguised as a "float," covered with loudspeakers and microphones, moves forward at a tortuous pace in the middle of a veritable human sea that sweats, dances, and pushes. Throughout the entire trajectory, lasting from six to seven hours, each group plays only a single composition until they arrive back at the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville [city hall] to play for a popular dance that lasts an extra two hours . . . still playing the same piece! Perhaps the director of the orchestra has contracted for a night-club engagement on the same evening where they have to play from midnight until three o'clock in the morning, taking care to open and close the dance with a long version of the aforementioned "méringue carnavalesque." After the three days of these bacchanals, one can deduce that the *konpa* musicians have played intermittently for nearly fifty hours under appalling conditions while consuming a good quantity of alcohol and an overdose of decibels. Moreover, the music that constitutes the core of their repertory is, in general, a hit full of energy

designed to excite the crowd, and its execution on an exaggeratedly quick tempo requires expending superhuman quantities of energy. They have to hold the rhythm for three days and three nights under the sun with all the noise in an insufferable heat, even if they can't hear well. The golden rule is: Never fade. On the hundred and one stops of this competitive route, they have to win one-on-one on the applause meter before being able to claim to be the heroes of the evening. (Boncy 1992:90)

One guitarist described the ordeal in personal terms: "I made a song called 'Apye Nou Ye' (We're On Our Feet). . . . I played a lot of guitar on that song. . . . My fingers go so fast, it was painful to do playing a party. And everybody was telling me you have to play that song for carnival. I say 'Aaanng!' When I tried, people went crazy. I was playing from 2:30 in the afternoon until 10:00 p.m. playing this . . . [he tunes guitar and demonstrates]. . . . Eight hours every day from Friday until Tuesday. Okay, and after that you have to go play the parties. So I had a big arm! It was so tough!" (Interview: Franck 1993).

Bossa Combo's *mereng kanaval*, "Plante Pa Koupe Bwa" (Plant, Don't Cut Trees), won first prize in 1975. The two-measure transcription from this song [Figure 2] demonstrates the layering of a number of simple instrumental ostinati, its frenetic quarter note value (185 beats per minute), and its structural relationship to *konpa*.

Two bands, Scorpio and D.P. Express (both descendants of the early *mini-djaz*, Difficiles de Pétion-Ville) engaged in the polemic-of-the-period from the mid 1970s to the late 1980s. In 1983, Scorpio, known as *Bèt la* (the beast), used a carnival song to poke fun at the drug and mental health problems of D.P. Express's former lead singer. As late as 1990, each of the two bands were submitting advance cassettes of their carnival songs to a radio station *as instrumental versions* to prevent their rival from responding to—and counterattacking—their lyrics.

The carnival route has been enshrined in many self-referential *mereng kanaval*, such as in the 1979 carnival song "É, É, É, É, É" from D.P. Express:

<i>Eseye fè yon bagay</i>	Try to do something
<i>kap sèvi timoun kap grandi . . .</i>	to benefit the children growing up . . .
<i>Pa rete nan vakans . . .</i>	Don't stay on vacation . . .
<i>Nou wo, nou wo, e nap toujou wo . . .</i>	We're high, we're high, we're always high
<i>Sou konpa, toujou sou konpa . . .</i>	On konpa, always in the groove
<i>Men bôz</i>	Here are the drugs (marijuana)
<i>Nap desann Lali, desann Ri Pave</i>	We descend Lalue Street, down Pavée Street
<i>Nap vire Ron Pwen</i>	We're turning at Rond Point (a night club)
<i>Mwen di "Manman, ala yon bèl bann</i>	I say "Mama, what a great band,
<i>Ala yon bèl bann cho, se D.P.!"</i>	D.P. is such a hot band!"

Figure 2.

Fragment: *Plante Pa Koupe Bwa* (Bossa Combo)

The musical score is written for six instruments: Trumpet, Saxophone, Lead Guitar, Bass, Drum Set, and Bell & Tom. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. A tempo marking above the first staff indicates a quarter note equals 185 beats per minute. The score shows the first few measures of the piece, with the bass line and drum set providing a very fast, driving pulse. The melody is played by the trumpet and saxophone, with the lead guitar providing harmonic support.

Fragment from the winning *mereng kanaval* of Carnival 1975, “Plante Pa Koupe Pye Bwa” (“Plant, Don’t Cut Trees”) by the *mini-djaz* Bossa Combo. Note the very quick pulse (quarter note equals 185 beats per minute) in the bass guitar and bass drum. This—along with the fast pace of the chord changes (one per measure)—gives the composition its frenetic feeling. As is typical of *konpa*, the brass instruments and lead guitar play relatively simple riffs throughout the piece. In many details, the parts look like basic *konpa*, especially the pattern for cowbell and floor tom that is played by one percussionist (the floor tom is represented by dark noteheads). Not pictured: rhythm guitar (strummed chords) and conga (inaudible if present). *Superstar’s All Stars: Carnival in Haiti, Les Plus Grands Orchestres*. Superstar Records SUP-104, 1975. Used with permission.

The first two lines that I quote from the song are political in nature, criticizing the elite who, in one Haitian proverb, are described as “*toujou nan vakans*” (always on vacation).<sup>14</sup> The phrase “*ala yon bèl bann cho*” (what a hot band) is constructed so as to hint at the alternate meaning of “*bann*,” an erection. “Men bòz” (Here are the drugs/marijuana, from the English “buzz,” presumably) recalls a song of D.P. Express that was banned for an apparent reference to drugs, but this one, using slang and performed at carnival, slipped by the censors. The song is a typically rich D.P. Express carnival mix of politics, sex, drugs, bravado, self-aggrandizement, and *plezi* (pleasure).

The opportunities for a critical political discourse had opened up under *Jeanclaudisme*, especially after the election in the U.S. of President Jimmy Carter, and the press became more independent (occasionally even critical). Franck Etienne, the most prominent author and poet of the decade, produced his *angaje* Creole play *Tèt Pelen* and his novel *Dezafi*, which

compares Haiti's intellectual slumber during the dictatorship to a zombie-like state. Various musicians, notably singer Ti-Manno from D.P. Express and troubadours Manno Charlemagne and Marco Jeanty, produced recognizably political lyrics that were distributed on records in Haiti.

The year 1980, however, was a turning point in Haitian politics. Baby Doc married Michèle Bennet, a divorcée and daughter of a disreputable, light-skinned *speculateur* (trader/speculator). The marriage contravened the wishes of the Duvalier family—including his powerful mother, Simone (Mama Doc), and grandmother—as well as his political advisors. The “dinosaurs” (old-guard Duvalierist ministers) and *tonton makout-s* considered the wedding an affront to the *négritude* principles of the late Papa Doc. To force the marriage on a resistant power structure, Baby Doc undertook the most repressive measures since his father's regime. Starting on 20 November 1980, scarcely two weeks after the election of Ronald Reagan in the U.S., Baby Doc exiled or jailed many journalists and human rights advocates and *makout-s* physically attacked a number of media organs.

The marriage alienated much of his *noiriste* support and the repression divided him from his liberal followers, and Baby Doc began to be perceived as a far more fallible figure than at any time since his teen years. Michèle's bourgeois pretensions, her million-dollar Parisian shopping sprees, and lavish state parties became legendary in Haiti. Increasingly, critics portrayed him as an indecisive character ruled by two iron-willed women of differing political outlooks: his mother and Michèle. Other problems loomed for the dictatorship. In 1981, Baby Doc signed an interdiction treaty with the United States, allowing the U.S. Coast Guard to patrol Haitian waters to interdict and repatriate Haitian nautical migrants (“boat people”). This closed off a major avenue of relief from overcrowding, joblessness, and low wages (and it slowed the growth of remittances from the emigrants to their families in Haiti, a major component of Haiti's GNP). Within two years, Baby Doc also caved into the U.S. government's fears about a possible spread of swine fever from Haiti to the U.S., and slaughtered all of Haiti's black pigs (a major source of income, savings, and food for Haiti's peasants). Tourism revenues declined precipitously after the AIDS epidemic in Haiti was publicized by the media (and at one point erroneously attributed to Haiti). The opening up of a Haitian transnational space through interchange with a Haitian diaspora concentrated in the U.S. and Canada (and through the increased incorporation of Haiti into a global political economy and information order) also contributed to the decline of dictatorial power in Haiti, breaking down the closed information space upon which most successful totalitarian regimes are based.

Between 1981 and 1985 some commercial musicians took political risks by criticizing the government, eventually aligning themselves with the movement to end the dictatorship. Haitian business pulled their patronage

of carnival, leaving only the dictatorship and the mayoralty of Port-au-Prince, run by *makout* Frank Romain, as sponsors. Carnival emerged as a locus for the developing political critique of Baby Doc, his wife, and his government. Because many of the carnival songs in this period weren't recorded, I will refer in this section to a set of song texts recorded by Yves Robert Louis and interpreted in an article by Haitian journalist Jean Fragat (1989).

At the 1981 carnival, Bossa Combo, the former "orchestra of the President," ridiculed the powerful role that Michèle Bennet Duvalier had come to play already in Haiti. They sang about a woman named Janine who was driving without a license:

<i>Janin, kote lisan-ou?</i>	Janine, where's your license?
<i>Janin, ou pa respèkte m</i>	You don't respect me
<i>Ou sou kontravansyon</i>	You're going to get a traffic ticket
<i>Si ou pa gen siyal</i>	If you don't get a signal
<i>Wa fê l ak dwèt</i>	You'll make it with your finger
<i>Le pouce, l'index, le majeur,</i>	Thumb, index, middle,
<i>L'annulaire, l'auriculaire</i>	Ring finger, and pinky.
<i>Ala w bon dwèt se lemajè!</i>	What a great finger the middle finger is!

Note that Bossa Combo used French, not Creole, to name the five fingers, poking fun at Michèle's bourgeois mannerisms (with a pun on the finger gesture). The 1981 entry from D.P. Express also lampooned Michèle's power over Jean-Claude. The song was so popular that Carnival 1981 is sometimes referred to as "Carnaval Bibwon" (Baby Bottle Carnival):

<i>Madmwazèl, wa kenbe bibwon byen</i>	Miss, hold on to the baby bottle tight
<i>Pou li pa chape</i>	To keep him from escaping
<i>Menm si wa tonbe</i>	Even if you fall
<i>Kenbe bibwon pou li pa vole</i>	Better hold the bottle so he doesn't fly away

For the 1982 Carnival, Michèle was partly responsible for a luxurious stand built along the parade route with a bar, toilet, and electricity. Bossa Combo criticized the stand as a symbol of waste and excess:

<i>Gade kijan w kite mato a glize</i>	Watch how you let the hammer slip
<i>Li tonbe sou dwèt w Madmwazèl woo</i>	It falls on your finger, Miss, whoa
<i>Se pou w di mwen</i>	You must tell me
<i>Ak ki bwa w fê estann sa a</i>	With which wood did you build the stand?
<i>Kat pa kat se byen</i>	Four by four is fine
<i>Wit pa wit se solid</i>	Eight by eight is solid
<i>Sèz pa sèz, two gwo!</i>	Sixteen by sixteen is too big!

In 1983, Michèle was engaged in a struggle with Roger Lafontant, a minister running the country (and reputedly the *tonton makout-s*) for Baby Doc. This was the kind of titillating Palace drama that makes for such popular carnival song texts. At carnival in 1983, Shoogar Combo sang:

<i>Dyab pa fe dyab pè</i>	A devil doesn't fear another devil
<i>Gwo dyab manje ti dyab</i>	The big devil ate the little devil
<i>Yo kloure Toto sou lakwa</i>	They nailed Toto to the cross
<i>Yo foure yon paydefè sou tèt-li</i>	They put steel wool on his head
<i>Ala nèg inosan se Toto!</i>	What a naive guy that Toto is!

One critic called this song “a useless blasphemy” having “no place in a carnival” (*Superstar* 1983:9). After Michèle decisively won the battle with Jean-Claude’s mother Simone, Dixie Band sang “Gwo Simone” (Big Simone): *He! Tu n’as pas de plume sur le ciboulet!* (Hey, you have no feathers on your noggin!). This song broke ground by using Simone’s name and not a pseudonym. These songs accorded a certain *naïveté* to Jean-Claude. Rather than appearing as a villain, he is cast as the dupe of Michèle, his mother, or his ministers. It should be remembered that the *mini-djaz* movement reflected a middle-class perspective, and the middle class was one of Baby Doc’s traditional strongholds. The breakdown in the coalition that held the dictatorship in place was a gradual one and this is reflected in a slow refocusing of the critical rhetoric upon the dictatorship itself.

As economic conditions declined and inflation rose precipitously, food riots broke out first in Gonaïves, then in Cap-Haïtien. Things became so desperate for Baby Doc in 1985, that, following the logic of carnival-as-pressure-valve, Jean-Claude offered all workers an extra two days off in order to start carnival on Friday. A common carnival expression is “*Ban nou pase*” (let us pass), from the need for *bann madigra* to make their way through the crowds at carnival. Without the direct reference to Toto, a nickname for Duvalier, the following lyrics (1985) could pass simply as an aggressive and self-referential “let me pass” song. Yet here they assume an angry double entendre directed squarely at Jean-Claude, demanding that he get out of the people’s way. The rapid erosion of mechanisms of control had created a situation in which a *mini-djaz* (Dixie Band) could confront the dictatorship in a carnival song.

<i>Tonnè boule m, ban m pase!</i>	Thunder burns me, let me pass!
<i>Si w pa rale kò-w m ap kraze w</i>	If you don't move I'm going to break you
<i>Kraponnaj sa-a, mwen pa pran ladan !</i>	I won't take this intimidation
<i>Ma manje w wi! Ma devore w wi!</i>	I'll eat you, yes! I'll devour you, yes!
<i>Toto brikabrak, Cho biznis</i>	Pawnshop Toto, Mr. Show Business
<i>Ou son yon dasomann. Retire kò-w!</i>	You're just a gate crasher. Get out of here!

The song content and mood of carnival 1985 carried a serious message to Jean-Claude about the steadily deteriorating base of support for his *présidence-à-vie*. The middle classes from which the *mini-djaz* arose and the destitute urban working class which formed their audience at carnival were, for the moment, aligned. Carnival had evolved into a powerful rite of

delegitimation. The danger implicit in carnival now threatened presidential security—the danger of a crowd both *anraje* and *angaje*. Jean-Claude and his family left Haiti a week before carnival 1986. He reportedly announced his decision to leave to his minister Georges Saloman saying, “The fact is, Minister Saloman, we are finished here. We must leave before carnival, before more people are killed” (Abbott 1988:324). In this report, perhaps spurious, carnival was recognized as a decisive factor in at least the timing of Jean-Claude’s departure. The timing of the departure was negotiated among the Duvaliers, their military successors, and the U.S. State Department with Col. Oliver North coordinating the effort, although the impending carnival hovered as a presence around the negotiations.

In the long, slow disintegration of the Duvalier grip on Haiti, carnival songs from both the commercial groups and the *bann apye* carved out a space for political criticism in the midst of a repressive crackdown. Like the cassette technology with which the songs were disseminated, an event like carnival is inherently “leaky,” thwarting the efforts of censors and the dictatorship in general to limit public discourse. The songs could be understood only if one had access to the rumors, jokes, nicknames, and insults making the rounds at the time in what is known in Haiti as *teledjòl* (rumor mill or grapevine). The superstar popularity of the *mini-djaz* dance bands helped to insulate them from the crackdown, and guest performers from the diaspora were less concerned with ongoing implications of carnival transgressions. In addition, with songs full of metaphor, double entendre, strategic ambivalence, humor, parody and ridicule, the music of Haitian carnival in the 1980s helped to reflect—as well as sculpt—an emerging anti-Duvalier consensus.

### **“We’re Not Afraid This Year”**

Although the people’s movement that resulted in Duvalier’s exile was co-opted at the highest level by the military junta, the struggle against Duvalierism continued. The opposition adopted the agricultural term *dechoukay* (uprooting) to describe the many efforts to rid the country of the roots of the dictatorship, including tearing up the houses of leading *makout*-s, sacking official *makout* headquarters, and murdering known and suspected *makout*-s. In the cultural and ideological realm, the opposition sought to rid the country of attitudes that were predisposed to dictatorship and to plant democratic ideals and cooperative ethics. During *dechoukay*, many progressive artists and *mini-djaz* released albums to lend support to (and often to counsel) the movement for cultural uprooting.

Carnival was cancelled for three years under the military dictatorships (and their civilian partners) because of its potential to facilitate popular

unrest. Falling each year soon after the 7th of February, the anniversary of Baby Doc's exile that was enshrined by the 1987 Haitian Constitution as the date for presidential inaugurations, carnival time has come to symbolize the fall of Duvalier.

Anti-Duvalierist forces called for the military to "*rache manyòk*" ("pull up their manioc fields," a term from agricultural tenancy, here meaning "end your tenancy in power before elections are held"). Instead the military held on, sabotaged the work of the electoral commission and engineered an election-day massacre that led to a suspension of the electoral process. In a second election, they installed a hand-picked candidate, who was soon overthrown by General Henri Namphy after the new president tangled precipitously with the military.

To consolidate his power regionally, General Namphy adopted an old Duvalier tactic, the high-visibility tour of the country. At each stop, while local leaders paid homage to Namphy, *koudyay-s* were held, organized and financed by the military, with carnival and *rara* bands carrying signs echoing pro-military graffiti, "*Anba KEP, Viv Lame!*" (Down with the Provisional Electoral Commission, Long Live the Army). This *tournée*, with each stop broadcast nightly on government television, alarmed many even among the military's supporters. Soon after, General Namphy was overthrown in a *coup d'état* that installed General Prospère Avril, another former associate of Duvalier. As part of a stabilization program leading to elections, Avril decided to reinstate carnival, and the state organized a carnival of "*fraternité*." On the street, however, the indisputable carnival theme was *dechoukay*, hardly an issue of "*fraternité*." The most popular song among *bann apye-s* was about the *dechoukay* of the wealthy Schiller family, which had been in response to the sacking of Father Jean Bertrand Aristide's church. Thus, carnival was dominated by the counter-theme of class warfare and continuing *dechoukay*, a reading from the bottom up that eclipsed the meanings offered by the government. The dark mood of the year was also reflected in the rumor that *zenglendo-s* (literally "broken glass," a term for dangerous criminal gangs that appeared after the fall of Duvalier and that included many *ex-makout-s*) would be circulating at carnival with AIDS-infected syringes.

By 1990, the increasing maturity of the peasant organizations, unions, the *ti-legliz* (the "little" church, or Catholic liberation theology movement in Haiti), and other popular organizations had laid a groundwork upon which a new, more concerted, assault on state power could take place. The momentum and consensus for this kind of change were heated in the 1990 carnival by a band named Boukman Eksperyans (the name is a reference to a revolutionary slave leader). As cultural *dechoukay* had taken hold, the audience grew for neo-traditional popular musics incorporating influences from Vodou and from peasant *rara* celebrations. The music of *rara* bands

and some carnival *bann apye*—fast, topical, and exuberantly danceable (and sung over a ground of hocketed bamboo trumpets and tin horns)—was adapted to commercial *mereng kanaval*. By the 1990 carnival, Boukman Eksperyans had already established themselves as the leading figures in this movement (see Averill 1994 on the *mizik rasin* or roots music movement). The movement had Afrocentric and Rastafarian influences and heralded a move by some urban progressives and intellectuals to form alliances with the peasantry and urban proletariat.

Boukman Eksperyans captured widespread resentment at the oppressive military junta and the political elite in a neo-*rara* song called “Kè-m Pa Sote” (“My Heart Doesn’t Leap” or “I Am Not Afraid,” *Vodou Adjae*, Mango Records 162-539 899-2):

<i>Gade sa nèg yo fè mwen</i>	Look what those guys do to me
<i>Sanba san m ap koule</i>	My blood is running, sanba
<i>Yo ban m chay-la pote</i>	They give me a burden to carry
<i>M pa sa pote l . . .</i>	I’m not going to carry it . . .
<i>Kè m pa sote wo, kè m pa sote wo</i>	My heart doesn’t leap, I’m not afraid
<i>Kè m pa sote ane sa</i>	I’m not afraid this year
<i>Boukman nan kanaval, kè m pa sote wo . . .</i>	Boukman is in Carnival, I’m not afraid . . .
<i>Avanse, pa frape nan bann lan!</i>	Let’s advance, don’t hit others in the band!

The *sanba* they speak of is a word for a traditional peasant song leader. The last line uses the carnival throng (the band) once again as a metaphor for popular forces in the country, urging unity and persistence. The song was popularized, picked up by *rara* bands and carnival *bann apye*s—in Haiti and in the diaspora—helping to galvanize opposition to the government. It was the most talked-about cultural development in some years in Haiti and it thrust the middle-class Vodou-rock band into the political limelight. The principal issue dominating carnival preparations was whether (and where) Boukman would play in carnival. The *mini-djaz* Scorpio offered part of their space if it would get Boukman onto a carnival stage. The mayor’s office pleaded money problems and suggested they appeal to the mayor of Delmas (a district in Port-au-Prince), and the northern city of Cap-Haïtien tried to lure Boukman north for carnival. The government, the mayor’s office, and corporate sponsors (SOGEBANK, le Ciment d’Haïti) negotiated under intense public pressure to get a spot for Boukman Eksperyans at the last minute.

Although Avril had vacillated, oddly unsure as to whether “Kè-M Pa Sote” was an anti- or pro-Avril composition, the popular use of the song in the weeks following carnival apparently caught him and his government by surprise (Interview: Beaubrun 1991). “Kè-M Pa Sote” became the theme song

of the anti-Avril general strike a week after carnival, during which thousands marched on the National Palace to demand that the military step down. In the face of an obstinate popular movement, the U.S. brokered a compromise whereby General Avril left in favor of a caretaker government headed by Justice Ertha Pascal Trouillot. Once again, carnival and carnival music had played an integral role in the overthrow of an unpopular government. The caretaker Trouillot government promised to hold democratic elections in the fall of 1990 under international supervision. With this opening, and in the face of the candidacy of *makout* leader Roger Lafontant, popular forces rallied around priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide in a movement that became known as *Lavalas* (Deluge).

Certain intertextual relationships were established between *Lavalas* themes and the Boukman Eksperyans song of the previous carnival. Whereas Boukman Eksperyans complained in the song that “*Chay-la lou wo!*” (the burden is too heavy), the *Lavalas* campaign employed the peasant aphorism “*Men anpil, chay pa lou*” (with lots of hands, the burden isn’t heavy). Boukman Eksperyans’ “*Kè-m pa sote woy!*” (We’re not afraid) was transformed into inaugural banners, “*Kè-m pa sote ak Titid*” (“We’re not afraid with Aristide”). Moreover, the newfound importance of neo-*rara* songs as condensation symbols of populist sentiment led to a profusion of *rara* election jingles.

Carnival 1991, organized by the incoming Aristide administration (but financed by an act of the previous government) was dubbed “Carnaval Chanjman” (Carnival of Change). Women swept the city clean, decorations were hung from houses and over the streets of the capital, and Aristide’s image and his symbols appeared everywhere. Chief among these was the *kòk kalite* (fighting rooster) which was widely pictured in mural art besting a *pintad* (guinea hen, the symbol of Duvalier). A new *mizik rasin* band called Koudyay (note the carnivalesque name) produced the most popular *mereng kanaval*, a neo-*rara* called “Manman Poul La” (“Chicken Mama”), the theme of which depended on this same avian symbolism:

<i>Manman poul la</i>	The chicken mama
<i>kite pintad la antre nan twou yo</i>	let the guinea hen into the holes
<i>Pou li vin ponn nan kolòj poul la . . .</i>	To lay an egg in the chicken’s cage . . .
<i>Manman poul la Trouillot, manman poul la</i>	Chicken mama Trouillot, mama chicken
<i>Gade pintad ou kite antre nan kolòj nou</i>	Look at the guinea hen you let into our cage

The “chicken mama” was Ertha Pascal Trouillot, provisional president of Haiti during the elections. The term *manman poul* refers to someone who is gullible: a fool. The use of chicken also signifies that Trouillot was neither

a *pintad* (Duvalierist) nor a *kòk kalite* (Lavalasienne, Aristide supporter), but something in between. This derives from the popular belief that she tolerated widespread corruption and was unwilling to make a clean break with Duvalierist politics. A month before Aristide's inauguration, *tonton makout* Roger Lafontant had led an unsuccessful coup in which he briefly took over the palace and held Trouillot prisoner. Many Aristide supporters believed that Trouillot was somehow implicated in the coup. The reference to the cage in "Manman Poul La" is a reference to the Lafontant coup, to the *pintad* that entered into "our cage" (the National Palace). There is an additional obscene reference concerning the *pintad* that entered *twou yo* (the holes) in that the Creole pronunciation of *twou yo* is identical to that of Trouillot, the President's family name. The masses passed their own judgement on the Trouillot presidency at carnival. Picking up on the lyrics of "Manman Poul La," singers in the *bann apye*-s substituted *manman kaka* (shit mother) and *manman bouzen* (whore mother) in the song's chorus to criticize her alleged sell-out to the bourgeoisie and rumored complicity in the coup.

The themes of the floats (most of them paid for by the City at \$5–7,000 apiece) closely reflected the program and ideology of the new government. The floats included Negrye (Black Experience), Bwa Kayman (where Haitian slaves first plotted their rebellion against the French colonists), Charlmay Peralt (Charlemagne Peralte, a rebel leader against the American Occupation), Participation (one of Aristide's campaign themes), and, of course, a rooster guarding a guinea hen prisoner. The most prominent commercial float, a giant chicken advertising Maggi bouillon, became an unintentional focal point for anti-Trouillot ("Manman Poul La") ridicule.

The military coup against Aristide on 30 September 1991 installed a military-civilian *de facto* government and ushered in a tide of repression against supporters of Aristide. Manno Charlemagne, a political folk singer was arrested by the military twice. Boukman Eksperyans concerts were disrupted by gun-toting men in civilian clothes who forbade them to sing "Kè-M Pa Sote." In response, Boukman Eksperyans, employing the powerful image of the crossroads as a place of judgement in Vodou theology, produced a song for the 1992 carnival called "Kafou Danjere" ("Dangerous Crossroads," *Kalfou Danjere*, Mango Records 162-539 927-2). The song listed various types of transgression that would be met with divine retribution.

<i>Magouye, ou chaje ak pwoblèm</i>	Cheater, you'll be in deep trouble
<i>Nan kalfou, kalfou nèg Kongo</i>	At the crossroads of the Congo people
<i>Ou manti, ou chaje ak pwoblèm</i>	You who lie, you'll be in deep trouble
<i>Nan kalfou, kalfou nèg Kongo . . .</i>	At the crossroads of the Congo people . . .
<i>Si w se asasen rale kò w . . .</i>	If you're an assassin, get out of here . . .
<i>Woy men moun yo</i>	Woy here are the people
<i>Se bann Boukman kap pase la</i>	The Boukman entourage is passing
<i>Woy men moun yo</i>	Woy here are the people

The lyrics concerning the Boukman entourage reinscribe the carnival band as a metaphor for the people. In the video that accompanied the release of this song, Boukman Eksperyans created their own carnival *bann apye* that danced through the streets, stopped for ceremonies at crossroads and enacted a confrontation with a group of *tonton makout*-s. The video and song were banned from play on the national media, and the band was denied a place in carnival. Despite their absence from official carnival, their song went on to become the *cause célèbre* of “Carnaval de la Fraternité” in 1992.

## Conclusion

Haitian carnival itself wears many masks. It is unlike Bakhtin’s carnival, which is an idealized type “outside of and contrary to all existing forms of the coercive socioeconomic and political organization, which is suspended for the time of the festivity” (Bakhtin 1984:255). Rather, Haitian carnival takes place in real spaces permeated with existing power structures. Carnival is understood in the Haitian milieu as an aesthetic form of politics, contradicting Frank Manning’s assertion that “carnival remains, *sui generis*, an artistic event, not a political one” (1991:60). Carnival is a drama with an annual political tally sheet in the public’s imagination (“*bilan*” or “tally” is a term commonly associated with carnival in Haiti). After Ash Wednesday, the tally is added up: How many were wounded? Did business participate or boycott? Did the government organize and finance carnival well? Was the excitement overflowing? Was the mood of the crowd for or against the government? What bands came out on top? Who was skewered in carnival songs? All of these are political questions in the broadest sense, related to the distribution and regulation of power and control.

Carnival music comes into play as part of a chaotic soundscape. Carnival groups are rarely silent. In the densely packed streets of Haitian carnival, bands can always be heard before they are seen, and sonic projections overlap at any point in carnival time and space. More than any other medium, music is the means by which groups represent and signal their collectivity; music is the acoustic projection of their size, unity, and power. Music establishes the existence of not only the groups, but of carnival itself. The preponderance of *mereng kanaval*-s everywhere (via radio and cassette) in the weeks leading up to carnival builds anticipation for carnival and instills in the urban populace the ambience of ecstatic celebration that sets carnival apart as a special frame of activity in the Haitian calendar.

Carnival music functions on an ideological level. The audience demands that carnival lyrics respond to the passions of the moment and artists attempt to anticipate the mood of the audience at carnival. Among the masses, judgements take shape at carnival. Urban Haitians listen to carnival entries to seize on the one that best expresses the national *zeitgeist*. People persuade

their friends; *bann apye* adopt songs and change them to suit their needs (or compose their own); and slowly the attention of the masses focuses in on images and texts that become the most memorable features of that year's carnival. The music of Haitian carnival constitutes a public discourse with the potential to hone popular consensus. Although the songs should not be read as unmediated expressions of popular sentiment (they reflect the play of political and commercial strategies), they are important as condensations of popular outlook in a situation of widespread illiteracy and political repression that restricts channels for this type of discourse. Because of their distinct aesthetics, *mereng kanaval*-s are largely resistant to commercialization and to crossing over into other markets; they constitute a particular moment in Haitian cultural production that is still event-bound and temporally-specific.

Does carnival's exuberance consistently benefit the interests of one or another class in Haiti? Characterized by the mobilization of tens of thousands of lower class Haitians and by its exuberant modes of celebration, carnival contains the seeds of rebellious action and can be—*under the proper historical and social circumstances*—a springboard for lower class rebellion. Carnival becomes a lesson in popular power. A crowd that is *anraje* and in control of the streets displays to itself and to the authorities its own power and revolutionary potential. For this reason, though, carnival is the focus for a concerted effort by the establishment to limit symbolic expression and contain popular discontent. Carnival, although it enables lower class solidarity and mobilization, becomes a site of contest for symbolic mastery and not an *a priori* expression of any single class interest. Carnival bodies and their pleasures, unfortunately, are subject to the same co-optations by power regimes as other human domains.

## Notes

1. This paper is based on research carried out between 1987 and 1993 in Haiti and in Haitian communities in Miami and New York. I am greatly indebted to the Mellon Fellowships in the Humanities which supported much of this work. An additional carnival research residency in Haiti was funded by Wesleyan University Grants in Support of Scholarship. Research for this article included: over fifty interviews with Haitian musicians, industry personnel, and carnival participants; archival research on Haitian daily newspapers from 1934 to the present and Haitian weeklies in the United States since the early 1970s; participation as a *vaksin* (bamboo trumpet) player in a Haitian carnival band in the Caribbean Carnival in Brooklyn (1990) and as a bell player in a neighborhood carnival band from Bel-Aire, Port-au-Prince (1991); participant observation and video documentation of carnivals from 1990–92; and examination of available sound recordings and their texts for the relevant periods. Early versions of this paper were presented at a meeting of the Latin American Studies Association in Miami, at Columbia University and at Wesleyan University. I would like to thank T. M. Scruggs, Christopher Alan Waterman, Dieter Christensen, Mark Slobin, Alex Dupuy, Giovanna Perot-Averill, Lydia Goehr,

David Yih, and the graduate students at the Columbia University Center for Ethnomusicology and the Wesleyan University World Music Program for their comments. All translations herein from French and Creole are my own.

2. The French term *engagée*, the source of the Creole *angaje*, was widely used throughout the Francophone world to categorize socially concerned musics in the wake of the revolutionary movements of the 1960s.

3. The -s added to the Creole word *madigra* denotes a plural and is the convention I employ throughout this article. In Haitian Creole, the plural signifier *yo* (also “they,” “them,” “theirs”) would serve this function, but I have opted for the -s for better comprehension in English. In general, I employ the Creole orthography known as the IPN system (from the Institut Pédagogique National d’Haïti).

4. Fragat reports that the G.B. in the name Otofoni G.B. may stand for Grande Bretagne, the source of most 78 rpm recordings at the time, *gwo bouzen* (big prostitute), or an obscure Masonic reference (Masonry is popular among the Haitian elite and its symbols and mysteries have been incorporated in popular or “folk” forms into Vodou) (1986).

5. The term *mereng kanaval*, synonymous with *mereng koudyay*, does not necessarily identify the composition stylistically as a *mereng*, a creolized section of the French *contredanse* that evolved into a couple dance in post-independence Haiti and was later incorporated into elite parlor and art musics. Dubbed the “national” dance rhythm of Haiti, it was structurally quite similar to the Cuban *danzón* and Dominican *merengue*, with which it may share historical provenience (Fouchart 1988). In a looser use of the term, *mereng* can refer to any secular peasant-style song. Jean Fouchard states that the *mereng koudyay* evolved out of fast, celebratory songs of Haitian soldiers that celebrated military victories and were later adopted by carnival groups that were, themselves, militaristic or at least highly competitive (1988: 38–9). *Mereng kanaval* has continued as the inclusive term for all carnival compositions, despite the fact that later compositions were essentially fast *konpa*-s, *mini-djaz konpa*-s, or roots music neo-*rara*-s. I will use *mereng kanaval* in the broader sense throughout this article, regardless of a composition’s style or structure.

6. For example, the 1962 Committee (with bandleader Raoul Guillaume and the composer Antalcidas O. Murat of the neo-traditional big band, Jazz des Jeunes) decreed that *mereng kanaval* should be in 2/4 meter, quick (*allegro furioso*), formed of at least two phrases of eight measures apiece, in a Vodou rhythm known as Petwo-Mazonn, in major or minor modes, and that texts should not affront manners nor morals (*Nouvelliste* 1962b).

7. In the Haitian military tradition, a *koudyay* was one of the three types of fife, drum, and bugle corps, which played specifically at celebratory events. These events—and their music—also became known as *koudyay*.

8. This conflict of carnival aesthetics is parallel to the conflicts of taste mapped onto class by Pierre Bourdieu in which images of strength, dirt, and disorderly deportment mark the “natural body” of working class tastes and the source of bourgeois and petite bourgeois revulsion (1984). In Haiti, class aesthetics are reinforced by the idealized Europhile outlook of the upper classes. For a discussion of class and race in Haitian music, see Averill 1989.

9. It is impossible to detail the political history of the Duvalier reign in a short article devoted to music and carnival. The reader is directed to any of the better popular histories (Diederich and Burt 1986; Heintz and Heintz 1978; and Abbott 1988) and academic treatments (Nicholls 1979; and Trouillot 1990) of this period. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, especially, explores the relationship between popular consent and official coercion under Duvalier. A number of works on Haitian political economy and development contextualize the dictatorship and explore its ideology and practice, such as Bellgarde-Smith 1990, Dupuy 1989, Fass 1990, Nicholls 1985, and Lundahl 1983.

10. Duvalier’s mystic number was 22. He was elected on 22 September, and he timed many of his important political events to fall on the 22nd of the month. After his death (21 April 1971) his son was installed as President for Life on 22 April.

11. Yaws is a syphilitic disease that was common in the Haitian countryside and that resulted in gaping sores on the bodies of the afflicted. Duvalier had participated in a U.S.-sponsored campaign to eradicate yaws in Haiti.

12. *Ochan* appears to have come from eighteenth-century French military signal drummers who named a rhythm after the battle cry "*aux champs*" ("to the fields," equivalent to "forward march"). David Yih examines a variety of contemporary *ochan* performances and details the military influence on Haitian Vodou (1994).

13. The polemic was often explained using a Haitian proverb, *De kòk kalite pa ka rete nan menm lakou* (Two fighting cocks can't stay in the same courtyard). I follow Haitian popular convention when abbreviating the names of the band leaders. Wèber Sicot is always referred to by his family name, while Nemours Jean-Baptiste is called by his given name; thus, Nemours and Sicot.

14. The album that this song appeared on, "David" (Superstar Records SUP-111), is regarded by many as an opening salvo by commercial musicians in the battle with Duvalierism, and it helped to establish Ti-Manno, lead singer of D.P. Express, as Haiti's most prominent musical dissident.

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