

ABSTRACT

Paul Simon's *Graceland* and its Social
and Political Statements on Apartheid in South Africa

Jonathan David Greer

Mentor: Jean Ann Boyd, Ph.D.

Paul Simon's *Graceland* album is one of the most controversial rock-and-roll albums in history because of its strong connection with South Africa during the apartheid. Simon's interest in South African music led him to record the album, which became a collaboration between South African popular music and American rock-and-roll music. Through the album, Simon makes a social statement, but because of the political issues within South Africa during the release of *Graceland*, many believe the album also makes a political statement. *Graceland* not only makes the strong social statement Simon intended, but also provides an important political statement on apartheid in South Africa.

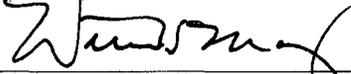
Paul Simon's *Graceland* Album and its Social
and Political Statements on Apartheid in South Africa

by

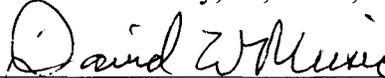
Jonathan David Greer, B.M.

A Thesis

Approved by the School of Music



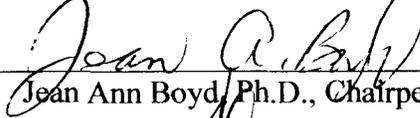
William V. May, Jr., Ph.D., Dean



David W. Music, D.M.A., Graduate Program Director

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Baylor University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Music

Approved by the Thesis Committee



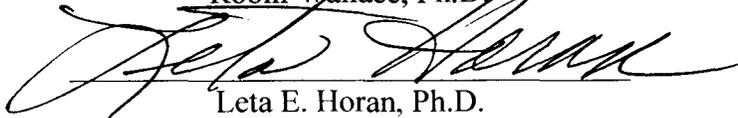
Jean Ann Boyd, Ph.D., Chairperson



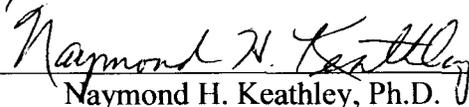
James M. Bennighof, Ph.D.



Robin Wallace, Ph.D.

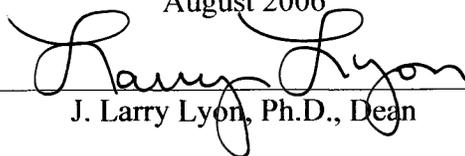


Leta E. Horan, Ph.D.



Naymond H. Keathley, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School
August 2006



J. Larry Lyon, Ph.D., Dean

Copyright © 2006 by Jonathan David Greer

All rights reserved

CONTENTS

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
Chapter	
1. Introduction and Background	1
Goals of Paper	
History of Apartheid in South Africa	
2. Popular Music in South Africa	12
<i>Marabi and Kwela</i>	
<i>Mbube and Isicathamiya</i>	
<i>Mbaqanga</i>	
3. Paul Simon's Career Before <i>Graceland</i>	24
4. Analysis	28
5. Responses and Conclusion	52
Public Responses to <i>Graceland</i>	
Conclusion	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Solo pennywhistle line and chord progression of "Meva" | 14 |
| 2. Opening vocal lines of "Mbube" | 15 |
| 3. Vocal lines and lyrics from "Unomathemba" | 17 |
| 4. Lead guitar and vocal lines at beginning of "Tsotsi" | 20 |
| 5. Bass line and background vocals from "Tsosti" | 21 |
| 6. Accordion, drum, and bass from measures 1-12 of
"The Boy in the Bubble" | 28 |
| 7. Bass line and solo vocal line from chorus of "The Boy in the Bubble" | 29 |
| 8. Vocal line and bass in chorus of "Graceland" | 33 |
| 9. Solo vocal line and bass in chorus of "I Know What I Know" | 37 |
| 10. Saxophone solo from instrumental break of "Gumboots" | 40 |
| 11. Accordion line from introduction and solo vocal
from chorus of "Gumboots" | 41 |
| 12. Vocals and bass at end of "Diamonds on the Soles of Her Shoes" | 43 |
| 13. First six measures of pennywhistle solo from
"You Can Call Me Al" | 45 |
| 14. Simon and Ladysmith vocal parts in "Homeless" | |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee who have been of great help the completion of this document. Special thanks to Dr. Robin Wallace and Dr. James M. Bennighof for their assistance through the later stages of the project. Also, thanks to my advisor, Dr. Jean Ann Boyd, for her support from the very beginning of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

By the 1980s, Paul Simon had become one of the most popular rock-and-roll artists in America. Thanks to his early success in the duo Simon & Garfunkel, and his continued popularity through his solo albums of the 1970s, Simon had gained a wide audience. Simon's earlier hits like "Sound of Silence," "Bridge Over Troubled Water," and "Me and Julio Down By the Schoolyard" had helped cement his place in American popular music, but the early 1980s proved to be a difficult time for his career. Though his reputation as a skilled songwriter was secure, several unsuccessful albums in the early 1980s served as a challenge for him as he sought to regain the level of the album sales to which he had grown accustomed. In 1985, Simon released *Graceland*, an album that sold several million copies and revived his career. The album is a strong example of Simon's highly praised song writing, but its importance does not depend solely on its musical strength. *Graceland* has been viewed as an important album because it is one of the most controversial records in the history of rock-and-roll. Simon received initial criticism by defying the United Nations cultural boycott of South Africa and recording the majority of his album in Johannesburg. Controversy continued to rage as critics and scholars discovered that Simon's lyrics made no comments against the apartheid. Though Simon had entered a political firestorm, many thought he had made a grave error by avoiding political content on *Graceland*.

Simon's initial intentions on *Graceland* were self-serving. He traveled to South Africa to discover an intriguing musical style to revive his career. Any intentions of criticizing the apartheid were secondary to the primary goal of creating an album which utilized unique South African musical traditions. Simon's desire was to create an appealing album that would sell millions of copies while he continued to stay true to his personal style. Yet, as Simon began committing himself to the genuine sounds and rhythms of South Africa, he realized the similarities between South African popular music and American rock-and-roll music. By combining South African music with numerous genres of American popular music, Simon makes a social statement on *Graceland*. Through various musical ideas and concepts, *Graceland* reminds listeners that humankind is unified despite cultural differences. Though Simon's album was intended to make a social statement, it also became indirectly political. *Graceland* allowed a new audience to experience not only the rich heritage of black South Africans, but also the culture's struggle due to apartheid. In the following pages, I will argue that Simon's use of the styles and traditions unique to black South African music make *Graceland* a political album. Through a closer look at the apartheid regime, I will discuss the impact of censorship on black South African music and its development despite oppressive circumstances. Then, I will briefly summarize Simon's career before the *Graceland* album. This will lead to an analysis of *Graceland*, where I argue that Simon's use of South African style makes an unintentional political statement against apartheid. In eleven tracks, Simon presented an oppressed minority to a world that had little knowledge of its struggle.

One of the major subjects of controversy in the 1980s was the existence of apartheid laws in South Africa. For over forty years, the National Party of South Africa had passed oppressive legislation to hinder the growth and progress of the black population in the country. The rich diamond industry in South Africa brought great dividends to the white population, while blacks were steadily overpowered through various regulations. Perhaps the greatest injustice within the apartheid regime was the regulated relocation of blacks to "homelands." The white government assigned all black citizens to specific "tribes" and forced them to return to "traditional homelands" with boundaries designated by the government. In time, the country developed into "eleven countries, the white Republic of South Africa and ten black 'tribal' National States."¹ Within this system, blacks were prohibited from leaving their "homelands" without temporary work passes provided by the government. The white minority lived in luxury while "some 80 percent of the population, which happened to be black, were forced to live on 17 percent of the poorest land in South Africa."² By maintaining absolute control of the government, the National Party was able to impose the unjust policies of the apartheid, eradicating human rights of the black South Africans with ease.

For the most part, those in the international community ignored apartheid in South Africa. Much of this apathy can be credited to the Cold War concerns of the United States and Western Europe. These countries feared that upsetting the South African

¹ Charles Hamm, "The Constant Companion of Man: Separate Development, Radio Bantu, and Music," in *Putting Popular Music in its Place*, ed. Charles Hamm (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 219.

² *Ibid.*, 220.

government would encourage a communist revolution there.³ Therefore, the South African government operated with little international interference for years, with uprisings like the Sharpeville killings of 1960 and the Soweto uprising of 1976 being rare occurrences. The apartheid regime's financial success was directly facilitated by the lax economic policies of the United States and other democratic nations. In fact, William Beinart and Saul Dubow note that South Africa survived without any substantial economic setbacks until the oil crisis of the mid-1970s.⁴ Decades of solid trade relations had helped South Africa maintain economic stability, but the late 1970s brought major struggles that strained its strong ties with international trade partners. After years of "steady growth," the government fought to preserve the financial stability of the country as "several prominent American and British banks terminated their South African business" because these institutions began to question the policies of the apartheid regime, or simply feared for their reputations for doing business with the South African government.⁵ Blacks began to protest with greater frequency and "after the Soweto rebellion of 1976, it become increasingly difficult for the state to contain protest and insurrection."⁶ The government's oppressive regime was weakening, but its strong original infrastructure allowed it to continue its domination of the black population.

³ Lindsay Michie Eades, *The End of Apartheid in South Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 87.

⁴ William Beinart and Saul Dubow, eds., *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 19.

⁵ Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 2000), 535.

⁶ Beinart and Dubow, *Segregation and Apartheid*, 20.

Despite its weakening economy, South Africa was able to sustain strong ties with the American and British governments. During the 1980s, Britain "not only opposed sanctions with imperturbable consistency," but went as far as to "relax the pressures which it had previously applied" against South Africa, focusing mainly on the trade and financial sanctions earlier administrations had established.⁷ The Reagan Administration followed Britain's lead in maintaining a relaxed policy towards the apartheid regime to avoid a communist rebellion. Under the policy 'constructive engagement,' the Reagan Administration strongly discouraged apartheid, but no sanctions were placed on South Africa. The United States did not place trade sanctions on South Africa until 1986, when Congress chose to override President Reagan's veto of the Anti-Apartheid Bill.

The United States was nearly a decade behind the United Nations, which had levied several financial sanctions on South Africa. With banks exiting South Africa, companies avoiding new business transactions, and sanctions continuing to mount, "the South African government had extended the state of emergency to the entire country."⁸ The United Nations chose to impose regulations beyond economic sanctions. A cultural boycott, which "was a powerful weapon in the arsenal of the anti-apartheid movement," was placed on South Africa.⁹ The boycott prohibited international recording artists from performing in South Africa, but several musicians, including Frank Sinatra, Elton John, and Linda Ronstadt, ignored the boycott and performed at Sun City, a predominantly white resort in the Republic of South Africa. The United Nations blacklisted these artists

⁷ Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 535.

⁸ Charles Hamm, *Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid* (New York: Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1988), 2.

⁹ Joseph Contreras, "Caught in the Cross-Fire", *Newsweek*, 20 January 1992, 59.

for violating the cultural boycott, but numerous artists continued to defy UN sanctions. It was during these turbulent times that Paul Simon chose to travel to South Africa to discover and explore the rich musical traditions of the country. Though the apartheid regime was reforming due to international sanctions, Simon discovered a music industry still rampant with government-enforced censorship.

From the time of the inception of apartheid policies in 1948, the National Party was fully aware of the powerful cultural traditions of black South Africans. The government furthered its goals of racial separation and supremacy by censoring the artistic endeavors of black musicians. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was formed to regulate the radio programming heard by the black population. The SABC described its policy in its Annual Report of 1959, highlighting its two guidelines: "'to express the unique South African way of life' and 'to comply with Christian ideals.'"¹⁰ Using these broad goals, the SABC formed racially segregated radio services. Blacks living in the homelands were provided radio service "with 'deafening, syncretic' music, dulling their sensibilities, making them more receptive to (SABC's) propaganda."¹¹ The SABC focused on providing black South Africans with radio programming consisting of "rural African music to give credence to the idea that the blacks of the country actually belong in the artificially created tribal homelands."¹² This rural music consisted of unique styles from the many tribal cultures that thrived before the apartheid regime took power. Though much of this rural music had changed

¹⁰ Hamm, *The Constant Companion of Man*, 222.

¹¹ Charles Hamm, "Privileging the Moment of Reception: Music and Radio in South Africa," in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32.

¹² John Street, *Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 14.

considerably by the time the apartheid regime took control of the airwaves, the SABC focused on earlier genres and styles to convince blacks of the idea of traditional homelands. By controlling radio, the government controlled the vast majority of music and information black South Africans received. The government's policy relied on playing tribal music of the past in hopes that black South Africans would embrace their past and give in to the brainwashing of traditional tribes and homelands.

The policy's goals were hampered from their inception because of the development of popular music within South Africa before the apartheid regime. By the early 1940s, genres like American jazz, swing, and popular song had entered the cultural scene of black urban music, leaving the SABC with the necessity to "program some music already familiar to its intended audience" to attract listeners to the service.¹³ The SABC began programming popular songs on its black stations, censoring those that could have any references that might question the ideals of Separate Development. Through these policies, the SABC was able to expand its audience while still maintaining control of the "newly emerging styles of black working class music" on its stations.¹⁴ The strategy continued to reinforce the ideals of traditional homelands, but by the early 1960s, the SABC was challenged by powerful forces emerging from outside South Africa.

By this time, rock and roll had gained a strong influence on the listening habits of the Western world. Its popularity abroad led to its arrival in South Africa, where it gained steady airplay on SABC's white radio stations. Rock-and-roll developed great popularity with the white population of South Africa, but the government thought its

¹³ Hamm, *Afro-American Music*, 216.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 218.

content would lead blacks to question the apartheid movement. Through its continued policy of racial separation, the government formed stricter politics to strengthen its agenda of separate homelands. In 1960, the ruling National Party approved the policy of Separate Development, "a more sophisticated refinement of racial segregation, or apartheid."¹⁵ Through the policy, the SABC created Radio Bantu, a media program designed "to intensify ethnic and 'national' identity among various black 'tribes' of the region," extending the policies set forth by SABC throughout the previous decade.¹⁶ With Radio Bantu, the SABC was able to develop several "vernacular" services for the homelands. Each service formed a "committee charged with selecting appropriate music," censoring song lyrics "to insure that political and moral sentiments contrary to state policy were not heard on the air."¹⁷ Under its new system, Radio Bantu avoided playing rock-and-roll music, continuing to program a mix of popular songs, "traditional music," and government propaganda. But the SABC had failed to realize the serious effect of radio stations from neighboring countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Many listeners in the Radio Bantu listening area tuned their radio dials to stations outside of South Africa and became aware of the growing rock-and-roll genre. The situation threatened the propaganda influence of Radio Bantu, so the SABC had no choice but to begin playing rock music on its stations.

Radio Bantu began to decrease the amount of "traditional music" played on its stations, choosing instead to play pop music selected by the service committees. Many

¹⁵ Hamm, "Privileging the moment of reception," 30.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Hamm, *Afro-American Music*, 24.

popular songs were rejected because the SABC Annual Report questioned the moral standing of the material.¹⁸ Radio Bantu expanded its audience by devoting airplay to popular music that attracted listeners, but it continued its commitment to Separate Development policies by refusing airplay to content that questioned the philosophies of the National Party. In 1962, Radio Bantu was available to "more than 50 percent of the black population of South Africa" and through expansion, 97.7 percent of the black population had access to Radio Bantu by 1974.¹⁹ The expansion proved wise, for "by the late 1970s, with seven 'vernacular' services in full operation, Radio Bantu had an audience of more than five million."²⁰ By playing popular rock music, Radio Bantu expanded its audience, meanwhile presenting listeners with a constant barrage of news and information from the slanted perspective of the ruling National Party. With growing American criticism of the National Party, Radio Bantu provided reports of racial struggles in the United States to warn "against racial mixing in South Africa."²¹ This is just one example of the powerful potential of the propaganda machine of Radio Bantu. By controlling the airwaves, the government was able to control the majority of news and information that reached the homelands.

Radio Bantu's monopoly established an atmosphere in which black South African musicians could only achieve success by writing music that was devoid of criticism of the National Party and its apartheid regime. The white dominance of the music industry made it difficult for black musicians to seek self-expression. Even if black musicians

¹⁸ Hamm, "The Constant Companion of Man," 223.

¹⁹ Charles Hamm, "Rock 'n' Roll in a Very Strange Society," *Popular Music* 5 (1985): 161.

²⁰ Hamm, "The Constant Companion of Man," 240.

²¹ Hamm, *Afro-American Music*, 29.

were successful in writing apolitical songs in South Africa, the financial gains were minimal because of the white control of production and managerial aspects of the recording industry. Artists who wished to write "overtly political songs" were prevented from receiving airplay on Radio Bantu, because records given to radio stations were "deliberately scratched and their titles obliterated to prevent them from being played."²² Though these actions were cruel and unjust, they were mild in comparison to other outcomes for artists writing songs that questioned the apartheid regime. Hugh Masekela stated that most South African musicians were politically committed, but they feared further punishment for writing anti-apartheid songs, including beatings and murder.²³ Most artists chose to write apolitical songs not only to achieve financial prosperity, but also to avoid dangerous consequences for opposing the National Party.

Radio Bantu was a truly powerful agency of the National Party, but as the government's power began to weaken, so did the influence of the SABC. By the late 1970s, Radio Bantu had seen a steady decline in listeners.²⁴ As blacks began to listen to radio services outside of South Africa, a sense of distrust in the National Party grew. As John Street reported in 1987, the government was unable to "relax" or to "confidently claim to be in control of events."²⁵ Despite growing skepticism from the black population, the National Party actively sought new ways to promote Separate Development and apartheid. The government began to encourage international artists to

²² Ibid., 21.

²³ Margaret A. Novicki and Ameen Akhalwaya, "An Interview with Hugh Masekela," in *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stanley Luftig (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 172.

²⁴ Hamm, "The Constant Companion," 23.

²⁵ Street, *Rebel Rock*, 23.

perform in all-white venues while taking "a less benign view of live performances by indigenous artists."²⁶ American rock music continued to flourish in South Africa, but native musicians were only encouraged if they performed music that aligned with the concepts of Separate Development. International artists were not immune to the scrutiny of the SABC. Stevie Wonder was banned by the SABC when he dedicated his 1985 Oscar award to Nelson Mandela.²⁷ For the most part, artists who avoided politically charged lyrics were financially successful in South Africa. Even through the 1980s, when the apartheid regime was losing its strength, South Africa continued to censor any attempts at free artistic expression. Without access to media outlets, black South African musicians were unable to reach wide audiences with music opposed to the apartheid regime. Despite these hindrances, black South Africans were able to develop their own musical voice during the apartheid.

²⁶ Ibid., 21.

²⁷ Graham Leach, *South Africa: No Easy Path to Peace* (Boston: Routledge, 1986), 225.

CHAPTER TWO

Popular Music in South Africa

The music of South Africa has a rich heritage that has been well researched by scholars like John Miller Chernoff and John Blacking. These researchers have helped the Western world understand the traditions of South African Music that have been cultivated through many centuries. Though South African music has maintained its traditions over a long period of time, it is in no way primitive or stagnant. By the 1900s, South African musicians were developing genres and styles by combining the influences of American popular music with valued musical ideas of the past. The result was a vibrant popular music scene that is well documented by scholars like Charles Hamm and Peter Manuel.

One of the most important genres to develop in South African during the early part of the 20th century was *marabi* music. The *marabi* style combined the American "ragtime keyboard style with melodic phrase displacements typical of Zulu music."²⁸ The style became contagious dance music with repetitive phrase structure that encouraged improvisation. *Marabi* was primarily played in shebeens, which were "illegal taverns selling alcohol in private houses."²⁹ Out of these illegal establishments came one of the most influential South African popular music genres. The pump organ became the primary instrument of *marabi*, but many instruments were added, including

²⁸ Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 108.

²⁹ Wolfgang Bender, *Sweet Mother: Modern African Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 175.

kazoo, guitar, acoustic bass and drums.³⁰ Most *marabi* music used a simple I - IV - I⁶₄ - V chord progression as its harmonic framework, and most songs were fast-paced to encourage dancing.³¹ *Marabi* music was a popular genre until the late 1930s, when the government began to close down the shebeens. By the early 1940s, new genres were being developed with a strong influence from *marabi*.

One genre that developed during this time was *kwela* music. *Kwela* comes from the Zulu word meaning 'to get up', 'get on top', or 'move' and usually combined guitar, banjo, pennywhistle and one-string box bass.³² Whereas *marabi* music was used in the 1920s and 1930s as dance music in clubs, *kwela* music gained popularity between the 1940s and the late 1960s through township children singing and playing their pennywhistles on street corners.³³ *Kwela* music is a distinctive offshoot of *marabi* because of its humble beginnings and its importance to the lower class of South Africa. The pennywhistle is the primary instrument associated with the genre and provides a light and carefree feeling to *kwela* songs much as the flute had done in folk songs throughout African history. *Kwela* music provides "a fast, continuous rhythm, which presses ahead."³⁴ The following example is from "Meva," by Spokes Mashiyane, who helped popularize *kwela* music:

³⁰ Ibid., 181.

³¹ Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*, 108.

³² Graeme Ewens, *Africa O-Ye!: A Celebration of African Music* (New York: Da Capo, 1991), 195.

³³ Ronnie Graham, *The Da Capo Guide to Contemporary African Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1988), 258.

³⁴ Bender, *Sweet Mother*, 178.

with *marabi* music, *mbube* drew from both South African and foreign influences, combining ideas of European church singing with traditional African choirs.³⁷ Typical *mbube* songs included an accompanied chorus of five to ten male singers in a traditional call-and-response format found in traditional South African vocal music.³⁸ Foreign influence was found in the *mbube*'s use of triadic harmonies which "have their roots in Western music."³⁹ One of the most important *mbube* groups was Solomon Linda's Original Evening Birds, whose song "Mbube" was used to define the genre. The song was later arranged and released in the United States under the title "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" and became a popular hit. The following is an excerpt from the original version:

Example 2. Opening vocal lines to "Mbube"



This introduction to "Mbube" provides a fine example of the *mbube* style. The call-and-response pattern is present here, with the main vocal line joined by the chorus in simple triadic harmonies. The chorus is unaccompanied and as the song continues the vocal parts present short repetitive melodic themes. The song has few lyrics, focusing on the statement "Uyimbube," meaning "you are a lion." The result is a typical example of

³⁷ Bender, *Sweet Mother*, 176.

³⁸ Charles Hamm, "Home Cooking and American Soul in Black South African Popular Music," in *Putting Popular Music in its Place*, ed. Charles Hamm (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

mbube "based in simple harmonies" and "sung in medium to slow tempi."⁴⁰ *Mbube* continued to be a popular genre throughout the 20th century, but by the 1960s and 1970s, several groups began to create their own styles of *mbube*.

One of these groups was Ladysmith Black Mambazo. The group was formed in the early 1970s by Joseph Shabalala and became one of the most popular vocal groups of the era. While Shabalala adopted the *mbube* style, he also drew from other influences, creating a new sub-genre called *isicathamiya*.⁴¹ Shabalala created this sub-genre by taking *mbube* ideals and then incorporating new ideas regarding choreography, professional practice and organization of the group, song texts, and sound texture.⁴² Veit Erlmann says these innovations can be traced to the "American minstrel show, the Methodist hymn, and doo-wop" and provide a sign of "a long and irrevocable entanglement of local performance practice and the modern world."⁴³ The members of Ladysmith became conscious of their movements, realizing that tight choreography would provide a greater audience. This choreography can certainly be compared to doo-wop groups of the 1950s and 1960s who used choreography on stage to excite their audiences. Shabalala solidified the group's sound by signing members to long term contracts. This continued Shabalala's goals of creating a more professional atmosphere and ensured the group's unity and consistency. Ladysmith also performed numerous compositions by Shabalala, who was the "first *isicathamiya* composer to base his

⁴⁰ Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*, 109.

⁴¹ Veit Erlmann, *Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 84.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 312.

compositions on extended narrative sequences."⁴⁴ While many *mbube* songs had little story within the text, Shabalala strove to write songs with more meaningful lyrics. These lyrics were enhanced by Ladysmith's "soft, velvet like tone," providing a sensitive treatment of Shabalala's narratives.⁴⁵ The following example presents many of the choral ideas embraced by Ladysmith.

Example 3. Vocal lines and lyrics⁴⁶ from "Unomathemba"

The image displays a musical score for the song "Unomathemba". It consists of three systems of music. The top system is labeled "Solo Vocal" and "Vocals". The Solo Vocal part is written in a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody begins with a half note G2, followed by a quarter note A2, a quarter note B-flat2, and a quarter note C3. The Vocals part is written in a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. It features a series of chords: a half note G2, a half note A2, a half note B-flat2, and a half note C3. The second system shows the Solo Vocal part continuing with a half note D3, a quarter note E3, a quarter note F3, and a quarter note G3. The Vocals part continues with a series of chords: a half note D3, a half note E3, a half note F3, and a half note G3. The third system shows the Solo Vocal part continuing with a half note A3, a quarter note B3, a quarter note C4, and a quarter note D4. The Vocals part continues with a series of chords: a half note A3, a half note B3, a half note C4, and a half note D4.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁶ Ladysmith Black Mambazo, *Shaka Zulu*, Warner Bros. Records 9 25582-2, 1987, CD.

Lyrics:	Translation:
<i>Loko-ke . . .</i>	<i>I was shocked</i>
<i>Loko kuyangimangalisa</i>	<i>When I saw an orphan</i>
<i>Loko-ke</i>	<i>Sitting under a shade</i>
<i>Loko Kuyangimangalisa</i>	<i>I asked his/her name</i>
<i>Uma ngibon intandane</i>	<i>He/she did not answer</i>
<i>Eyayihleli ngaphansi komthunzi</i>	<i>Just looked down</i>
<i>Loko kuyangimangalisa</i>	<i>And started crying tears.</i>

Like “Mbube” by Solomon Linda's Original Evening Birds, this example relies on simple triadic harmonies and a call-and-response pattern. Yet, Ladysmith's *isicathamiya* ideas are present in various ways. The lyrics in this example are much more complex than those of most *mbube* songs. Rather than simply using *mbube*'s short, repetitive lyrics, "Unomathemba" tells a narrative. These lyrics are heightened by the smooth tone of Ladysmith's sound as the group sings its narrative with the tight harmonies found in *mbube* music. It is these unique qualities, as well as Ladysmith's popular choreography, that helped bring great success to the group as they continued to perfect the *isicathamiya* vocal style.

By the 1960s, *mbaqanga* music was gaining popularity in South Africa. *Mbaqanga* was named after a traditional South African food which was created with a wide variety of ingredients. The music lived up to its name, mixing American jazz, *mbube*, and *marabi* music.⁴⁷ The development of *mbaqanga* music began soon after the apartheid regime gained control of South Africa. Ronnie Graham argues that *mbaqanga*'s origins "lay in thousands of black people being forced off their land by brutal laws."⁴⁸ By forcing total strangers to live together in homelands, the National Party helped black

⁴⁷ Ewens, *Africa, O Ye!*, 186.

⁴⁸ Graham, *The Da Capo Guide to Contemporary African Music*, 257.

South Africans to create a collaboration of musical ideas. Soon, all of these ideas had converged, and by the early 1960s, "a new electrified-guitar *mbaqanga* (accordion, violin, pennywhistle, and saxophone backed by electric bass and trap drums) emerged, also known by the American loanword 'jive'," or "township jive."⁴⁹ Thanks to radio stations outside of South Africa, black musicians were able to experience the rock-and-roll music from America. South Africans used the influences of rock and added their own solid traditions of vocal harmonies and powerful rhythms, creating *mbaqanga*. A typical *mbaqanga* song begins with a brief improvised introduction featuring a "rhythmically ambiguous" line from a solo guitar.⁵⁰ Following this introduction the drums and bass enter, "setting the beat and establishing a four-bar sequence of chords over which the entire piece will unfold."⁵¹ With the structure of the song in place, a typical *mbaqanga* song will include a solo singer, often with a small background vocal group. Call-and-response is used not only in vocal passages, but also in the alternation of vocal lines with instrumental breaks. Some of these ideas are found in the following example by the Boyoyo Boys:

⁴⁹ David Coplan, "Popular Music in South Africa," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Vol. 1: Africa*, ed. Ruth M. Stone (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 775.

⁵⁰ Hamm, "Home Cooking and American Soul," 141.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Example 4. Lead guitar and vocal lines at beginning of "Tsotsi"

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, labeled 'Guitar' and 'Vocals', shows the initial four measures. The guitar part (top staff) begins with a rhythmic introduction in measures 1-4, followed by a melodic line. The vocal part (bottom staff) is silent in measures 1-4. The second system, starting at measure 5, shows the guitar part continuing its melodic line and the vocal part entering with a vocal line that follows the guitar's melodic theme.

The initial guitar line in "Tsotsi" presents one of the two main melodic themes for the song. After the brief instrumental introduction to the song, the main vocal line focuses on the guitar's theme. As mentioned previously, the guitar part begins the song in *mbaqanga* style with a rhythmically ambiguous introduction. Though it is difficult to transcribe the first four measures, its melodic line follows the same theme as the guitar segment presented in the example. This guitar introduction has an improvised feeling, but with the entrance of drums and bass in measure 5, it gains the defined rhythmic structure missing from the first four measures of the example. As the vocals enter in measure 9 on the main theme, the guitar part introduces the second main theme of the song. These two themes provide the main melodic ideas for the song. Another important *mbaqanga* concept is the interaction between the bass line and the vocals.

Example 5. Bass line and background vocals from "Tsotsi"

The image shows two musical staves, labeled 'Bass' and 'Vocals', in bass clef and 2/4 time. The Bass staff contains a four-measure phrase: a quarter rest, a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, and a quarter note E2. The Vocals staff contains a four-measure phrase: a quarter rest, a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, and a quarter note E2. The two staves are aligned vertically, showing a call-and-response pattern where the bass line and vocals repeat the same melodic and rhythmic idea.

Bass lines play an important role in *mbaqanga* songs because they not only provide the harmonic framework, but often present and repeat rhythmic and melodic ideas found in the vocal lines.⁵² In "Tsotsi," the bass line and background vocals combine to repeat the same theme. By joining the vocals, the bass line provides strength to the melodic framework as well as the rhythmic configuration of the song. Other traditional *marabi* concepts are prevalent in this *mbaqanga* example, including the I - IV - I⁶₄ - V chord progression as well as the simple four-bar phrases. *Mbaqanga* keeps the danceable stylistic characteristics but presents a "more powerful sound and harder driving beat than *kwela*" and other dance genres.⁵³ The call-and-response pattern and the use of an all-male ensemble show the influence of *mbube*. The Boyoyo Boys are a classic example of an *mbaqanga* ensemble and "Tsotsi" provides a glimpse at the influences and development of the style.

As popularity for *mbaqanga* grew, many artists began to bring new advancements to the genre. While earlier versions of *mbaqanga* included acoustic instruments, artists like The Soul Brothers began to use more electric instruments in their music. By the 1970s, the group used electric organs, guitars and bass in their recordings, as well as

⁵² Coplan, "Popular Music in South Africa," 776.

⁵³ Graham, *The Da Capo Guide to Contemporary African Music*, 266.

synthesizers and saxophones.⁵⁴ The result was a fresh new *mbaqanga* sound that still maintained the stylistic characteristics presented in the example by the Boyoyo Boys. With regard to harmony, Charles Hamm described the Soul Brothers' vocal stylings as relying "mostly on parallel thirds and sixths, not unlike that of Simon & Garfunkel, with no trace of call-and-response."⁵⁵ The Soul Brothers were not the only group expanding the *mbaqanga* genre. Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens became one of the first *mbaqanga* groups to include female background singers. The group maintained a call-and-response pattern in their singing, but the main solo singer was labeled a male "groaner" for his harsh sound.⁵⁶ The result was a new kind of *mbaqanga* that included polyphonic female chorus parts with the new groaning style. Other important characteristics of *mbaqanga* styles include the strong 2/4 rhythm within an AABB phrase structure with eight-measure phrasing.⁵⁷ Just as is the case in rock-and-roll, *mbaqanga* has various different sub-genres and stylings, but all *mbaqanga* combines *marabi*, *mbube*, and *kwela* to create a unique South African style.

Radio play and performance opportunities were rare for *mbaqanga* artists to obtain, especially those who wrote anti-apartheid lyrics. Jeremy Marre's documentary *Beats of the Heart: Popular Music in the World* provides an interesting look at black musicians and their struggle during the apartheid in South Africa. The duo Spho and Johnny consisted of a white man and a black man who experienced extreme difficulties in finding performance opportunities. They were "not allowed to play on stage to a mixed

⁵⁴ Hamm, "Home Cooking and American Soul," 142.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*, 109.

⁵⁷ Coplan, "Popular Music in South Africa," 776.

audience," so the duo took to playing hidden venues.⁵⁸ Not only were hidden venues consistently threatened by possible police raids, but the secrecy of the venues prevented the music of Sipho and Johnny from reaching a wide audience. Marre also found difficulties hearing live performances in townships. The government refused Marre's request to enter the townships, so he secretly traveled there and found truth in John Street's statement that "music in the townships is not encouraged because it suggests the idea that blacks have a right to a normal life in South Africa."⁵⁹ Even in the homelands, the government censored the free expression of black South Africans. Nevertheless, several *mbaqanga* groups like the Soul Brothers and the Boyoyo Boys gained popularity within the homelands by receiving air play on Radio Bantu because their songs contained no direct protest of the National Party.

⁵⁸ Jeremy Marre and Hannah Charlton, *Beats of the Heart: Popular Music in the World* (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 39.

⁵⁹ Street, *Rebel Rock*, 21.

CHAPTER THREE

Paul Simon's Career Before *Graceland*

Paul Simon entered the rock-and-roll scene as the civil rights movement was strengthening. He and his friend Art Garfunkel began performing together and soon formed the duo Simon & Garfunkel, quickly becoming one of the most popular musical acts of the 1960s. Simon & Garfunkel drew from the growing folk-rock genre for their style. From the beginning, Paul Simon took on the role of composer for Simon & Garfunkel. Simon gained great respect for his songwriting, leading Judith Piepe, a music supporter and "the folk scene's mum" in London, to state: "I knew this was the real thing; this was a true prophet . . . the voice of Now."⁶⁰ Like most of their contemporaries, Simon & Garfunkel were well aware of the conflicts around them, and occasionally included songs on their albums that made reference to the civil rights movement and other issues. On their first album, *Wednesday Morning 3 A.M.*, Simon & Garfunkel included a cover of Bob Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changin'" and various other songs like "Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream" and "He Was My Brother" to create an album in which "the theme of change . . . is the true 'message.'"⁶¹ "He Was My Brother" made a direct connection to the civil rights struggle in America, but the other songs on the album made no mention of the issue. Yet, the statement in "He Was My Brother" as well as the folk-like songs on the album led many to believe that Simon &

⁶⁰ Kevin Howlett, "The Early Years" in Liner Notes from *Paul Simon: 1964-1993*. Paul Simon. Warner Bros. Records 9 45394-2, 1993, CD, 3.

⁶¹ Robert Matthew-Walker, *Simon and Garfunkel* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1984), 34.

Garfunkel were a part of the civil rights struggle. Simon & Garfunkel did not join the civil rights movement, but their choice of particular songs forged similarities between their music and the music of those fully involved in the movement.

By 1965, Simon & Garfunkel had gained a great deal of popularity in the American popular rock world. Their popularity grew with the release of the album *Sounds of Silence* later that year, which included the hit singles "I Am a Rock" and "The Sound of Silence." Simon & Garfunkel continued to make social and political statements in their albums. In 1966, *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary, and Thyme* was released, and included the song "7 O'Clock News/Silent Night." On the track, the traditional carol is sung underneath an especially dark news report of war, death, and human destruction. The song is a powerful statement thanks to the juxtaposition of a peaceful Christmas carol and a bleak outlook of the world. This skill of juxtaposition became a trademark of Simon's style. Behind beautiful melodies and harmonies of "7 O'Clock News/Silent Night" are stark images of human despair and sadness.

Simon & Garfunkel broke up in 1970 because both artists wanted to continue their careers separately. Simon's solo aspirations had developed in 1964, with the release of *A Paul Simon Songbook* in England. One of the songs on the album is "A Church is Burning." Simon wrote a simple tune, using only his acoustic guitar as accompaniment. Whereas the melody of "A Church is Burning" is simple, its lyrics describe the resilience of spiritual belief despite extreme adversity. With obvious allusions to the Ku Klux Klan, Simon's lyrics make reference to the black Christian community staying committed to their religious beliefs and their desire for freedom despite having their churches burned.

Again, Simon gives a fine example of juxtaposition in his writing, using his beautiful, simple tunes to describe horrible issues in society.

Simon's skillful writing continued even as the civil rights struggle moved to the background of American thought. In 1973, Simon released "American Tune," another song that showed his use of juxtaposition. Part of the song's melody is based on Johann Sebastian Bach's harmonization of a Hans Leo Hassler tune "Mein G'müth ist mir verwirret," with new, sacred lyrics, which served as a unifying chorale in *St. Matthew's Passion*. The beauty of the tune is offset with lyrics that "question how a country founded upon such moral strength and of such admirable principles could have seemingly lost its way."⁶² Though Simon makes no direct links in his lyrics, "American Tune" became a meaningful song to Americans who were disgusted with the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal.

The previous examples have shown the impact of Simon's songs during politically charged periods. He has never denied his political leanings, but when questioned about his texts, he continually argues that his "strength is not political writing."⁶³ Simon contends that instead of being a political writer, he is "a relationship writer, relationships and introspection."⁶⁴ In Simon's perspective, his works in the 1960s were not purposely political, but were instead artistic comments on everyday life. Simon claimed that his intentions were not political in a song like "American Tune," but an artist's true intentions are not always perceived by the listener. Though Simon argued that his earlier works did

⁶² Ibid., 92.

⁶³ David Fricke, "African Odyssey," *Rolling Stone*, 23 Oct. 1986, 80.

⁶⁴ Robert Christgau, "South African Romance," in *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 186.

not make any political statements, his artistic expressions on the moral decline of America, the loss of innocence, and the struggle for peace provided listeners with moving ideas and perspectives. Simon might have considered his lyrics as social statements, but many of the subjects and ideas in his songs were perceived as political.

In 1985, Paul Simon started work on an album in South Africa. The use of multi-cultural musical ideas was not new to Simon. Several of his earlier works, including "El Condor Pasa" and "Mother and Child Reunion" combined rock-and-roll with "various ethnic musics - traditional Anglo-American, black gospel, Peruvian, reggae, Cajun - to expand his style and to give rhythmic punch to his music."⁶⁵ It was no surprise that Simon would find inspiration in the music of South Africa. Despite the growing controversy over apartheid, Simon chose to travel across the world because he was taken by the music, commenting that "it sounded like very early rock-and-roll."⁶⁶ As the similarities between South African popular music and American rock-and-roll became clearer to Simon, he began to combine them, creating a collaboration of the two traditions. The result was *Graceland*, an album that would become one of the most significant albums of his career and one of the most controversial rock-and-roll albums in history.

⁶⁵ Charles Hamm, "Graceland Revisited," *Popular Music* 8/3 (Oct. 1989): 303.

⁶⁶ David Fricke, "African Odyssey," *Rolling Stone*, 23 Oct. 1986, 78.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of *Graceland*

From the beginning of *Graceland*, Paul Simon presents the South African impulses that pervade the album. The initial musical thoughts of "The Boy in the Bubble" are provided by a solo line in the accordion, an instrument traditionally used in popular music of South Africa. The accordion not only plays a vital role in introducing the South African character of the album, but also provides a crucial musical link to later, non-African songs. Transcribed below are measures 1-12 of "The Boy in the Bubble," with the accordion line joined by drum and bass:

Example 6. Accordion, Drum and Bass from measures 1-12 of "The Boy in the Bubble"

The image displays three staves of musical notation for measures 1-12 of "The Boy in the Bubble". The top staff is for the Accordion, the middle for the Drum, and the bottom for the Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The Accordion part begins with an improvisation in measure 1, which is labeled "Entrance Measure 1". The Drum part enters in measure 5 with a steady beat, labeled "Entrance Measure 5". The Bass part enters in measure 9, labeled "Entrance Measure 9", providing a steady accompaniment to the drums.

From the beginning of "The Boy in the Bubble," there is a strong *mbaqanga* influence. The song opens with a four-measure improvised accordion solo that is rhythmically ambiguous. It is not until the entrance of a steady drum beat in measure 5 that the song finds a steady beat. This beat is strengthened in measure 9 with the entrance of the electric bass, which joins the drums to represent a typical *mbaqanga* rhythm section.

Though not identical to the accordion line, the bass line uses similar rhythmic ideas and, in the case of measures 3-4, copies the melodic theme of the accordion. In *mbaqanga*, the bass line does not serve as merely a foundation for rhythmic and harmonic ideas, but it also plays a vital role in melodic presentation and development. The bass line continues to strengthen the melodic and rhythmic ideas of “The Boy in the Bubble” in the chorus.

Example 7. Bass line and solo vocal line from chorus of "The Boy in the Bubble"

The musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo Vocal' and is in the treble clef. The bottom staff is labeled 'Bass' and is in the bass clef. Both staves have a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The Solo Vocal line begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) followed by a quarter note (C5), a quarter note (B4), and a quarter note (A4). The Bass line begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G3, A3, B3) followed by a quarter note (C4), a quarter note (B3), and a quarter note (A3). The two lines are connected by vertical lines, indicating they are part of the same musical piece.

The bass line and vocal line are not identical, but the rhythmic similarities, especially in the first measure, show how they are connected to each other through this song. This is a relationship found in most *mbaqanga* songs, where a main theme is utilized by the vocal line as well as the bass line. The differences between the two stem from the improvisation of the musicians. “The Boy in the Bubble” also uses background vocals on the chorus which join the rhythm of the bass line and develop triadic harmonies, continuing the strong interaction between instrumental and vocal lines. By taking the rhythmic structure of the bass line, the background vocals do not add to the vocal line in the chorus, but instead add harmony to the theme in the bass and accordion. Through instrumentation and style characteristics, Simon provides a strong *mbaqanga* influence in “The Boy in the Bubble.”

The accordion, bass, and drums on "The Boy in the Bubble" are performed by Tao Ea Matsekha, a South African group based in the traditional popular style. Tao Ea Matsekha is one of many bands to which Simon was introduced through tapes sent to him by South African record producer Hilton Rosenthal.⁶⁷ Simon was fascinated by the unique sound of Tao Ea Matsekha, and instead of trying to replicate the sound with studio musicians in America, he decided to travel to South Africa to record with Tao Ea Matsekha.

From the outset of his album, Simon's commitment to using South African musicians was clear. His desire to use the original creators and music makers was a crucial part of the album's mission and purpose. Simon "filtered down the music to four bands" and traveled to Johannesburg to collaborate with them.⁶⁸ Many of the musicians "knew little English and most of them knew nothing of Simon's career."⁶⁹ However, there were more troubles besides the language barrier. Before heading to South Africa, Simon sought the advice of several black American artists, including Quincy Jones and Harry Belafonte, regarding the collaboration.⁷⁰ After receiving positive responses from these artists, Simon sought the approval of several South African musicians. Simon approached the black musicians' union in Johannesburg and asked for their permission to record with the South African musicians.⁷¹ The union, which included some of the

⁶⁷ Paul Simon, Liner Notes from *Graceland*, Paul Simon, Warner Bros. Records, 1-25447, 1986, CD, 1.

⁶⁸ Mark Gleeson, "Simon Recording with Soweto Bands," *Variety*, 13 March 1985, 109.

⁶⁹ Nelson George, review of *Graceland*, by Paul Simon, *Billboard*, 13 September 1986, 70.

⁷⁰ Nicolas Jennings, "For the Record," *MacLean's*, 29 September 1986, 76.

⁷¹ Nelson George, "U.N. Removes Simon from Boycott List," *Billboard*, 14 February 1987, 3.

musicians Simon had heard, accepted his request and he spent several weeks in Johannesburg recording with the four bands.

For Simon, the collaboration was a chance to record with a unique group of talented musicians. For the South Africans, the opportunity was much more. In *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African Popular Music*, Muff Anderson details the poor treatment of township musicians due to censorship in South Africa. Few people outside of black townships had heard the talented black musicians of South Africa. The collaboration with Simon was an important step in the spread of black South African music outside of Soweto. Many South African musicians "regard [Simon] as the single most important factor in bringing (South Africa's) township rhythms to world prominence."⁷² Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, refers to Simon as "Vutlendela," meaning "the man who opened the door."⁷³ If nothing else, *Graceland* provided an outlet for South African musicians to be heard by those outside of Soweto.

This leads to an important political element of the album as a whole. By presenting township music to the general public, Simon helped "to celebrate the richness of an oppressed people's culture, their thirst for life despite their subjection."⁷⁴ By creating music with black South Africans, Simon validated the talent of the people and their culture. It is crucial to note that Simon did not just create one track to present South African culture. Robert Christgau is right in calling the *Graceland* album a "full

⁷² Arthur Goldstuck, "Political Storm Swirls 'Round Paul Simon's South Africa Tour," *Billboard*, 18 January 1992, 26.

⁷³ Tony Scherman, "Words and Music by Paul Simon," *Life*, November 1993, 92.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

immersion" into the music of South Africa.⁷⁵ Simon focused on South African music, and his priority of making music with the original artists revealed his genuine respect for the South African people. This immersion began with the opening musical lines of "The Boy in the Bubble" and was integrated into the entire album.

The lyrics of "The Boy in the Bubble" discuss advancements that allowed Simon to discover South African music. By 1986, the world was making great progress through technological advances. Simon's lyrics mention many of these discoveries, including the "boy in the bubble," a "baby with the baboon heart," and "lasers in the jungle." Simon presents these technological advances to discuss the "days of miracle and wonder." His lyrics embrace progress because of the possibilities it provides. In fact, technology in the music business had aided in the development of this album. Thanks to the advancements in recording, Simon was able to record the tracks with musicians in South Africa and then edit them in New York to create his final product. By focusing on the similarities in the musical styles of South Africa and America, Simon discovers that the two cultures that had once seemed so distant were not as different as some suggested. Through the advancements in American technology, there are new ways to look at the world around us. In this introductory track, Simon makes clear his intention of using musical collaboration to show the oneness between America and South Africa. Apartheid was still a strong force in South Africa in the 1980s, so this collaboration is a powerful social statement. Simon gives black South Africans a voice, showing their similarities not only with America, but with the world as a whole.

⁷⁵ Robert Christgau, "South African Romance," in *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 181.

The title track of the *Graceland* album is described by Simon as "less typical of South African music than most other tracks" on the album.⁷⁶ This track uses less obvious references to South African musical traditions, but there are still signs of an African popular music influence. This influence is best seen in the interaction between the bass and solo vocal line in the chorus.

Example 8. Vocal line and bass in chorus of "Graceland"

The musical score consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C).

System 1: The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics "I'm go-ing to Grace - land Grace land -". The bass line provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 2: The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Mem - phis Ten - nes - sec. I'm go - ing to Grace - land". The bass line continues its rhythmic pattern.

System 3: The vocal line is silent, indicated by a long horizontal line. The bass line continues with its characteristic rhythmic pattern.

Once again, Simon uses the *mbaqanga* idea of the bass line interacting with the vocal line. As the chorus continues, Simon's vocal line improvises on the main theme, but the bass continues to play it in its original form. The only variation on the theme in the bass

⁷⁶ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

is the ending riff, found here in measure 5. This riff is played by both the guitar and bass and is repeated throughout the song. The idea of repeated riffs is found in American jazz and blues music, which influenced earlier popular South African genres like *marabi* and *kwela*. Even though *mbaqanga* is a distant cousin to these earlier genres, it still maintains the clear American popular music influence that was present in early *marabi* styles. Though “Graceland” has heavier rock-and-roll influences, it still maintains some important *mbaqanga* stylistic characteristics.

Simon continues to use the rhythmic skill of Tao Ea Matsekha to fill out the drums and bass on this track. Chikapa "Ray" Phiri, leader of the popular South African band Stimela, plays lead guitar while the pedal steel guitar is played by Demola Adepoju, a musician from Nigeria who contributes to "a musical texture that is common to both American country music and West African music."⁷⁷ After recording these musicians in Johannesburg, Simon returned to America and recorded vocals with the Everly Brothers, the American vocal duo popular in the 1950s and 1960s. Though the Everly Brothers' music had little in common with the South African musical tradition, Simon selected musicians of varying backgrounds for a reason. By collaborating with such a wide range of talent, Simon "evokes a fluid network of associations that connects with the meaning of the text and the premise of the album as a whole."⁷⁸ Simon's focus on the community of mankind achieves greater clarity through the collaboration in "Graceland," but several other factors play equally vital roles in this track.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ James Bennighof, "Fluidity in Paul Simon's *Graceland*," *College Music Symposium* Vol. 33/34 (1993/1994): 231.

Again, Simon's lyrics prove to be a strong sign of his commitment to the philosophy of unity introduced in "The Boy in the Bubble." Simon's opening lines paint a picture of a journey to Graceland, the resting place and former home of Elvis Presley in Memphis, Tennessee. Perhaps the most obvious reference in the choice of Graceland as a geographical location in this song is the musical legacy of Elvis. From the very beginning of his career, Elvis was heavily influenced by the traditions of African-American blues music, even covering many songs of the genre. Though the black influence on Elvis was not always "explicitly demonstrated," it can certainly be argued that the influence is "profoundly audible."⁷⁹ By using musical riffs and by playing in particular styles, Elvis showed his debt to the black-blues influence.

Another artistic choice in "Graceland" is Simon's use of the particular geographic location of Graceland. Graceland is located in Memphis, which Simon's lyrics state is part of the "cradle of the civil war." This lyric is introduced in the opening verse to refer to the severe racial issues which were at the forefront of the Civil War. It is also important to note that in the 1960s, Memphis was a crucial city in the civil rights movement, especially because it was the site where Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. By the 1980s, the civil rights movement in America had helped improve race relations, but in South Africa, the apartheid still had an oppressive hold on black South Africans. Though the apartheid movement finally had been condemned through international sanctions, black South Africans were still being oppressed. Simon never mentions apartheid or civil rights in the title track, but the underlying themes and references are still present. Simon uses Graceland as a geographical symbol of hope and progress.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 232.

The opening verse of "Graceland" is followed by lyrics that take an introspective turn. The lyrics focus on the speaker's journey to Graceland with his young son, with a "reason to believe (they) both will be received" in Graceland. In the second verse, we learn of a damaged relationship between the singer and his son's mother. The lyrics tell the mother's idea that heartache is not a private pain because "losing love is like a window in your heart." From this moment, the speaker moves into a collective group of travelers, "poor boys and pilgrims with families" and "ghosts and empty sockets" with their own struggles, also traveling to Graceland hoping to find hope and revival. By the last verse, Simon takes a more hopeful perspective in his lyric, using an anecdote of a woman describing life as a "human trampoline," where we are all "falling, flying, or tumbling in turmoil," resulting in "bouncing into Graceland." This reaffirms the theme of revival in this song, and also clarifies that Graceland stands for more than the geographic location. *Graceland* is also an idealized existence of revival and hope after times of trouble and personal oppression. By grouping himself with these "ghosts and empty sockets," Simon puts his speaker in a faceless group of the downtrodden. Yet again, Simon reaches out to his theme - the unity of humankind - this time emphasizing that everyone has struggles, no matter his or her background. This relates to the obvious struggle of apartheid in South Africa. Race relations were a severe struggle for America for many decades, but finally African Americans found hope and a fresh start through their long journey on a road to freedom. This song provides a song of hope to South Africans that they too will find their own freedom by relating their struggle to the early struggles of America through the imagery of a journey to Graceland. The references and

allusions to race relations, oppression, and civil rights abound in this track. Simon's view of "Graceland" as a metaphor is a conscious decision.

South African influences continue in "I Know What I Know." Thanks again to the recordings provided by Hilton Rosenthal, Simon became acquainted with another *mbaqanga* group, General M.D. Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters. Simon was attracted to the band because of their "unusual style of guitar playing and the distinctive sound of the women's voices" and decided to use one of their tunes as the heart of this track.⁸⁰ The unique guitar sound is most prevalent during instrumental breaks. Thanks to the influence of *mbaqanga*'s predecessor *marabi*, the guitar improvises in the instrumental breaks, blurring the rhythmic and melodic patterns found within the stability of vocally dominant sections of the song. This strong jazz influence is a great part of *mbaqanga* music and is a key to the sound of General M.D. Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters.

Like most *mbaqanga* songs, "I Know What I Know" presents an important rhythmic theme in the bass line.

Example 9. Solo vocal line and bass in chorus

The musical notation for Example 9 shows the solo vocal line and bass line in the chorus of "I Know What I Know". The score is in 2/4 time and consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled "Solo Vocal" and the bottom staff is labeled "Bass". The lyrics are: "I Know What I Know I Sing What I Said".

The example shows the basic bass line which is elaborated through Simon's vocal chorus as well as the background vocals. Unlike "Graceland," the rhythmic theme in the bass line in "I Know What I Know" is presented from the beginning of the piece, and is

⁸⁰ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

repeated throughout the song. The continuous repetition of this thought through several instruments and vocals is a typical *mbaqanga* concept. General M.D. Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters perform in a style similar to that of Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens. Simon sings the main vocal line while the Gaza Sisters add background vocals that add harmony to the melodic line found in the bass. Though Simon does not provide a groaning quality to his voice typical of this later *mbaqanga* sub-genre, the interaction between his solo line and the Mahotella Queens is influenced by the call-and-response style of their particular brand of *mbaqanga*. "I Know What I Know" uses another *mbaqanga* idea through a typical AABB phrase structure with eight-measure phrases. To this structure, Simon adds lyrics that respect the original intent of the music, creating a very light, humorous story about the singer and a woman trading odd, yet flirtatious comments to one another.

The lyrics of "I Know What I Know" have no apparent political value. Yet, David Coplan argues that even simple texts like "I Know What I Know" can have strong political significance. In his book *In Township Tonight!*, Coplan argues that "songs whose words have little explicit political reference may communicate a sense of cultural pride and creative development vital to African identity formation and black political consciousness."⁸¹ Throughout the apartheid regime, creative efforts of black South Africans were censored or even halted by the government. It was out of this oppressive condition that *mbaqanga* was born. This style is the music of "the thousands of semiliterate domestic servants, industrial workers, and mine workers who retained rural

⁸¹ David Coplan, *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre* (New York: Longman, 1985), 195.

values."⁸² The white government was able to hinder the radio play of *mbaqanga* but they did not succeed in ending the musical tradition. The video presentation *Rhythms of Resistance: Black South African Music* shows examples of black South Africans performing music, defying government edicts by setting up secret venues and singing contests in Johannesburg.⁸³ Though the government tried to contain black creative efforts to Soweto, members of the black community found ways to express themselves, showing their strength and vitality. Groups like General M.D. Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters did not have controversial lyrics, but their success resulted in part from the efforts of rebellious musicians to reach a larger audience with *mbaqanga* music. General M.D. Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters' inclusion in the *Graceland* album is important because the group stays true to traditional black South African musical styles and concepts, revealing them to a mass audience.

Before listening to "Gumboots," Paul Simon knew very little about the music of South Africa. In 1985, a friend loaned Simon a cassette entitled *Accordion Jive Hits, Volume III*. It was thanks to that cassette that Simon "first fell in love with" *mbaqanga*, especially the song "Gumboots."⁸⁴ The track is performed by the Boyoyo Boys, a best-selling *mbaqanga* band from the 1970s whose music gained great popularity among black South Africans. The Boyoyo Boys disbanded in 1984 after the tragic death of their drummer Archie Mohlala, but Simon heard the tapes and encouraged a reunion of the

⁸² Coplan, "Popular Music in South Africa," 776.

⁸³ *Rhythms of Resistance: Black South African Music*, prod. by Jeremy Marre, dir. by Chris Austin and Jeremy Marre, 47 min., Shanachie Records, 1988, videocassette.

⁸⁴ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

group to join him in a new recording of the song.⁸⁵ Simon contacted Rosenthal for copies of music by other musicians because he was attracted to the music of the Boyoyo Boys, which reminded him of "very early rock and roll."⁸⁶ It is no surprise that Simon would include his initial introduction to South African music on this album. The song starts with the original Boyoyo Boys tune and adds saxophone solos that are similar to *mbaqanga* music.⁸⁷

Example 10. Saxophone duet in instrumental break of "Gumboots"

Saxophones

The image shows two staves of musical notation for saxophones. The first staff is in treble clef, key of D major (one sharp), and 2/4 time. It begins with a quarter rest, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The second staff is also in treble clef, key of D major, and 2/4 time. It begins with quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5, followed by a triplet of quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and a quarter note C5. The notation includes stems, beams, and a triplet bracket over the last three notes of the second staff.

The saxophone solos found in "Gumboots" owe much of their sound and style to the tradition of pennywhistle solos of *kwela* music. Saxophones replaced pennywhistles as popular South African music was recorded, but they maintained similar roles within songs. As *mbaqanga* groups like the Boyoyo Boys composed songs with slower tempos, the saxophone sound and rhythms became more conservative, but their roles remained the same. Like pennywhistle solos in *kwela*, saxophone solos in *mbaqanga* are found in instrumental breaks and provide players with a chance to improvise on melodic themes of the song. The solos not only extend themes, but also provide instrumentalists the chance

⁸⁵ Ewens, *Africa, O Ye!*, 197.

⁸⁶ Fricke, "African Odyssey," 78.

⁸⁷ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

to show their advanced skills. Simon continues to stay true to the *mbaqanga* tradition as seen in the following example.

Example 11. Accordion line from introduction and solo vocal from chorus of "Gumboots"

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is labeled 'Accordion' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Solo Vocal'. Both are in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The accordion line starts with a G chord, followed by a sequence of chords and notes: G4, A4, B4, A4-G4, F#4-G4, E4-F#4, D4-E4, C#4-D4, B3-C#4, A3-B3, G3-A3. The solo vocal line starts with a G4 note, followed by a sequence of notes: A4, B4, A4-G4, F#4-G4, E4-F#4, D4-E4, C#4-D4, B3-C#4, A3-B3, G3-A3. The lyrics are: 'You don't feel you could love me, but I feel you could'.

The accordion line presents the main theme in the song's introduction. Louise Meintjes states that in *mbaqanga* music, "instrumental lines are often translations of vocal lines and that the instrumental tracks are foregrounded in the music along with the vocal."⁸⁸ In this example, the accordion's theme is copied by the vocal line "you don't feel you could love me but I feel you could." Though the vocal line is not an exact replication of the accordion line, the basic descending motif is used to develop this important *mbaqanga* stylistic characteristic. Simon also uses the original musical rhythm of "Gumboots" which is a great example of *mbaqanga* style. The song provides a strong 2/4 rhythm while syncopated accents stress the offbeat, two important qualities to *mbaqanga* songs.⁸⁹

"Gumboots" maintains musical elements true to *mbaqanga* music, but it also keeps South African ideas in its lyrics. As with the lyrics found in the previous track, those of "Gumboots" have little lyrical depth. Simon continues to respect South African traditions, which are similar to his own style, by writing a simple song about three

⁸⁸ Louise Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning," *Ethnomusicology* 34/1 (Winter 1990): 44.

⁸⁹ Coplan, "Popular Music of South Africa," 775.

abstract events which end with the chorus "you don't feel you could love me, but I feel you could." There is no deeper truth to be learned from Simon's lyric. In essence, "Gumboots" is a light tune, a song to which one can sing and dance. "Gumboots" continues the goals of "I Know What I Know," staying true to South African style. Even in lighter tracks like "Gumboots," the album is developing a social statement, for Simon's respect for *mbaqanga* music presents and recognizes the ideas and talents of black South Africans in mutual respect to those of American rock-and-roll.

"Diamonds on the Soles of Her Shoes" is the first track on the *Graceland* album that was recorded entirely in the United States, but Simon continued his commitment to use South African musicians. Simon invited Ladysmith Black Mambazo and the Soweto Rhythm Section to New York to appear on "Saturday Night Live," and a week later they recorded "Diamonds."⁹⁰ The song begins with Ladysmith Black Mambazo, singing without any accompaniment, typical of the *mbube* style. As the introduction continues, Simon joins Ladysmith, creating a call-and-response pattern between the solo vocal part and the chorus. Ladysmith does provide its own *isicathamiya* characteristics, including its soft, smooth tone, which blends perfectly with Simon's traditionally smooth vocal stylings.

As the introduction ends, the Soweto Rhythm Section begins the second section of the song, not only changing the key from E Major to F Major, but also changing styles from *mbube* to *mbaqanga*. Because *mbaqanga* was developed from various traditions, including unique elements of *mbube* like the call-and-response pattern and the use of triadic harmonies, the transition is quite smooth. The rhythm section includes "Ray"

⁹⁰ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

Phiri on guitar, with Isaac Mtshali on drums and Baghiti Khumalo on bass. On "Diamonds," the integral relationship between vocal and instrumental lines in *mbaqanga* music is fully developed. Khumalo's bass line is a fine example of the cohesion of vocal and instrumental lines. Throughout the song, Khumalo's bass line imitates the vocal introduction of Ladysmith Black Mambazo as well as their background vocals throughout the song. By the song's end, the background vocal and bass line join forces on the phrase "Ta-na-na-na."

Example 12. Vocals and Bass at end of "Diamonds on the Soles of Her Shoes"

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Vocals and Bass. Both staves are in bass clef, one flat key signature, and common time. The Vocals staff has two phrases of "Ta na na na na" with chords above. The Bass staff has a rhythmic line that mirrors the vocal phrasing.

When the vocals begin singing "Ta-na-na-na," the bass provides a grounded line for the tight harmonies. But as the vocals continue, Khumalo improvises on the bass line, exploring the many rhythmic ideas of the song. The complexity echoes Simon's singing, which is full of "irregular vocal phrasing" that is "a distinctive African feature."⁹¹ This ability to improvise is a strong component of *mbaqanga* and is directly descendent from *marabi* style. Though the main melodic theme is still present, the flexibility of the style allows for variance in the vocal line. The song adds further rhythmic variety through the percussion of Senegal native Youssou N'dour. By the 1980s, Youssou had "attracted a cult following in Europe and fanatical enthusiasm in other West African states" for his

⁹¹ Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*," 47.

mbalax music, which used drums to create pieces that were conversational in nature.⁹²

Youssou's addition to the album creates a collaboration of rhythmic themes and ideas that continues Simon's goals of showing the similarities of numerous musical styles.

The light-hearted nature of the previous two tracks is continued in "You Can Call Me Al." The single had great success with the American public, thanks in part to the music video starring Chevy Chase. There is little meaning to gain from the lyrical content of the song, but what little can be attained suggests the album's theme of the unity of humankind. One verse describes a "foreign man" finding himself in strange surroundings with no money and no knowledge of the land's language. Simon paints a picture of loneliness, but the man seems to find comfort in his foreign situation, seeing "angels in the architecture." Even in a strange land, there seems to be a sense of comfort thanks to higher powers watching over humankind. Simon continues to relate themes that connect the album as a whole. "You Can Call Me Al" is a lyric that still holds true to the overall themes of the *Graceland* album.

The South African musical influences on "You Can Call Me Al" are not apparent from the beginning as is the case with the preceding songs. Though the song begins with a "kind of South African funk/dance groove," "You Can Call Me Al" does not present clear influences until the bridge.⁹³ The bridge provides the album's strongest reference to the *kwela* music tradition through a pennywhistle solo, played by exiled white South African Jy Morr Goldberg.

⁹² Ewens, *Africa, O Ye!*, 72.

⁹³ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

Example 13. First six measures of pennywhistle solo from “You Can Call Me Al”



The solo is not as rough or raw as pennywhistle solos from the 1950s, thanks to studio editing, but it provides a clear example of *kwela*. As the solo progresses, Goldberg begins to improvise, using more complex rhythms to enhance the original melodic theme. There are also references to the Zulu choral *mbube* style with "the call and response pattern in the bass line, and the presence of traditional 'vocal' effects, such as glides."⁹⁴ Once again, Simon combines various African musical traditions to create a song with South African influences. Even though the song has been through editing and production in the studio, the African references are still fresh and respectful to the rich heritage. Also, Simon's use of white and black South African musicians on the song continues his aim for unity and freedom on his album.

"Under African Skies" continues to provide South African musical influence. The song utilizes what "Hilton Rosenthal describes as a Zulu walking rhythm" with strong, definitive beats from the rhythm section.⁹⁵ This walking rhythm is aided by the repetitive guitar line, which repeats the same four-measure riff throughout the instrumental breaks and the verses. Meanwhile, Baghiti Khumalo continues to use slides in his bass line, making reference to the *mbube* choral style. Also, his bass line has motifs repeated later on in the "ta-mmh-ba-mhh-ba-mmh-ba-oooh" section of the vocal part. Simon continues a

⁹⁴ Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*," 44.

⁹⁵ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

conversational element in his lyrics, but for the most part, his vocal harmonies with Linda Ronstadt maintain a sound much like American pop music, focusing on the triads and sixths that were later adopted by *mbaqanga* groups like the Soul Brothers.

The decision to use Ronstadt on the album created a great amount of controversy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ronstadt had been placed on the United Nations boycott list for playing a concert at Sun City, and including her on the album was described by one journalist as "using gasoline to put out birthday candles."⁹⁶ Though she had never supported the apartheid, Ronstadt's disregard of the U.N. boycott had created anger from some groups. Ronstadt's musical contribution on the song is great, providing wonderfully shaped harmonies with Simon. Simon's statements regarding the development of *Graceland* seem to show his desire to avoid political conflict, but using Ronstadt showed Simon's lack of respect for the UN's decision. Simon had to have known Ronstadt was on the boycott list and that her inclusion on the album would be met with intense controversy. Simon uses Ronstadt to improve the musical aesthetic of the album, but as a result, left many critics to question his sensitivity towards black South Africans and their struggle to abolish apartheid.

"Under African Skies" provides more serious lyrics than did the previous three tracks. The main lyrical concept is "the roots of rhythm remain." Simon sings of a man walking "his days under African skies," following the path "marked by the stars of the Southern Hemisphere." Through his lyrics, Simon urges the listener to look to Africa, where the foundations and roots of music and humanity are still alive. This not only bestows a mystical quality to Africa, but also gives validity to a society that many

⁹⁶ Nelson George, "Beauty of *Graceland* Transcends Politics," *Billboard* 23 May 1987, 24.

considered primitive. Ray Phiri, guitarist on the song, argues that the lyrics "take this child . . . give her wings to fly through harmony" are a statement linked to the apartheid of South Africa.⁹⁷ Certainly this speaks to the argument that Simon's song talks of the validity of the culture and heritage of black South Africans and of their need for freedom and cultivation. "Under African Skies" is a preview for the greatest statement on the album: "Homeless."

Ladysmith Black Mambazo was already featured in "Diamonds on the Soles of Her Shoes," but by including "Homeless," Simon allows Ladysmith to display their talents through one of their original songs. The melody is taken from a traditional Zulu wedding song, with new lyrics telling "of people living in caves on the side of the mountain, cold and hungry, their fists used as pillows."⁹⁸ Simon adds very little to the original song, and in fact, appears on less than a fourth of "Homeless." In actuality, "Homeless" is a showcase for Ladysmith and their *isicathamiya* singing style.

The lyrical content of "Homeless" can be considered the most anti-apartheid statement of the album. Like most *isicathamiya* songs, "Homeless" makes no direct references to the apartheid, but the theme of homelessness makes reference to the forced movement of black South Africans to government homelands. The theme of homelessness was strong in the *isicathamiya* singing style, as performers lamented the loss of their homes. The "too loo loo" section is similar to sections found in Zulu wedding songs, where "thululu" was used to imply the beating of the heart. This section provides Ladysmith the opportunity to use their "unique softer, smoother, and more

⁹⁷ David Fricke, "Paul Simon's Amazing *Graceland* Tour," *Rolling Stone* 23 October 1986, 48.

⁹⁸ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

'refined' *isicathamiya* style" while continuing a deep connection to musical traditions of South Africa.⁹⁹ This leads to one of the only sections of the song that includes Paul Simon.

Example 14. Simon and Ladysmith vocal parts in "Homeless"

Solo Vocal

Some-bod-y say

some-bod-y sing, hel-lo, hel-lo, hel-lo,

Vocals

(ih - hih-ih - hih - ih)

hel-lo, hel-lo, hel-lo.

— Some-bod-y say

Some-bod-y cry why, why, why?

—

(ih - hih-ih hih - ih)

why, why, why?

Simon makes his first appearance over two minutes into the song, presenting the new musical section beginning with "Somebody say." This completes the "Homeless" section and moves the song towards the ending. In this example, the call-and-response pattern that is crucial to the South African choral style is present. Ladysmith continues its traditional use of narrative lyrics, singing of the homelessness felt by black South Africans taken from their homelands. The song ends with the lyrics:

Kuluman
Kulumani, Kulumani sizwe
Singenze njani
Baya jabula abasi thanda yo
Ho

⁹⁹ Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*," 46.

Translation: We would like to announce to the entire nation that we are the best at singing in this style.

These bragging lyrics are typical of the *isicathamiya* tradition, as bands looked "to accumulate prestige and build up their names."¹⁰⁰ The practice began in the secret singing contests popular during the apartheid regime. "Homeless" is the most African song on the album, relying very little on the rock-and-roll elements of Simon's style.

The last song with South African influence on *Graceland* is "Crazy Love, Vol. II." Ray Phiri continues to play lead guitar, but is now joined by his musical group Stimela, which had achieved great success on the South African pop charts. Stimela is best known as a *mbaqanga* group, but their playing on "Crazy Love, Vol. II" is more "like the music of Malawi and Zimbabwe - more gentle and syncopated than the hard 4/4 rhythms of Soweto."¹⁰¹ Yet, the song still has elements that are typical of *mbaqanga*. A guitar solo begins the song in an ambiguous rhythm similar to solos in early *mbaqanga* songs. The guitar parts also play repetitive riffs throughout verses. Added to these elements are soprano saxophone solos by Jy Morris Goldberg within instrumental breaks, and later verses, that mimic the light texture of pennywhistle solos in *kwela*. The lightness of the soprano saxophone solos is copied by Simon as he improvises vocally on the melody towards the end of the song. Again, we see the interplay between vocal and instrumental parts which is vital to the *mbaqanga* style. The instrumentation gives the song a light-hearted feel, allowing the main lyrics "I don't want no part of this crazy love" to provide a joking perspective. Like "Gumboots" and "I Know What I Know," "Crazy

¹⁰⁰ Erlmann, *Nightsong*, 207.

¹⁰¹ Simon, Liner Notes, 1.

Love" is a song with lyrics that should not be taken seriously, and it has solid groundings in South African traditions.

The last two tracks of *Graceland* do not look to South Africa for influence. Simon searched "for a musical connection from home" in these two songs, focusing on the accordion and saxophone in uniting musical elements from South Africa and America.¹⁰² The results are "That Was Your Mother," a song recorded with the Zydeco band Good Rockin' Dopsie and the Twisters and "All Around the World or The Myth of Fingerprints," recorded with Los Lobos. Simon traveled to Louisiana to record with Good Rockin' Dopsie, taking their tune "Josephine" and adding his own lyrics. The use of accordion and saxophone in Zydeco music attracted Simon to this collaboration. He then traveled to Los Angeles to record "All Around the World" with Los Lobos, again focusing on the accordion and saxophone. Simon thought it was important to relate the South African style from the album to American genres with similar elements. Simon's theme of unity of humankind is strengthened by his commitment to finding commonality in various genres. By using the artists like Good Rockin' Dopsie and the Twisters and Los Lobos, who were well established within their respective genres, Simon was able to create genuine music that respected the musical traditions of America, just as he had created with South African music.

These last two tracks help to secure Simon's social statement in *Graceland*. After hearing the first tapes from Hilton Rosenthal, Simon expressed his interest in South African music because of its strong ties to American rock-and-roll. But as he recorded

¹⁰² Ibid.

Graceland, Simon said he "didn't want it to be just an African album."¹⁰³ In his interview with David Fricke shortly after the album was released, Simon expressed his desire for the American public to listen to the African music on the album as something that "actually relates to our world."¹⁰⁴ *Graceland* not only combines the strong musical influence of South African music with Simon's own style, but it also includes various American popular styles through Simon's collaborations with the Everly Brothers, Linda Ronstadt, Good Rockin' Dopsie and the Twisters, and Los Lobos. Simon uses his lyrics to suggest that this musical collaboration represents the commonality between two different cultures. The result is an album that makes a strong social statement.

¹⁰³ Fricke, "African Odyssey," 78.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

Responses and Conclusion

Simon's album was released as the United States was becoming more aware of South Africa's racial conflicts. Thanks to the United Nations boycotts and the Anti-Apartheid Bill of 1985, Americans were becoming more aware of apartheid in South Africa. Americans became more curious about South Africa, and *Graceland* provided an accessible look into black South African culture. Though the music of *mbaqanga* "was exotic for most Americans, the album quickly sold a million copies, then two million."¹⁰⁵ The strength of the musicianship on the album helped Simon regain the popularity he had lost since the late 1970s. Publications like *Rolling Stone* and *The Village Voice* were quick to praise *Graceland* and label it one of the year's best albums. The success of the album did not just end in the United States. Soon after its release, the album had reached Number One on the South African charts, "making it the biggest-selling international release there since Michael Jackson's *Thriller*."¹⁰⁶ Simon once again was becoming a top seller in America, but also he was gaining a strong international audience.

Simon's collaboration helped to present unfamiliar musical concepts to an audience that had little knowledge of South African music. Veit Erlmann suggests that "the internationalization of South African music was to materialize only in 1986 with the

¹⁰⁵ Hamm, *Afro-American Music*, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Fricke, "Paul Simon's Amazing *Graceland* Tour," 44.

release of *Graceland*.¹⁰⁷ Though Simon and other popular artists had included foreign influences in their past music, *Graceland* seemed to have an amazingly strong impact on the popular music industry. In its list of the Top Ten albums of 1986, *The Village Voice* included "an obscure compilation of township jive, *The Indestructible Beat of Soweto*."¹⁰⁸ Journalist Arthur Goldstuck reported that the popularity of *Graceland* led record companies to "mine their catalogs for product that [would] feed into their ethnic trend."¹⁰⁹ Simon's album did more than present an unfamiliar genre of music to an international audience. Observing viewing trends after the album's release, Nelson George argued that *Graceland* seemed to "suggest a possible future direction for international pop music."¹¹⁰ Though Simon cannot take full credit for increased interest in international music, *Graceland* certainly had a major impact in introducing Americans to new styles and ideas in popular music.

Graceland helped to encourage international audiences to be open to new genres, but the album also aided the acceptance of black musicians in South Africa. The album sold 150,000 copies in South Africa, making it one of the best-selling popular international releases in the country's history.¹¹¹ Sales of the album were helped by its radio play on SABC stations. Casting the album as Simon's attempt at constructive engagement, the South African government encouraged its radio play to defend their

¹⁰⁷ Erlmann, *Nightsong*, 307.

¹⁰⁸ Nicolas Jennings, "Tapping Pop Music's African Roots," *MacLean's*, 4 May 1987, 52.

¹⁰⁹ Arthur Goldstuck, "Political Storm Swirls 'Round Paul Simon's South Africa Tour," *Billboard*, 18 January 1992, 26.

¹¹⁰ George, review of *Graceland*, 70.

¹¹¹ Goldstuck, "Political Storm," 26.

claims "that the country had not been isolated from the international community and that racial cooperation exists despite apartheid."¹¹² Not sensing the political implications of the album, the government's encouragement of *Graceland* led to the sudden success of black South African music. Before *Graceland*, South African music was not as accessible to Western listeners as music from West Africa.¹¹³ Not only was the music of South Africa introduced to an international audience, but its music gained credibility with the apartheid regime. Soon after *Graceland's* release, "Ladysmith Black Mambazo became the first South African black group to receive airplay on white radio with a song in an ethnic language."¹¹⁴ After years of prejudice and censorship, black South African music finally gained the attention of the apartheid regime.

The release of *Graceland* did not come without controversy. Simon's decision to ignore the United Nations cultural boycott and record with South African musicians forced him to face endless scrutiny. Many believed that Simon "profited from the music of black South Africans" by reviving his career as "he immersed himself in their culture only to emerge with typically insular Paul Simon lyrics."¹¹⁵ Simon's personal style was still distinct on *Graceland*, leading some in the anti-apartheid movement to argue that the album was "the exploitation of the talents of the African musicians for the furtherance of Simon's own aims."¹¹⁶ Criticism has also been strong from South African music scholars. Charles Hamm has been an outspoken opponent of *Graceland*, arguing that the

¹¹² Rob Tannenbaum, "UN Group Attacks Paul Simon," *Rolling Stone*, 12 February 1987, 104.

¹¹³ Goldstuck, "Political Storm," 26.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Tony Schermann, "Works and Music by Paul Simon," *Life*, November 1993, 90.

¹¹⁶ Fricke, "Paul Simon's Amazing *Graceland* Tour," 44.

album was used by South African musicians who sought to "enhance their own careers as entertainers" rather than using the opportunity to perform music "for the direct benefit of the liberation movement."¹¹⁷ Because of the financial gains Simon achieved thanks to the album's success, the argument that he exploited South African musicians had many supporters.

The criticism of Simon's *Graceland* has also gained strength due to the apartheid regime's acceptance and support of the album. *Graceland* secured the traditions of black South African music, helping the white government to legitimize their Separate Development policies.¹¹⁸ The government used these black musicians to defend the concepts of racial separation and the strengthening of the townships. Soon, the government made Ladysmith Black Mambazo cultural ambassadors because their music included "references to indigenous folk traditions."¹¹⁹ The eagerness of the South African government to embrace *Graceland* hindered Simon's ability to receive moral acceptance from the international audience.

The United Nations took swift action against Simon for his decision to visit Johannesburg to record *Graceland*. UN ambassador James Victor Gbeho suggested that Simon would "be 'used' by the white government" while visiting South Africa, and that by recording in Johannesburg, he was "'taking a position against us, against the United Nations, against the international community."¹²⁰ The United Nations found that Simon's travel to South Africa without permission was an attempt to make contact with the

¹¹⁷ Hamm, "Graceland Revisited," 304.

¹¹⁸ Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*," 51.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 54.

¹²⁰ Tannenbaum, "UN Group Attacks Paul Simon," 11.

apartheid regime. Simon's decision to visit Johannesburg without declaring his distaste for apartheid was seen as indifference to an important social issue. The United Nations encouraged international audiences to boycott Simon and his album until he submitted a letter asking for forgiveness for his deliberate defiance of the cultural boycott. Simon had twice turned down offers to play at Sun City, usually the venue which led American artists to be boycotted. Yet, Simon was boycotted for his visit until he wrote a carefully worded letter to the special committee, accompanied by letters of support from various black artists and political leaders.¹²¹ Simon convinced the United Nations to erase him from their boycott list, but the criticism of his album continued. Michael Maran argues that "Simon's mistake was the diplomatic oversight of not bringing the right people on board as partners in his venture."¹²² Simon had never desired his album to become a political statement, so he avoided any dealing with the American or South African governments that could detract from his artistic efforts. Yet, Maran's argument has validity, because Simon's lack of collaboration with political leaders gave fuel to the fire. Although Simon had consulted various American black artists like Harry Belafonte and Quincy Jones, his avoidance of the United Nations led to a huge controversy. Simon's work in South Africa was sure to face criticism, but his clumsy handling of the delicate apartheid issue led to increased scrutiny.

Even as political opposition grew, the white government of South Africa continued to be supportive of *Graceland*, defending the album as a symbol of "how silly

¹²¹ Arthur Goldstuck, "Sounds of Simon in South Africa Compete with Media Din," *Billboard* 25 January 1992, 10.

¹²² Michael Maran, "The Songs of Paul Simon," in *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 168.

cultural sanctions are."¹²³ Certainly, the government saw *Graceland* as a strong tool in its attempts to solidify the Separate Development politics, but while it supported the album for its own purposes, its plan backfired. By giving airplay to *Graceland*, the white government supported "the fusion of White popular music with indigenous Black popular music," leading to the "breaking down of social barriers."¹²⁴ For years, whites and blacks of South Africa had been separated, but the government's changing policies on black South African music encouraged the development of black culture and helped black South Africans to gain a voice in a country where they had been held silent for decades.

The strong impact of South African music grew in the 1980s. Neo Maumzana of the African National Congress saw popular music as a force "strengthening the people in their resistance."¹²⁵ *Graceland* enabled black South Africans to reach an audience outside of their townships. Ray Phiri, guitarist on *Graceland*, labeled the album as "the best thing that ever happened" because Simon enabled musicians to let "the world know that [South Africans] also have something to say" through their music.¹²⁶ The Pan-Africanist Congress echoed Phiri's sentiments, calling *Graceland* an agent in "helping the oppressed people in South Africa by expressing their culture to an international audience."¹²⁷ Though Simon had received heavy criticism, he gained a great deal of

¹²³ Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*," 57.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹²⁵ Christgau, "South African Romance," 185.

¹²⁶ Mxolisi Mgxashe, "A Conversation with Ray Phiri," in *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 169.

¹²⁷ Tannenbaum, "UN Group Attacks Paul Simon," 11.

support from South African musicians and politicians who saw his collaboration as a help in the international discovery of black South African culture.

Throughout the turbulent release of *Graceland*, Paul Simon was very public about his intentions for his album. Simon has continually argued that he had no intentions of making a political statement against apartheid. Simon received so much criticism that he asked "was I supposed to solve things in a song?"¹²⁸ Many saw *Graceland* as a lost opportunity for Simon to speak out against the apartheid regime. Simon's aim had always been to explore the rich musical heritage of South Africa, not to enlighten the world concerning the atrocities of apartheid. Simon expressed his apprehension in the source of the music by saying: "too bad it's not from Zimbabwe, Zaire, or Nigeria. Life would have been more simple."¹²⁹ Certainly Simon was well aware of the political controversy that would surround him, but his passion for South African music led him to make it an integral part of his album. Though the dialogue resulting from *Graceland* was polarizing, the album helped the international community come to a better understanding of the black South African community and their struggles during the apartheid.

Even though Simon did not speak out against apartheid on *Graceland*, the album's music was politically controversial. As Jacques Attali had written, music can be a battlefield. Simon said that people "fight the battle all different ways. Some people have to hit you over the head. Some have to come out and sing beautiful songs. It all contributes to the same thing."¹³⁰ By focusing on the musical integrity of *Graceland*,

¹²⁸ Scherman, "Words and Music by Paul Simon," 92.

¹²⁹ Christgau, "South African Romance," 182.

¹³⁰ Fricke, "Paul Simon's Amazing *Graceland* Tour," 46.

Simon created a strong artistic piece that showed the vitality of South African musical traditions. Timothy White argues that "*Graceland* played a greatly significant role in removing the standoffish dread Western culture harbored toward South Africa during its internal struggle against apartheid, humanizing both a country's soul-searching hunger for liberation and its simultaneous outpouring of cathartic creative expression."¹³¹ By staying true to the traditions of black South African music, Simon showed respect for a mistreated people and helped an international audience to glimpse a culture that had been censored and oppressed for decades. *Graceland* allowed South African music to reach an international audience, sharing the strength and growth of a culture despite apartheid. The validity *Graceland* gave to black South Africans strengthened them in the movement to end apartheid in South Africa.

It was Simon's strong social statement in *Graceland* that led to the album becoming a political statement. *Graceland* was never intended to be a political statement, but because of the circumstances surrounding the album, it was perceived by most as a controversial album. Though these perceptions vary in range, it is clear that Simon's intentions were never to make an artistic statement on apartheid in South Africa. By giving such a strong respect to black South African music, Simon gave support and recognition to a musical culture that had been mostly hidden thanks to the censorship of the South African government. The album did not end apartheid in South Africa, but *Graceland* aided the Western world to learn more about an oppressed nation through music.

¹³¹ Timothy White, "Laser in the Jungle: The Conception and Maturity of a Musical Masterpiece," in Liner Notes from *Graceland (Enhanced Version)*, Paul Simon, Warner Bros. Records 9 46430-2, 1986, 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, Jennifer. "The Apostle of Angst." *Esquire* 107, no. 6, June 1987, 210-222.
- Anderson, Muff. *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African Popular Music*. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1981.
- Anzovin, Steven, ed. *South Africa: Apartheid and Divestiture*. New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1987.
- Attali, Jacques. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1985.
- Baker, Glenn A. "Paul Simon Reflects on the *Graceland* Experience." *Billboard*, 11 July 1987, 60-61.
- Baker, Pauline. *The United States and South Africa: The Reagan Years*. New York: Ford Foundation, 1989.
- Beinart, William and Saul Dubow, eds. *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Bender, Wolfgang. *Sweet Mother: Modern African Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Bennett, Tony, Simon Frith, Lawrence Grossberg, John Sheperd, and Graene Turner, eds. *Rock & Popular Music*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Bennighof, James. "Fluidity in Paul Simon's *Graceland*." *College Music Symposium* 33-34 (1993/1994): 212-236.
- Blacking, John. *How Musical is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974.
- Blumenfeld, Jesmond, ed. *South Africa in Crisis*. New York: Croom Helm, 1987.
- Brewer, John, ed. *Can South Africa Survive?: Five Minutes to Midnight*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.
- Burdowitz, Hank. "Simon Says 'Jive!'" *High Fidelity*, December 1986, 88.

- Campschruer, Willem and Joost Divendal, eds. *Culture in Another South Africa*. New York: Olive Branch Press, 1989.
- Chernoff, John Miller. *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Christgau, Robert. "South African Romance." In *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig. New York: Schirmer, 1997.
- Cocks, Jay. "Singing to the Rhythm of Dreams." *Time* 130, no. 6, 10 August 1987, 37.
- _____. "Tall Gumboots at Graceland." *Time* 128, no. 11, 15 September 1986, 84.
- Coker, Christopher. *The United States and South Africa, 1968-1985: Constructive Engagement and its Critics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1986.
- Contreras, Joseph. "Caught in the Cross-Fire." *Newsweek*, 20 January 1992, 58-59.
- Cooper, Nancy, Ray Wilkinson, and Spencer Reiss. "Graceland in Africa." *Newsweek*. (23 February 1987), 45.
- Coplan, David. *In Township Tonight!: South African's Black City Music and Theatre*. New York: Longman, 1985.
- _____. "Popular Music in South Africa." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Vol. 1: Africa*, ed. Ruth M. Stone, 759-780. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.
- Crawford, Robert. *Journey into Apartheid*. London: Epworth Press, 1989.
- Davenport, Rodney, and Christopher Saunders. *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th ed. New York: St Martin's Press Inc., 2000.
- Davis, Stephen. *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Denisoff, R. Serge. *Great Day Coming; Folk Music and the American Left*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- _____. *Sing a Song of Social Significance*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972.
- Dougherty, Steve. "Graceland in South Africa." *People*, 6 October 1986, 42-43.

- Eades, Lindsay Michie. *The End of Apartheid in South Africa*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Ebron, Paula A. *Performing Africa*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Erlmann, Veit. "Black Political Song in South Africa - Some Research Perspectives." In *Popular Music Perspectives 2*, ed. David Horn. Ottawa, Canada: The International Association for the Study of Popular Music, 1985.
- _____. *Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Ewens, Graeme. *Africa O-Ye!: A Celebration of African Music*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1991.
- Feld, Steven and Charles Keil. *Music Grooves*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Frankel, Philip, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling, eds. *State, Resistance, and Change in South Africa*. New York: Croom Helm, 1988.
- Fricke, David. "African Odyssey." *Rolling Stone*, 23 October 1986, 77-80.
- _____. "Paul Simon's Amazing *Graceland* Tour." *Rolling Stone*, 2 July 1987, 43-48, 59.
- Fuster, Francis. "Graceland's Heartbeat." In *Breakout: Profiles in African Rhythms*, ed. Gary Stewart. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Gann, Lewis. *Hope for South Africa?* Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991.
- George, Nelson. "Beauty of *Graceland* Transcends Politics." *Billboard*, 23 May 1987, 24-25.
- _____. Review of *Graceland*, by Paul Simon. *Billboard*, 13 September 1986, 70.
- _____. "U.N. Removes Simon from Boycott List." *Billboard*, 14 February 1987, 3.
- Gerstin, Julian. "Reputation in a Musical Scene: The Everyday Context of Connections Between Music, Identity, and Politics." *Ethnomusicology* 42/3 (Autumn 1998): 385-414.

- Glass, Philip. "Graceland and Beyond." In Liner Notes from *Paul Simon: 1964-1993*. Paul Simon. Warner Bros. Records 9 45394-2, 1993. CD.
- Gleeson, Mark. "Simon Recording with Soweto Bands." *Variety*, 13 March 1985, 109.
- Goldstuck, Arthur. "Political Storm Swirls 'Round Paul Simon's South Africa Tour." *Billboard*, 18 January 1992, 1, 26.
- _____. "Sounds of Simon in South Africa Compete with Media Din." *Billboard*, 25 January 1992, 10.
- Graham, Ronnie. *The Da Capo Guide to Contemporary African Music*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1988.
- Hamm, Charles. *Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid*. New York: Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1988.
- _____. "Changing Patterns in Society and Music: The U.S. Since World War II." In *Contemporary Music and Music Cultures*, ed. Charles Hamm, Bruno Nettl, and Ronald Byrnside. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1975.
- _____. "Graceland Revisited." *Popular Music* 8/3 (Oct. 1989): 299-304.
- _____. "Home Cooking and American Soul in Black South African Popular Music." In *Putting Popular Music in its Place*, ed. Charles Hamm. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- _____. "Privileging the Moment of Reception: Music and Radio in South Africa." In *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- _____. "Rock 'n' Roll in a Very Strange Society." *Popular Music* 5 (1985): 159-174.
- _____. "'The Constant Companion of Man: Separate Development, Radio Bantu, and Music.'" In *Putting Popular Music in its Place*, ed. Charles Hamm. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Henze, Hans Werner. *Music and Politics: Collected Writings 1953-81*. Translated by Peter Labany. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Howlett, Kevin. "The Early Years." In Liner Notes from *Paul Simon: 1964-1993*. Paul Simon. Warner Bros. Records 9 45394-2, 1993. CD.

- James, Deborah. *Songs of the Women Migrants: Performance and Identity in South Africa*. London: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- James, Wilmot, ed. *The State of Apartheid*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987.
- Jennings, Nicolas. "For the Record." *Maclean's*, 29 September 1986, 6.
- _____. "Pumping Out the New Sound of Rock." *Maclean's*, 10 August 1987, 50.
- _____. "Tapping Pop Music's African Roots." *Maclean's*, 4 May 1987, 52.
- Johnson, Shaun, ed. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Kline, Benjamin. *Profit, Principle and Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Conflict of Economic and Moral Issues in the United States-South African Relations*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.
- Ladysmith Black Mambazo. *Live at the Royal Albert Hall: Ladysmith Black Mambazo*. Produced by Mayfair Productions. 75 min. Shanachie Records, 1999. Videocassette.
- Ladysmith Black Mambazo. *Shaka Zulu*. Warner Bros. Records 9 25582-2, 1987. CD.
- Leach, Graham. *South Africa: No Easy Path to Peace*. Boston: Routledge, 1986.
- Lipton, Merle. *Capitalism and Apartheid, South Africa, 1910-84*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1985.
- Lowenberg, Anton D. and William H. Kaempfer. *The Origins and Demise of South African Apartheid*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: the Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994.
- _____. *One Nation, One Country*. New York: Phelps-Stokes Institute for African, Africa-American and American Indian Affairs, 1990.
- Manuel, Peter. *Popular Music of the Non-Western World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Marre, Jeremy and Hannah Charlton. *Beats of the Heart: Popular Music in the World*. London: Pluto Press, 1985.

- Maran, Michael. "The Sins of Paul Simon." In *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig. New York: Schirmer, 1997.
- Massie, Robert. *Loosing the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years*. New York: Doubleday, 1997.
- Matthew-Walker, Robert. *Simon and Garfunkel*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1984.
- Meintjes, Louise. "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning." *Ethnomusicology* 34/1 (Winter 1990): 37-73.
- _____. *Sound of Africa: Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Meredith, Martin. *In the Name of Apartheid: South African in the Postwar Period*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Mgxashe, Mxolisi. "A Conversation with Ray Phiri." In *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig. New York: Schirmer, 1997.
- Miller, Jim. "Simon's Spirit of Soweto." *Newsweek*, 17 November 1986, 84.
- Moorsom, Richard. *The Scope for Sanctions: Economic Measures Against South Africa*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1986.
- Motlhabi, Mokgethi. *Challenge to Apartheid: Toward a Morally Defensible Strategy*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988.
- Ndebele, Njabulo. *South African Literature and Culture: Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. Manchester, N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Novicki, Margaret A. and Ameen Akhalwaya. "An Interview with Hugh Masekala." In *The Paul Simon Companion*, ed. Stacey Luftig. New York: Schirmer, 1997.
- Nuttall, Sarah and Cheryl-Ann Michael, eds. *Senses of Culture: South African Cultural Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Offei-Ansah, Jon. "Graceland: Cultural Harmony." *West Africa*, 22/29 December 1986, 2677-2678.
- Orman, John. *The Politics of Rock Music*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1984.
- Ottaway, David B. "Black South Africans Split on Visit by Paul Simon." *The Washington Post*, 7 January 1992, 9(A).

- _____. "Paul Simon Concert Held in South Africa." *The Washington Post*, 12 January 1992, 22(A).
- _____. "Uncertain Welcome in South Africa." *The Washington Post*, 5 February 1992, 2(B).
- Ottaway, Marina. *South Africa: The Struggle for a New Order*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993.
- Perone, James E. *Paul Simon: a Bio-bibliography*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Phelen, Josh. *Apartheid Media: Disinformation and Dissent in South Africa*. Westport, Conn.: L. Hill, 1987.
- Pielke, Robert G. *You Say You Want a Revolution*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1986.
- Pollard III, Alton B. "Rhythms of Resistance: The Role of Freedom Song in South Africa." In *This is How We Flow: Rhythm in Black Culture*, ed. Angela M.S. Nelson. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
- Rhythms of Resistance: Black South African Music*. Produced by Jeremy Marre. Directed by Chris Austin and Jeremy Marre. 47 min. Shanachie Records, 1988. Videocassette.
- Rodnitzky, Jerome. "Popular Music as Politics and Protest." In *America's Musical Pulse*, ed. Kenneth J. Bindas. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992.
- Rough Guide to the Music of South Africa*. World Music Network RGNET 1020, 1997. CD.
- Sanoff, Alvin P. "A Songwriter's South African Odyssey." *U.S. News & World Report*, 2 March 1987, 74.
- Santoro, Gene. "Record Review: Paul Simon." *Downbeat*, December 1986, 32-33.
- Scherman, Tony. "Words and Music by Paul Simon." *Life*, November 1993, 87-94.
- The Seven Ages of Music: The Magic of African Music*. Produced by Claudia Schadeberg. Directed by Jurgen Schadeberg. 52 min. Films for the Humanities Inc., 1994. Videocassette.
- Sher, Steven Paul, ed. *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- Shuker, Roy. *Understanding Popular Music*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Simels, Steve. "Paul Simon's Magnificent 'Graceland.'" *Stereo Review*, December 1986, 110-112.
- Simon, Paul. *Paul Simon: 1964-1993*. Warner Bros. Records 9 45394-2, 1993. CD.
- _____. *Graceland*. Warner Bros. Records 9 46430-2, 1986. CD.
- _____. Liner Notes from *Graceland*. Paul Simon. Warner Bros. Records 1-25447, 1986. Audiorecording.
- Street, John. *Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Tannenbaum, Rob. "UN Group Attacks Paul Simon." *Rolling Stone*, 12 February 1987, 11, 104.
- Taylor, Timothy D. *Global Pop: World Music, World Market*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Thomas, Scott. *The Diplomacy of Liberation: The Foreign Relations of the African National Congress Since 1960*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Thompson, Leonard and Andrew Prior. *South African Politics*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Thompson, Leonard and Jeffrey Butler, eds. *Change in Contemporary South Africa*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1975.
- Titon, Jeff Todd, ed. *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1992.
- Treverton, Gregory. *Europe, America, and South Africa*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.
- Video Anthology of World Music and Dance: Middle East and Africa IV, Vol 19: Ivory Coast/Botswana/Republic of South Africa*. Produced by Ichikawa Katsumori. Directed by Nakagawa Kunihiro. 43 min. JVC, Victor Company of Japan, Ltd., 1988. Videocassette.
- White, Timothy. "Lasers in the Jungle: The Conception and Maturity of a Musical Masterpiece." In Liner Notes from *Graceland (Enhanced Version)*. Paul Simon. Warner Bros. Records 9 46430-2, 1986. CD.
- Wills, Garry. *Reagan's America*. New York: Penguin Books, 2000.

Worden, Nigel. *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation, and Apartheid*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993.

Wren, Christopher S. "Paul Simon Begins South Africa Concerts." *New York Times*, 13 January 1992, 11-12(C).

Young, Tracy. "People are Talking about Music." *Vogue*, November 1986, 102.

Zimmerman, Kevin. "Sing, and the Whole World Sings With You - Now in Any Language." *Variety*, 22 March 1989, 101-102.