

# EVERYDAY RESISTANCES TO FASCISM: THE FALANGE AND MODERN POPULAR DANCES IN FRANCO'S SPAIN (1939-1947)<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

THE 1940S WERE ONE OF THE DARKEST, most dramatic and ill-fated times of contemporary Spain. After a long and fierce civil war, the Franco regime achieved institutional stability and political hegemony through measures of extremely harsh physical and psychological repression<sup>2</sup>. The purges, summary trials and executions destroyed the last of explicit resistance and served as a warning to the population. Along with the memories of war and economic hardship, these acts meant that any explicit dissent was extremely difficult. However, as has been discussed for some years now, between collaboration and passivity, between consensus and conflict, there were a set of examples of discontent and even resistance that, in the long term, would erode the regime but, at the same time, made it bearable for millions of Spaniards<sup>3</sup>. This article adds a practice to the list of these daily resistances that has gone unnoticed by most historians, sociologists, and musicologists: modern popular dances. The period analysed runs from the end of the Spanish Civil War, in 1939, to the beginning of the Cold War, in 1947.

I am referring to a category that encompassed, basically, *hot*, *swing* and *boogie-woogie*, although sometimes overlapping with some forms of *rumba* and even *samba*. At the time, the adjective 'modern' was not only a mere reference to a question of chronology, but was also linked to physical aspects connected to black music, and more specifically, to African-American culture in a broader sense. The common denominator of the dances

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<sup>1</sup>. This study has been carried out in the frame of the R&D project *Music during the Civil War and Francoism (1963-1960): Popular Cultures, Musical Life and Hispano-American Exchanges* (HAR 2013-48658-C2-1-P). Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, Universidad de Granada.

<sup>2</sup>. RODRIGO 2008; ANDERSON 2009; VEGA-SOMBRÍA 2011.

<sup>3</sup>. RODRÍGUEZ BARREIRA 2013.

categorised as ‘modern’ in the forties was their celebration of vertiginous movement and bodily excitement, mass culture and androgyny, all particularly uncomfortable for the state party, the fascist Falange. Rather than focusing on the moral condemnations of the Catholic hierarchy towards these practices or on the discourses on jazz as a dance, analysed in other writings<sup>4</sup>, this article delves into the study of hot, swing and boogie-woogie in contrast to the gymnastic exercises and dances that formed part of the exhibitions of Falangist youth organisations inspired by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy: the Frente de Juventudes (Youth Front) and the Sección Femenina (Women’s Section). All this is inextricably linked to issues of gender, the Falangist constructions of femininity and masculinity.

#### FALANGE AND FASCISM

The first public event of the Falange Española de las JONS, a party that unified the two great Spanish political forces leaning toward fascism, was held in Valladolid on 4 March 1934<sup>5</sup>. There, for the first time, a joint totalitarian project was proposed, which encompassed an attempt to attract the masses through ultranationalist, imperialist, ultra-Catholic, anti-liberal and anti-capitalist populism. Under the leadership of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the Falange used propaganda and violence as mechanisms to gain public relevance. In fact, fascism was very marginal in Spain during most of the Second Republic (1931–1936) and suffered a serious setback in the elections of February 1936, where the Falange did not win any seats. However, this electoral failure and the climate of growing political conflict of the following spring led the party to radicalize its proclamations and activities until it became much more socially visible<sup>6</sup>.

The Civil War that was unleashed after the failed military coup in July 1936, lasting for almost three years, created a scenario for the constitution of fascism as a mass movement and leader of the counterrevolution in Spain<sup>7</sup>. The term «fascistization», originally coined by Nicos Poulantzas in 1970 and later redefined by Ismael Saz Campos, refers to the process of transformation that Franco’s dictatorship undertook from 1937 to 1943 in order to emulate its contemporaries, Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy<sup>8</sup>. On 19 April 1937, Franco decreed the unification of all parties in the Falange, under his leadership, and three months later he stated that the government of ‘liberated’ Spain would follow «the structure

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<sup>4</sup>. IGLESIAS 2013, 2016 and 2017; See Mera Felipe, in this volume.

<sup>5</sup>. The party merged the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS), founded in 1931 by Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and Onésimo Redondo, with the Falange Española, established in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera.

<sup>6</sup>. PENELLA 2006, pp. 330–346.

<sup>7</sup>. GALLEGO 2014.

<sup>8</sup>. SAZ CAMPOS 1993. For a revision of the concept and some responses to his critics, see SAZ CAMPOS 2004, pp. 79–90.

of totalitarian regimes, such as Germany and Italy)<sup>9</sup>. Shortly after, the self-proclaimed 'national' side officially adopted the Roman greeting, an arm raised out front with an open palm, as well as the blue shirt, the use of the greeting 'comrade', the red and black flag, the symbol of the yoke and the arrows, the anthem *Cara al Sol*, and the slogan «Arriba España»<sup>10</sup>. Converted into the only party and seen as the third institutional pillar of the dictatorship, alongside the Army and the Church, the Falange endowed the regime with many of its symbolic structures and mobilising capability<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, although the Civil War was generated fundamentally within Spanish society, both sides immediately sought help from abroad to confront the enemy. For their economic and military needs, the rebels soon had the help of Germany and Italy, in addition to Portugal's more modest collaboration. These outside supports were key to victory, but they also established political and cultural ties, as well as administrative models. In November 1936, the institutions of the rebel side signed a Treaty of Friendship with Mussolini's Italy. In March 1939, the Franco regime adhered to the Anti-Komintern Pact joined by Germany, Japan and Italy against the Soviet Union and signed a Treaty of Friendship with the Third Reich which included an «agreement on spiritual and cultural collaboration between Spain and Germany», ultimately unratified because of the Church's suspicions<sup>12</sup>. In May of that year, Spain left the League of Nations and in June 1940, after the Nazi victory over France, officially moved from neutrality to «non-belligerence». A year later, the Blue Division of Falange volunteers was sent to fight alongside Germany on the eastern front. Despite the fears of a good part of the Spanish public about entering into another conflict, it was only economic and military difficulties that prevented Spain from participating in the Second World War<sup>13</sup>.

The areas in which the Franco regime had most success in imposing its initial fascist models were in the control of the media and propaganda. There was full confidence in the capacity of information as a means of persuasion and consensus-building among the masses, as an editorial of *Radio Nacional* made clear at the end of 1939:

Se ha dicho que la propaganda es tan indispensable al Estado de nuestro tiempo como puedan serlo los fusiles o los ejércitos permanentes. Y es que la propaganda no ejerce, exclusivamente, la función de enderezar conciencias y convencer a los no creyentes de una determinada ideología política. Ha de creerse, más bien, que la misión clave de toda propaganda consiste en mantener viva en la conciencia de las gentes la perduración de unos determinados ideales. [...] Está harto demostrado que la opinión no se engendra de abajo para arriba,

<sup>9</sup>. FRANCO BAHAMONDE 1939, p. 148.

<sup>10</sup>. PAYNE 1987, p. 183.

<sup>11</sup>. BOX 2010.

<sup>12</sup>. MARQUINA BARRIO 1983, pp. 142-153; HERA MARTÍNEZ 2002, pp. 416-431.

<sup>13</sup>. CAZORLA SÁNCHEZ 2000.

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sino justamente de arriba para abajo. Cuando los hombres creen pensar por su propia cuenta, realmente están pensando a través de los medios de información de que disponen y de las noticias que reciben del mundo<sup>14</sup>.

In 1936, the Jefatura Nacional de Propaganda (National Propaganda Office), which was under the direction of the Ministerio de Gobernación, had already been established and was responsible for various activities like the cinema, the theatre, arts and music. In April 1938, the Press Law was passed, inspired by the regulations of Mussolini's Italy; although its severity was at first justified by the state of war, it remained in force until 1966. In addition to the creation of a loyal «Press of the Movement», a practice was established whereby the Government appointed directors of newspapers and magazines, with a rigorous purge of journalists to follow, and censorship was introduced that, without being particularly regulated, used coercion and threats through official instructions sent to the press<sup>15</sup>. The monopoly and control of information were completed in 1939 with the creation of the official agency EFE, the main source of news for Franco's Spain, and the Department of Censorship.

The Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (VEP) was created on 20 May 1941, a kind of Ministry of Propaganda that imitated that of Nazi Germany, which was entrusted with the censorship and control of the media<sup>16</sup>. It was one of the Francoist institutions that best reconciled fascist and ultra-Catholic postulates: it was under the Secretaría General del Movimiento, led by the Falange, and although Gabriel Arias Salgado, who headed the organisation, was a member of the Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas, he also openly declared himself to be a Germanophile and was close to prominent Falange members. Under a clear Nazi influence, which generated problems with Britain, France and the United States, the VEP directly controlled periodical publications from 1941, requiring a «socio-political report» from all of those involved in the writing and editing of publications, controlling censorship and sending warnings<sup>17</sup>.

In 1941 and 1942, the Delegación Nacional de Cinematografía y Teatro and the Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo (National Union of Entertainment) were also created under VEP's responsibility. Both subjected music, theatre and cinema operations to a

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<sup>14</sup>. RADIO NACIONAL 1939C, p. 1. «It has been said that propaganda is as indispensable to the State of our time as rifles or permanent armies are. This is because propaganda does not exclusively exercise the function of righting consciences and convincing non-believers of a certain political ideology. Rather, it is to be believed that the key mission of all propaganda consists in keeping alive in the conscience of the people the survival of certain ideals. [...] It has been abundantly proven that opinion is not generated from the bottom up, but from the top down. When men believe they are thinking on their own, they are really thinking through the media that is available to them and the news they receive from the world».

<sup>15</sup>. SEVILLANO CALERO 1998, pp. 116-117.

<sup>16</sup>. BERMEJO SÁNCHEZ 1991.

<sup>17</sup>. SINOVA 1989, pp. 98-99.

strict control. All music professionals were obliged to join the Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo, the only union that was recognized by the Francoist State, and whose Music Division was responsible for purging interpreters, combating unemployment, fixing wages, and supervising contracts and performances<sup>18</sup>. Another significant propaganda mechanism was the newsreel Noticiario Documental Cinematográfico Español or NO-DO, whose insertion before commercial film screenings from January 1943 was obligatory<sup>19</sup>.

The VEP also controlled the radio, at the time the main means of communication in Spain. At the end of World War II, the number of receiving devices numbered around half a million, and regular listeners reached almost 10 million<sup>20</sup>. In addition, there were less sex and class differences among listeners than among those who read newspapers. Even before the end of the Civil War, those who were in charge of radio broadcasting were very aware of its «value and effectiveness as a medium of propaganda for political ideas, culture and even for commercial products», as well as its advantage over media that was dependent on print<sup>21</sup>. The official Radio Nacional de España became the centre of a broad Spanish Network of Broadcasting, under whose control and censorship all private radio stations, both in their spoken, musical and advertising programming, were also submitted<sup>22</sup>. In its radio programming, it contemplated the possible contribution of music to the educational improvement and artistic splendour of the new regime:

La radio es una niña, ya casi una jovencita, acaso en la edad del pleno desarrollo. Ha sonado, por tanto, la hora de unirla más estrechamente a la música. [...] Es un error confeccionar programas musicales para la radiodifusión sin que las obras sean clasificadas por géneros y categorías. Sin método, nada se consigue. [...] Clasificando las producciones musicales, suministrándolas a diario en escalas ascendentes y haciéndolas preceder de un heraldo que logre aguijónar el interés del público, se conseguiría a la larga una educación musical del pueblo español que produciría sus frutos en los futuros compositores, ya que el terreno es fértil e inmejorable la semilla. Tener filones y no explotarlos es, acaso, peor que no tenerlos<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>18</sup>. MARTÍNEZ DEL FRESNO 2001, pp. 46-73.

<sup>19</sup>. RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1999; HERNÁNDEZ ROBLEDO 2003.

<sup>20</sup>. SEVILLANO CALERO 1998, pp. 219-220.

<sup>21</sup>. RADIO NACIONAL 1939A, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup>. SEVILLANO CALERO 1998, pp. 126-135.

<sup>23</sup>. RADIO NACIONAL 1939B, p. 1. «Radio is very young, a teenager on the cusp of adulthood, perhaps in the age of full development. So, the time has come to link it more closely to music. [...] It is a mistake to create musical programs for broadcasting without the works being classified by genre and categories. Without method, nothing is achieved. [...] By classifying musical production, supplying them daily on ascending scales and making preceding them with a herald that succeeds in triggering the interest of the public, we would eventually obtain a musical education of the Spanish people that would produce its fruits in future composers, since the soil is fertile and the seed is second to none. To have reefs and not to exploit them is, perhaps, worse than not having them».

Therefore, from very early on, all musical broadcasts had to be previously authorized by the National Delegation of Propaganda and the Deputy Secretary. Broadcasters had to send «ahead of time» the corresponding musical requests and, in addition, a detailed list of recordings<sup>24</sup>. In the radio of the first Francoism, dominated by the Falange, very little was left to improvisation.

#### THE FASCISTIZATION OF AESTHETICS AND THE BODY

The influence of the Falange and the imitation of fascism not only fed the institutional guidelines, they were also evident in those directives that were artistic or involved the body. Falangist symbology and rhetoric, which nourished the official discourse during the Spanish Civil War and much of World War II, had a strong aesthetic component derived from intellectuals such as Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, Agustín de Foxá, Rafael Sánchez Mazas or Dionisio Ridruejo. The very essays and speeches of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, executed in November 1936 by the Republicans and then turned into a martyr of the uprising, were based on expressions and literary resources taken from these writers associated with fascism<sup>25</sup>. The Falangist discourse was based on the rebirth of the Hispanic race, infected by the decay of Spain's republican past, and attempted to reconcile the military, the patriotic and the religious. In 1939, a stage of artistic autarchy began in which, as the magazine *Destino* stated, the «sin of alienation» would be the number one enemy to eradicate<sup>26</sup>. Musical folklore was used to emphasize national idiosyncrasy, to neutralize and counter external musical influences, to fight against romantic picturesque images of Spain and to try to make one of the Franco regime's greatest political yearnings a reality: to achieve the unity of the country<sup>27</sup>.

From 1939, political sympathies had already resulted in numerous and remarkable artistic and musical exchanges between Spain, Germany and Italy. The Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios (Board for Advanced Studies), which, until the Spanish Civil War, had promoted the incipient cultural relations with the United States, was dissolved by Franco as he considered it to be an opening to foreign influences. Its competences were assumed by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spanish National Research Council) (CSIC), under the Ministry of National Education, which had close ties to the newly founded German and Italian institutes of culture in Madrid<sup>28</sup>. With the conquest of both cities by the insurgents, German and Italian music had all the privileges

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<sup>24</sup>. VICESECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR n.d.

<sup>25</sup>. CARBAJOSA – CARBAJOSA 2003, p. 109.

<sup>26</sup>. *DESTINO* 1939, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>. LABAJO VALDÉS 1993; MEDINA 2001, pp. 65-66; ORTIZ 1999.

<sup>28</sup>. DELGADO GÓMEZ-ESCALONILLA 1992, pp. 193-210.

in Spanish territory<sup>29</sup>. The concerts organised by the German Consulate were greeted as «further proof of the indissoluble ties that united both nations in the ideological and artistic panorama»<sup>30</sup>. The press favourably reported on the concert of the German Military Band that took place in Madrid at the Las Ventas bullring, on 5 October 1940, «as an example of the strong bonds of friendship that bound Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain»<sup>31</sup>, and «stirred more than thirty thousand spectators, causing them to burst into continuous and delirious ovations»<sup>32</sup>. Although these receptions and tributes took place mainly in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia, cities like Seville, through its German Colony, or Zaragoza, through the German School, also had similar musical activities. All of these ended with the anthems of Spain, Germany, Italy and Portugal, the so-called 'friendly nations', «listened to with raised arms and a fervour of fellowship and gratitude»<sup>33</sup>.

The German-Spanish Music Festivals held in Bad Elster in the months of July 1941 and 1942 were also featured as full page insertions in magazines and newspapers, presented as a great triumph of the regime's cultural policy. Invited by Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, some of Spain's most important music personalities of the time attended: in 1941, the orchestra conductors Ataúlfo Argenta, José María Franco and Bartolomé Pérez Casas; the pianist José Cubiles; the guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza; the music critics Víctor Espinós and José María Franco; the Managing Director of the Society of Film Authors, José Forns; the director of the Royal Conservatory of Madrid, Nemesio Otaño; the Secretary of the Music Commission, Federico Sopena; and the Music General Commissioner, Joaquín Turina. The following year, Cubiles, Espinós and Sopena attended once again, as well as first time guests including members of the National Association of Music, the conductor Jesús Arámbarri; the music critic Antonio de las Heras; the dancer Mariemma; the director of the Liceo Theatre in Barcelona, Juan Mestres; the director of the Philharmonic Society of Bilbao, the Count of Superunda; and the Head of the Section of Cultural Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Enrique Varela Ramírez de Saavedra, Marquis of Auñón. The German government financed the trip and the accommodation of all in attendance from Irún (the journey to the border was paid, symbolically, by the Spanish State) and took care to construct a pompous review of the concerts in the official press<sup>34</sup>. In turn, the «affectionate response to this expression of interest on the part of Germany» materialized in the creation of the Spanish-German Musical Week that took place in Madrid and Bilbao between 26 January and 1 February 1942<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup>. PÉREZ ZALDUONDO 2004 and 2010; MOREDA RODRÍGUEZ 2008; MARTÍNEZ DEL FRESNO, 2010.

<sup>30</sup>. *RITMO* 1942, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup>. *ABC* 1940.

<sup>32</sup>. RODRIGO 1940, p. 6; SAINZ DE LA MAZA 1940.

<sup>33</sup>. *ABC* 1939.

<sup>34</sup>. IGLESIAS 2010, p. 124; SUÁREZ-PAJARES, 2013.

<sup>35</sup>. ARRIBA 1942; RODRIGO 1942, p. 12.

It is in this junction of fascist eugenics, aesthetics and fraternization where Falangist ideas about the body and dance can be placed. Theorists from the *one-party state* carried out a double process of biopolitical radicalization that was to be adopted by the main political cultures of the regime: the *embodiment* of the nation and the nationalization of bodies<sup>36</sup>. In November 1935, Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, in his closing speech of the Second National Falange Council, had already defended that young people who did not share Falangist principles would be «excluded from our generation, like malignant microbes are removed from a healthy organism»<sup>37</sup>. After the Civil War, physical exercise appeared in the publications of official psychiatrists like Antonio Vallejo-Nájera or of influential writers like Jacinto Miquelarena representing a means, both physical and mental, of improvement and purification<sup>38</sup>. Bourgeois hedonism and frivolity, which according to the Falangists had dominated Spain during the Second Republic, had meant a somatic degeneration that could only be remedied through sports and discipline. Physical exercise and new fashions were thus placed at the forefront of publications, particularly in manuals of conduct and youth magazines, equating aesthetics, health and morality.

In the case of women, the force behind building the Spanish fascist ideal was the Falange's Women's Section, led by Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of the «absentee». In recent years, historians have questioned the repeated notion of female submission as the sole objective of this institution, and instead have highlighted the contradictions of some of its teachings and practices with the ideals spread by the ultraconservative and Catholic authorities of the regime<sup>39</sup>. Without challenging male authority, the importance of the home nor the importance of motherhood, the Women's Section attempted to establish the model of a strong woman that fulfilled herself both educationally and professionally<sup>40</sup>. On a physical level, the influence of fascism was translated into sports, rhythmic and folk dances in which discipline and synchronization were especially valued, inspired by the frequent exchanges of the Women's Section with similar organizations in Germany and Italy between 1937 and 1943<sup>41</sup>. In 1941, Julio Sanz, in the official magazine of the national-syndicalist woman, noted the importance given by the Falange to «Spanish popular dance, which brings together the Hispanic sense of rhythm and movement in the purest form»<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup>. IGLESIAS 2016; BOX, 2017.

<sup>37</sup>. PRIMO DE RIVERA 1945, p. 128.

<sup>38</sup>. CARBAJOSA – CARBAJOSA 2003, pp. 111-112; CAYUELA SÁNCHEZ 2014, pp. 127-153.

<sup>39</sup>. MORANT I ARIÑO 2012.

<sup>40</sup>. RICHMOND 2003; RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ, 2010.

<sup>41</sup>. MARTÍNEZ DEL FRESNO 2010.

<sup>42</sup>. SANZ 1941, p. 24.



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### STOMPIN' AT THE AMAYA: HOT, SWING AND BOOGIE-WOOGIE

Because of the usual aesthetic and political considerations jazz enjoys, viewed from a cerebral approach rather than from a physical one, its historiography has omitted the analysis of modern popular dances as a transgression, even in the case of totalitarian political systems<sup>43</sup>. In Spain, the general consideration of jazz as music of high social distinction and artistic value, which is not danced to, but rather listened to, occurred later; during the 1940s, jazz was inseparable from comedies and musicals, revues, cabaret, and dance halls or *boîtes*. Therefore, any study of this genre during the first period of the Franco regime that does not include dance will be omitting its most significant social dimension. In 1943, there were 1544 registered dance halls in Spain, a figure that only two years later rose to 2707, well above the 2215 listed cinemas<sup>44</sup>.

In Spain, the post-war period marked the reception of popular dances with more frantic and unpredictable movements than those of previous decades. For both orchestras and small groups, the rhythm became increasingly faster and more insistent. Until then, most fast dances, such as the one-step, ragtime or charleston, had a two-beat rhythm with the first beat clearly accented. Swing was built around four-beat bars, with stresses on each beat and a special emphasis on syncopation (see ILL. 1). Music was inseparable from the diverse dances that were encompassed within each style, and it can be said that both musicians and dancers alike were its creators. The dance that was generally identified with swing in Spain was the Lindy Hop or jitterbug, an African-American dance that was born in 1927 in the Savoy Ballroom of New York's Harlem and that had enormous influence on the systematization of the new style of jazz. It consisted of a long basic step of eight beats, a structure derived from the European partner dances, which facilitated improvisation. The dancers combined individual and partner dancing, and moved with their knees bent and their bodies tilted slightly forward to allow frequent twists and turns. Its difficulty entailed a growing specialization of the dancers, who turned to Hollywood cinema, and its frequent featuring of the jitterbug, for role models and steps to imitate.

The best known of all these meeting places for swing enthusiasts was the Salón Amaya, a hall of about 1700 m<sup>2</sup> in the Paralelo of Barcelona, which opened in April 1943. The academies that incorporated the new types of dances among their usual ballroom dances proliferated, and swing exhibitions by professional or semi-professional couples also became commonplace in halls and theatres<sup>45</sup>. The frequent separation of the dancers and the impetus of the new dance made it necessary for the premises to be wide and open. A contributor of the magazine *Destino* described with irony the spectacle he had witnessed at the Salón Amaya:

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<sup>43</sup>. JOHNSON 2016, p. 346.

<sup>44</sup>. *BOLETÍN DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DEL ESPECTÁCULO* 1944B.

<sup>45</sup>. *DESTINO* 1945.

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# SOMBRO VERDE

Piano

Fox Swing

JUAN ANDREU

The musical score is written for piano and includes parts for Metal, Saxos, and Saxos Unis. It is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score is divided into five systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system includes the title 'Sombrero Verde' and the composer's name 'JUAN ANDREU'. The second system is marked 'Swing tpo.' and 'Metal'. The third system is marked 'Saxos' and 'Metal'. The fourth system is marked 'Saxos Unis' and 'mf'. The fifth system is marked 'Tutti' and 'Saxos'. The sixth system is marked 'Unis'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

EDICIONES PEDRO PALAU - Mallorca, 144, 2.º, 2.ª - BARCELONA

ILL. 1: Juan Andreu's *Sombrero Verde* (Green Hat) (score, c1940).

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Hay que ver bailar un 'hot' por unas cuantas parejas que dominen la cosa y acierten a desarrollar el repertorio de alocadas pantomimas que comporta... El espectador acaba bailando, tal es el contagio y el trepidante frenesí que emana de la pista. Terminado el bailable llegan a sus puestos los componentes de las parejas bataneados como de vuelta de un vapuleo, los ojos desorbitados por la tensión, la corbata ladeada, el cuello desabrochado, la cabellera revuelta [...] Y ellas con las blusas que escaparon de la falda, los tirantes caídos sobre el antebrazo. Esto para los iniciados, los cuales, al extremo de sus fuerzas, se dejan caer en una silla entre agotados y sonrientes. Para los principiantes o imitadores, queda el botiquín de urgencia del establecimiento o la Casa de Socorro [...]»<sup>46</sup>.

This association of jazz with entertainment and physical pleasure was accentuated in Spain by the limited importance of sound recordings. The number of Spanish households that had a record player did not reach 5% until the 1960s<sup>47</sup>. On the other hand, record companies could not control the use of their recordings nor received any profits for their public reproduction for years. The payment of royalties for broadcasted works, which affected both the radio stations themselves and commercial venues, and had been suspended during the Civil War and the immediate post-war period, was re-regulated in 1942<sup>48</sup>. However, the remunerations of the record companies remained explicitly rejected. In May 1941, the Barcelona label Compañía del Gramófono Odeón filed a petition with the General Director of Archives of the Ministry of Education, then custodian of intellectual property, in order to obtain the rights for their albums to not be «publicly reproduced without their express consent and reasonable remuneration»<sup>49</sup>. Eight months later, the National Council of Education ruled that the petition did not have «enough legal grounds» and that their claim was unfounded:

Que los fabricantes de discos, como propietarios de la placa, estén facultados, de acuerdo con el autor de la obra reproducida, a permitir o negar su reproducción en otros ejemplares, no nos ofrece duda. Pero de eso a pretender un derecho a autorizar la ejecución pública de las obras fonografiadas y a percibir

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<sup>46</sup>. *DESTINO* 1944. «You have to watch a hot being danced by a few couples who have mastered the thing and managed to properly develop the repertoire of crazy pantomime that it involves [...] The spectator ends up dancing, such is the contagion and the frenzy that emanates from the dance floor. When the dance ends, the components of the couples return bathed in sweat as though they were coming back from a scuffle, their eyes large with tension, their necktie tilted, their collar unbuttoned, their hair ruffled... And the girls with blouses that have escaped from their skirt, their straps drooping on their forearms. This is for the initiates, who, to the pushed to the edge of their strength, allow themselves to fall into their chairs somewhere between exhaustion and happiness. For beginners or imitators, the only option left is the venue's first-aid kit or the first-aid area [...]».

<sup>47</sup>. SUEIRO SEOANE 2008, p. 334.

<sup>48</sup>. *BOLETÍN DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DEL ESPECTÁCULO* 1942, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup>. Order of 14 February 1942, General Office of Archives.

por ello una remuneración, siquiera sea independiente de la que corresponde al autor de la obra, hay una inmensa distancia<sup>50</sup>.

In view of the protests of the record industry, a new order in April 1942 ruled that the phonographic entity could deny permission for albums, legally deposited and registered in the Intellectual Property Registry, to be used for profit. However, the Ministry of Education warned that any remuneration should be contractually regulated, and that in no case were official institutions and events required to provide remuneration.

This Spanish peculiarity not only meant that record labels were not very profitable in post-war Spain, but also kept popular music linked to the public sphere through radio, film and dance halls for years. The symbiosis and negotiation between the business interests and the demands of the public also made possible an unprecedented expansion of the number of jazz listeners from a social, racial and ethnic point of view. The new dance halls, with an open architectural design and which permitted indiscriminate access economically and socially, also had a lot to do with this increase in its public, and so, in turn, with the function and aesthetics of the music. The most celebrated dance pair of the previously mentioned Salón Amaya de Barcelona was formed by a Cuban immigrant, Blanca Alcañiz, and a labourer from a slaughterhouse, Enrique Beltrán. And the most acclaimed and celebrated swing dancers at the Amaya were young gypsies who frequented the Barcelona area of the Paralelo, also contracted in 1946-1947 by venues in Madrid like the El Cortijo ballroom and the Teatro Tivoli as «champions of the *bugui-bugui*»<sup>51</sup>.

In fact, in 1945, rather than replacing hot or swing as fashionable dances, the *boogie-woogie* or *bugui-bugui* joined them. Under the umbrella of ‘modern popular dances’, the three terms were often associated with each other at the most celebrated parties and dance contests in the second half of the 1940s, at venues such as the Amaya Hall itself or the San Sebastian Casino in Barcelona. The *bugui-bugui* did not substantially modify the jitterbug’s movements, but it did make them faster and more regular, in keeping with the speed of the new style, its rigid blues structure and its insistent rhythm (see ILL. 2). The very lyrics of the jazz of this time established a clear differentiation between modern and previous dances, considered then to be outdated and boring. In the fox-trot *Oyendo a Benny* (1945),

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<sup>50</sup>. *Ibidem*. «We have no doubt that manufacturers of records, as owners of the plate, are entitled, in agreement with the author of the work reproduced, to allow or deny their reproduction on other records. But from that to claim a right to authorize the public performance of the phonographic works and to receive a remuneration for this, even if independent on that corresponding to the author of the work, there is an immense distance».

<sup>51</sup>. Gypsies were considered to be problematic by the Francoist authorities. The regulations of the Civil Guard, approved on 14 May 1943, recommended, in its articles 4, 5 and 6, the scrupulous vigilance of the gypsies, their activities and their movements. For more details on the identity of «swing gypsies», see PUJOL BAULENAS 2005, pp. 188-189.

The image shows a musical score for the piece "BAILANDO EN LA LUNA" by S. MAS. The score is arranged for piano and saxophone. It begins with a logo for "EDICIONES MUSICALES VICTOR" in the top left corner. The title "BAILANDO EN LA LUNA" is prominently displayed in the center, with "FOX-BUGUI" and "S. MAS" below it. The piano part starts with a "Bugui Bugui" section marked "8ª" and "f Solo ad lib". The saxophone part follows with two sections, "A" and "B", both marked "Saxos". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" and "mf". At the bottom of the score, there is a publisher's note: "Ediciones VICTOR OLCINA - Pasaje Prunera, 8, 1.º, 4.º - Teléfono 35108 - Barcelona" and "Todos los derechos de reproducción, ejecución y arreglo reservados para todos los países".

ILL. 2: Samuel Mas's *Bailando en la luna* (Dancing on the Moon) (score, 1946).

a tribute by Fernando Sedano and Antonio Valero to Goodman as the most famous swing musician, Dominican singer Elsie Bayron sang:

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Me gustan la samba, el bugui y el foxtrot,  
son tiempos modernos de swing y saxofón.  
La polca, mazurka, gavota y el can-can  
murieron de viejos y nunca volverán.  
Yo ya no quiero tangos, rancheras ni javas,  
con esos tristes ritmos la vida se acaba<sup>52</sup>.

These ‘modern dances’ also legitimated a generational gap using the body: most parents could not move like their children, so jumping, spinning and performing acrobatics also worked as a form of differentiation. The dance halls were thus erected in inclusive and liminal spaces in which the young public demanded a new way of experiencing jazz, which was as widespread as it was different from that of musicians, critics and their own parents. In these venues, a social, ethnic and gender interaction took place, one that partly eluded the rigid hierarchies, paternalisms and stereotypes promoted by the Franco regime.

### A LUCRATIVE SHOW

In Spain, swing slightly increased the usual size of an orchestra of the thirties, reaching 10-16 members, a number equivalent to the American big bands. Because of the influence of hot jazz, the violins were progressively dispensed with, and the instruments were divided into sections: reed, which included clarinet and saxophones; brass, with trumpets and trombones; and a rhythm section, normally made up of a piano, guitar, bass and drums. Greater importance was also given to arrangements, privileging the homophonic texture within the sections and the responsorial effects between them. If the American influence was very evident among orchestras, the small ensembles that proliferated in the 1940s followed both Louis Armstrong’s Hot Five and Hot Seven models, as well as that of the gypsy jazz or swing of the Quintette du Hot Club de France (violin, lead guitar, two rhythm guitars and double bass) that had performed in Barcelona in 1936.

In this ‘blue period’ of the regime, however, swing was limited to ballrooms, a few recordings and musical cinema. The recordings and scores show that until 1943 the great majority of theatre music composers continued to exploit the successful pre-war sound formulas. During the first four years of the dictatorship, many of the survival techniques and developments of capitalism, despised by the Falange, focused on the two privileged pillars of jazz at that time: dance music and film. Part of the technology that supported them — microphones, recordings, radio, projection rooms — had been particularly developed for the propaganda needs of the Civil War: in 1942, the number of licenses for

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<sup>52</sup>. BAYRON 1945. «I like the samba, the bugui and the foxtrot, / these are modern times of swing and saxophone. / The polka, mazurka, gavota and the can-can / they died of old age to never come back. / I no longer want tangos, rancheras or javas, / with those sad rhythms life is over».

radio receivers was around 325,000<sup>53</sup>, and Spain was the European country that had the most cinemas per capita, 2600 for 25 million people<sup>54</sup>. Musical cinema provided work for numerous jazz groups during that first decade of the Franco regime. Both the American films projected on Spanish screens and the national replicas that copied their formulas surpassed the discreet successes of many of the ‘Crusade’ films and the German and Italian films massively imported by the Falangist National Department of Cinematography<sup>55</sup>.

The relative scarcity of American films until 1943 actually resulted in a considerable number of successful Spanish musicals, in which some of the major jazz groups of the time performed, such as the orchestras Montoliu, Plantación, Demon’s, Luis Rovira’s, Martín de la Rosa’s, Rafael Medina’s, José Puertas Quintet and the Orpheus Vocal Quartet. Among them, two pioneering feature films from 1941 stand out, *Una conquista difícil*, directed by Pedro Puche, and *Pimentilla*, by Juan López de Valcárcel, as well as the first films whose music was composed entirely by Juan Durán Alemany, «the magician of the modern song»: the short films *Música, muchachos* (1941) and *Ritmo en las ondas* (1942), and the feature films *Melodías prohibidas* (1942) and *Vaya música* (1942). Nevertheless, these creations could rarely compete with the few American films that managed to make it onto Spanish screens, which motivated some musical initiatives in favour of the national cinema. Some Spanish film projects, such as *Música de hot*, were aimed at «demonstrating that we too have good composers of hot jazz and musical ensembles just as valuable as those that are found abroad»<sup>56</sup>. This film of 1941, which initially included the participation of some of the most outstanding bands in the Spanish jazz panorama — Plantación Orchestra, Luis Rovira Orchestra, Albalat Quintet — and of the singers — Rina Celi and Lina Doria —, were ultimately never filmed.

An article by Andreu Avel·lí Artí — under the pseudonym ‘Miguel del Puerto’ — in the magazine *Destino* described the process followed in Barcelona by a composer of what was then also called ‘modern’ or ‘light music’, his possibilities of success and his income from copyright<sup>57</sup>. The journalist quoted what Paco Ortega, editor of the publishing company Ritmo y Melodía, said about the factors that influenced the diffusion of a piece: «A good interpreter, the collaboration of the radio and an appropriate orchestral version are as important as the author’s inspiration»<sup>58</sup>. Avel·lí went on to describe the basic process followed by a composer after the creation of the work:

Acude luego a ‘Ritmo y Melodía’, a ‘Algueró’, a ‘Armónico’, a ‘Columbia’, a ‘Ámbar’ o a cualquiera otra de las varias editoriales que lanzan

<sup>53</sup>. SEVILLANO CALERO 1998, p. 219.

<sup>54</sup>. LEÓN AGUINAGA 2010, p. 108.

<sup>55</sup>. *Ibidem*, p. 262.

<sup>56</sup>. DEPARTAMENTO DE CENSURA 1941.

<sup>57</sup>. PUERTO 1944.

<sup>58</sup>. *Ibidem*.

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música en Barcelona. Acorde con el auditor, va el número a la imprenta, de la que salen a los pocos días las partituras para las mil doscientas orquestas existentes en España. En este estado de cosas, no queda al autor y al editor más recurso que esperar el fallo del público. ¿Se tocará el número? ¿No se tocará? La respuesta llega finalizado el trimestre a la Sociedad de Autores en forma de «pequeño derecho», nombre por el que se conoce el dinero procedente de ejecución<sup>59</sup>.

From this «small right», the SGAE received a revenue ranging from 30 to 2000 pesetas per month, per premises (depending on whether it was a small Sunday ballroom or an exclusive hotel like the Ritz). It must be taken into account that at that time the minimum salary in Spain was around 300 pesetas per month and the average salary of a worker ranged from 400 to 500 pesetas. According to Avel·lí, at the end of 1943, almost 700 orchestras were recorded in Catalonia and in the city of Barcelona alone there were more than 100 dance floors. A composer received, on average, about 25 cents for each performance of one of his works. Avel·lí listed some of the successes that had already provided considerable income to their creators:

Lleva dadas el fox *Tarde de fútbol* unas veinticinco mil pesetas a su autor, Casas Augé, y a sus editores. [...] Entre las grandes liquidaciones del jazz puede incluirse también a Augusto Algueró, editor de sí mismo, a quien ha valido *Claro de luna*, hasta la fecha, sus buenos siete mil duros. ¡Infinitamente más que si hubiera estrenado cuatro óperas en el Liceo! Por aquel *Arrullo de amor* inserto en una película, popularizada luego por Rafael Medina, ha cobrado Durán Alemany más de quince mil pesetas<sup>60</sup>.

The show was performed both on stage and on the dance floor. On the one hand, some musicians maintained the frenetic interpretations inherited from hot jazz, particularly linked to the Caribbean musicians who acted in Spain in the forties. Some of the most important were the Dominican saxophonist Enrique Durán, better known as ‘Pancho Confitura’, who whilst playing moved «constantly with jerky jolts, a perfect

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<sup>59</sup>. *Ibidem*. «He then goes to ‘Ritmo y Melodía’, ‘Algueró’, ‘Armónico’, ‘Columbia’, ‘Ámbar’ or to any of the other music publishing companies in Barcelona. In agreement with the auditor, the issue goes to the printing press, in which the scores for the twelve hundred existing orchestras in Spain are published in a few days. In this state of affairs, the author and the editor have no other recourse than to await the judgment of the public. Will the piece be played? Won’t it? The answer comes once the term has ended for the Society of Authors in the form of a ‘small right’, the name by which the money that comes from its being broadcast is known».

<sup>60</sup>. *Ibidem*. «The fox *Afternoon of football* has already earned his author, Casas Augé, and its publishers about twenty-five thousand pesetas. [...] Among the great earners of jazz can be included Augusto Algueró, self-editor, who to date has earned with his *Claro de luna*, a good thirty-five thousand pesetas. Infinitely more than if he had released four operas at the Liceo! For *Arrullo de amor*, featured in a film and later popularized by Rafael Medina, Durán Alemany has earned more than fifteen thousand pesetas».



imitation of having ants in his pants», and the Cuban percussionist Sergio Barreto, capable of imitating «all the sounds that can be extracted from each of the pieces that make up a drum set»<sup>61</sup>. Special mention should be made of the Basque pianist José Azarola, the main representative of the stride style in the Spain of the 1940s. Known as the ‘lightning’ or ‘atomic’ pianist because of his virtuosity and vehemence, in 1942 he recorded various compositions by Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, Schubert, Verdi and Wagner to a jazz rhythm<sup>62</sup>, just before the National Syndicate of the Spectacle forbade this type of adaptation. Along with Pedro Masmitjá, he was regarded as the main pianist of hot jazz in post-war Barcelona until his final emigration to Mexico in 1949<sup>63</sup>. One of his delirious performances can be seen in the hit comedy *Un enredo de familia* (1943), directed by Ignacio F. Iquino. Another pianist who explored all the possibilities of the instrument through jazz was Miguel Vicéns, conductor of the Los Trashumantes orchestra, who was known for his virtuosity and recorded a series of memorable albums of foxtrot and boogie between 1942 and 1945.

This physical and spectacular legacy of hot was not at odds with elegance: many of the main post-war swing orchestras, such as Luis Rovira’s and Bernard Hilda’s, the Casablanca or the Gran Casino, imitated the staging of the ensembles of Duke Ellington, Jimmie Lunceford, Glenn Miller, Tommy Dorsey, Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw, with symmetrical staging and impeccably uniformed musicians. Hot and swing were often combined in a single concert, and the musicians themselves participated in both small groups and big bands. One of the ensembles that regularly performed at the Salón Amaya between December 1946 and March 1947 was George Johnson’s Quintet, made up of black musicians: Johnson himself on alto saxophone, Jimmy Adams on tenor saxophone, Claude Dunson on trumpet, Leonard Henry on piano and Al Saunders on drums<sup>64</sup>. Their frenetic and hot jazz was danced to during the golden age of the contests of the famous hall, and their shows helped to progressively normalize the presence of African-Americans on the stages of the post-war period. In fact, after Johnson’s departure, the tenor saxophonist Don Byas arrived in Barcelona. He had played in New York with figures such as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Charlie Christian, Oscar Pettiford, Slam Stewart and Max Roach, and was one of the main figures in the consolidation of bebop in Spain. Until the summer of 1948, he performed with several groups and at various halls, considerably dynamising the Barcelona jazz scene.

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<sup>61</sup>. ESTEBAN VILARÓ 1941, p. 12.

<sup>62</sup>. AZAROLA 1942.

<sup>63</sup>. *RITMO Y MELODÍA* 1945, pp. 6-7.

<sup>64</sup>. PUJOL BAULENAS 2005, p. 210.

## REBEL BODIES: SWING GIRLS, SWING BOYS

Jazz was one of the main negative focal points for the Falange and the Francoist regime in defining the identity of Spanish music<sup>65</sup>. It was considered an ‘American’, ‘Black’ and ‘Jewish’ product that incarnated the threat of racial degeneration in Spain and across Europe. But reducing hostility towards jazz to a question of anti-Americanism or racism is to simplify the causes behind its rejection. Many of the official libels against it were aimed at dancing. One of the goals of Command 79 from the VEP against jazz, sent to all the radio stations in the country in 1943, were those «dislocated, bewildered dances, in which the human nobility of attitude, the selected correction of gesture, descends to a ridiculous and grotesque contortionism»<sup>66</sup>. In fact, modern dances were a common enemy of two institutions that had always had a tense relationship during the first period of the Franco regime, the Falange and the Church. The opposition of the Francoist authorities to those dances is rooted in the memory of those who lived under the dictatorship<sup>67</sup>.

With the legacy of female access to leisure of the great republican cities during the Civil War, the regime had some difficulties in enforcing one of its main purposes: to confine women to their homes and make them the centre and nucleus of the family. The unstoppable diffusion in Spain of American cinema and jazz, especially since the change of attitude of the dictatorship in 1943, made it possible for many young women to identify with American female models. These women, characterized by their modernity and frivolity, their passion for film and dance, flashy dresses and make-up, hats, easy laughter and smoking of tobacco, were called ‘swing girls’, ‘hot girls’ or ‘topolino girls’. This last name was given, thanks to a car, the Fiat Topolino or Fiat 500 model, marketed from 1936 and predecessor of the well-known Seat 600. The term, with that meaning, formed part of a lyrical sketch by the composer Juan Dotras Vila, *La chica del topolino* (1941). But the term also lent its name to the striking feminine footwear with thick soles on a wedge-shaped platform that became fashionable from 1942. With a more general meaning, linked to a female stereotype, it was the subject of one of the first great post-war literary successes, the novel *Una chica topolino* (1945), by José Vicente Puente.

These young women portrayed the young modern woman particularly featured in sitcoms, often seen in cafés and dance halls wearing a flared knee-length skirt, short-sleeved blouse and Topolino shoes. They were often accompanied by their favourite partner, the ‘swing boy’, with slicked back hair, a linen blazer with large shoulder pads, wide pants that sat above the ankle, and bicolour shoes<sup>68</sup>. The different styles of jazz allowed these youngsters of both sexes to express their individuality, since never before had there been

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<sup>65</sup>. IGLESIAS 2010.

<sup>66</sup>. VICESECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR 1943. Cited in IGLESIAS 2010, p. 126.

<sup>67</sup>. FERRER SENABRE 2013.

<sup>68</sup>. TENDES 1945, p. 6.

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a popular dance that allowed so much freedom and improvisation when dancing solo. But at the same time, the ballads and slow-foxes had another kind of effect when both dancers came together, their faces resting «check-to-cheek» moving slowly as they listened to ravishing lyrics of love and desire. In this sense, the challenge that modernity posed to the dictatorship through alternative spaces of interaction between men and women took place not only from the transition from autarchy to *desarrollismo*, in the late 1950s<sup>69</sup>, but much earlier: in regard to dancing, it was apparent from the very outset of the regime. In fact, modern dances became an alternative somatic practice and thus one of the causes of Francoist obsession with body and morals during the post-war period.

In this sense, the bodies of the ‘swing girls’ functioned as an alterity, like the opposite of those exhibited in the reinvented regional dances and the gymnastic routines of the Female Section that served to construct the bodies of the ‘New Spain’, and that regularly filled pages of the Movement’s publications and minutes of the NO-DO news<sup>70</sup>. This Falangist discourse on the ‘Topolino’ girls was similar to the discourse that official propaganda had given to modern women in the 1930s Italy as an emblem of female degeneration, as opposed to the fascist ideal: the *donna-crisi* was cosmopolitan, urban, weak, frivolous and childless; the *donna-madre* was national, rural, strong, responsible and prolific<sup>71</sup>. The frivolity, so linked to the ‘swing girls’, was precisely the attitude that Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, from the JONS and one of the main ideologues of the Women’s Section, had identified in 1939 as the main obstacle to be avoided by the Falangist woman in their daily lives and in the education of their children<sup>72</sup>.

It was not only women: modern dances also represented the loss of the Falangist «strong body and healthy soul» from the point of view of the male. Within the framework of fascism, the hegemonic male model during the first half of the 1940s was characterized by military manhood and Catholic patriotism, shared by the military, Falangist and ecclesiastic circles. From this perspective that links sexuality and power, the worst humiliation for a man is to see himself becoming a woman<sup>73</sup>. The press often pointed out that one of the main hallmarks of the ‘swing boy’ that accompanied the ‘topolino girl’, was that they imitated ‘women’s hairstyles’<sup>74</sup>. Male enthusiasts of jazz and modern dances were branded as being sick, as those who had lost many of their masculine traits and had indulged in foreign, popular and frivolous things. The army general and musicographer, Gabriel Martínez García, described this «pathology», as another of the reoccurring «typical affections that corrodes society» in an article in *La Nueva España* reproduced in several Falangist newspapers:

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<sup>69</sup>. MORCILLO GÓMEZ 2015, p. 120.

<sup>70</sup>. CASERO 2000.

<sup>71</sup>. DE GRAZIA 1992, p. 73; CHANG 2015.

<sup>72</sup>. SANZ BACHILLER 1939, p. 79.

<sup>73</sup>. BOURDIEU 2000, p. 36.

<sup>74</sup>. GARCÍA DE LINARES 1945.

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Cuando un caballere de hoy se decide a no cortarse el cabello en una temporada, y empieza a asomar la cabeza por el tubo de un cuello inverosímil y asfixiante, y encarga al sastre unos cortísimos pantalones de los que antes despectivamente se llamaban ‘de pesca’, presenta evidentes síntomas de una enfermedad designada con la palabra ‘swing’. [...] Al propio tiempo que disminuye alarmantemente el volumen de su sustancia gris, se abraza a todo lo intrascendente y vacuo. Si no se le aísla entonces está irremisiblemente perdido, porque la crisis se manifiesta en una extranjerización de todo su hacer en sociedad, que no hay forma humana de corregir ya: la *boite* es su propio hogar, y después de hacer un ídolo de Duke Ellington, se pasa las horas pronunciando camelos en inglés macarrónico y canturreando melodías de ‘hot’. [...] Para algunas enfermedades, como el ‘swing’, no hay más remedio eficaz que el picón o la azada<sup>75</sup>.

Here it can be seen, moreover, that corporal and moral degeneration was associated with urban modernity. In fact, ‘swing’ youngsters were often identified with mass culture and thus formed part of a broader discourse on the appropriation of the popular: while the regime’s media and authorities demanded a particular and exclusive definition of the musical expressions of the people, linked to national traditions, the industries of spectacle and of leisure equated it to mass music. According to the Falangist press, the only possible cure for ‘swing boys’ was to expose them to virile activities linked to the countryside. In fact, some representatives of the Falange Youth Front described the young Falangist as having:

Un aire combatiente y campesino, con una risa vegetal y antigua, frente a la sonrisilla hipócrita y la avejentada postura de estos hombres ‘swing’ que también existen en las capitales de provincia. [...] No perdáis, camaradas, ese gesto magnífico de superioridad maravillosa e ingenua que traéis del Campamento. Porque os acechan — como esos enfermos que se gozan en contagiar — los ejemplares ‘swing’ que la ciudad tiene para ahogaros la alegría sana con esos gestos podridos [...] que les contraen alma y rostro, reflejo de pulmones y de espíritus tocados mortalmente de una irremediable decadencia<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup>. MARTÍNEZ GARCÍA 1942, pp. 3 and 5. «When a young gentleman of today decides not to cut his hair for a while, and his head begins to stick through the tube of an implausible and suffocating collar, and orders from the tailor some extremely short trousers, which were before contemptuously called ‘fishing trousers’, he is showing obvious symptoms of a disease designated by the word ‘swing’. [...] At the same time as the volume of his grey matter is alarmingly diminishing, he embraces everything that is inconsequential and empty. If he is not isolated, then he is hopelessly lost, because the crisis is manifested in a foreignization of all his doings in society, which there is already no human form of correcting: the *boite* is his own home, and after making an idol of Duke Ellington, he spends his time reciting sweet nothings in jumbled English and chanting melodies of ‘hot’. [...] For some diseases, like ‘swing’, there is no other effective remedy than the pick or the hoe».

<sup>76</sup>. SAN MIGUEL 1942, p. 6. «A fierce and peasant air, with natural and ancient laughter, compared to the hypocritical smile and the aging gestures of these ‘swing’ men who also exist in provincial capitals. [...] Do not lose, comrades, that magnificent gesture of wonderful and naive superiority that you bring back

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The Falangist struggle against the androgyny and the feminization of young men also affected those who acted on the stage: on 24 January 1944, the National Delegation of Propaganda «strictly» banned the groups of *boys* who regularly performed in variety shows, operettas, revues and musical comedies, as they were considered «incompatible with the spirit and formation of our virile and heroic youth». Their roles, the order continued, were to be «played henceforth by female personnel»<sup>77</sup>. In this way, they eliminated a group that had regularly occupied the stages of Barcelona and Madrid during the Second Republic and the Civil War.

The attacks on jazz as a dance went beyond the diplomatic turns of the dictatorship towards the Allies in 1943 and 1945, with which a remarkable tolerance for American music began<sup>78</sup>. Even in 1946, the writer Cristóbal de Castro pointed out that Spanish men were then reaffirming their identity through the rejection of their obsession with physical appearance, vegetarian food and, above all, «swing, effeminate and ambiguous, slack and weak»<sup>79</sup>. On the other hand, the regime established that all the venues specifically dedicated to these dances were linked to luxury consumption and imposed the corresponding monetary tax. The price of entrance to cabaret and dance halls was first taxed at 50%, and from 1946 onwards at 60%, while cinema remained at 30%, sporting events 15%, and theatre admissions were exempt from taxation<sup>80</sup>. The high state taxes on clubs and dance halls in Spain powerfully attracted the attention of Dave Sternberg, the American representative of George Johnson's Quintet, during his months in Barcelona, — as seen in a letter published in full in *Down Beat* on 16 December 1946 and reviewed in *Billboard* five days later<sup>81</sup>. The official beginning of the Cold War the following year and the urgent diplomatic needs of the dictatorship accelerated a process of defascistization that was already very advanced. From then on, with the Falangist biopolitical project relegated to the background, attacks on modern popular dances were based on morality and came mainly from the ultra-Catholic sectors<sup>82</sup>.

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from camp. Because the 'swing' specimens that are in the city are creeping up around you, lying in wait for you — like those sick people who take pleasure in the contagion of others — to drown your healthy joy with those foul gestures [...] that contract their soul and face, a reflection of lungs and spirits mortally touched by an irremediable decay».

<sup>77</sup>. *BOLETÍN DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DEL ESPECTÁCULO* 1944A, p. 44. Cited in MARTÍNEZ DEL FRESNO 2001, p. 69.

<sup>78</sup>. IGLESIAS 2010, pp. 127-131.

<sup>79</sup>. CASTRO 1946.

<sup>80</sup>. Order of 14 May 1946, Ministry of Finance.

<sup>81</sup>. STERNBERG 1946, p. 28.

<sup>82</sup>. IGLESIAS 2017, chapter 4.

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CONCLUSION

Research on the types of resistance to Franco's dictatorship has focused on those manifestations of explicit dissent. In the case of music, this role has essentially been reduced to practices such as songwriting, which were vehicles and explicit promoters of an anti-Francoist ideology that, not by chance, appeared later on. We have overlooked practices of resistance that were not so apparent and that are, of course, much more elusive for the researcher, but which greatly disturbed all the political cultures of the regime. Likewise, the explanations of invectives and censorship against modern dances have been linked exclusively to the challenges of Catholic morality, but the conscious loss of control of the body also implied an act of resistance to the precepts and mechanisms of somatic regulation of the Falange and the Army. To restore the importance these dances had for those who lived during Francoism involves making the frivolous significant. Only very rarely was popular music an explicitly anti-Francoist expression during the dictatorship, and it was there that its greatest capacity for transgression lay.

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