

7

PERFORMING THE 'ANTI-SPANISH' BODY

Jazz and Biopolitics in the Early Franco Regime (1939–1957)

Iván Iglesias

Through the study of censorship, legislation, the press, recordings and photographs, this chapter examines jazz as symbolic reference and musical practice in Franco's Spain and argues that it played a contestatory role during the so-called 'early Francoism' period (1939–1957). The dictatorship that General Franco established after the Spanish Civil War intensively and systematically used culture and music as propaganda to define its image and shape public opinion. By its connotations and active presence, jazz became one of the main negative references of the new regime against which to define Spanish race and music under the precepts of nationalism, Catholicism and fascism.

When the course of the Second World War threatened the authority of the Franco regime and its international position from 1944, the positive references to American music in the media served as examples of the tolerance, renovation and pro-Allies orientation of the dictatorship. As such, it is difficult to find an explicit official condemnation of jazz in Spain after 1945. Nevertheless, jazz dancing continued to be a subversive practice under the Franco regime until the mid-1950s. That subversion was not an intellectual and rational political gesture, but rather a challenge to Francoist biopolitics, the official precepts on morality and the body. Swing and boogie-woogie were directly linked to physical pleasure and corporeal liberation, opposed to the stoicism and restraint promoted by the regime's moral authorities. Consequently, the dictatorship tried to impose continuous constraints on jazz through recreational and fiscal policies, which remained active even after the official discourse about American music changed in the mid-1940s.

Introduction

General Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War, in April 1939, provided his dictatorship with the legitimacy to tackle the construction of Spanish identity

under the precepts of tradition, nationalism, Catholicism and fascism. Germany and Italy's support for the nationalist forces during the conflict and Axis victories in the first years of the Second World War encouraged the dictatorship's identification with fascism. Through the various organizations of the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Vice-Secretariat of Popular Education), administered by the only legal party, Falange, the dictatorship exercised very tight control over the press, radio and theatre. It demanded personal reports, enforced censorship, and sent regular warnings and instructions (Pérez Zaldondo 2011). Music occupied a prominent place in the articulation of the new Spanish identity, as an integral part of the Spanish culture and race and as a means of information and persuasion. By its connotations and active presence, jazz became one of the main negative references of the new regime against which to define Spanish race and music (Iglesias 2010; 2013).

However, at the end of the Second World War, Spain was isolated by the Allies on account of its previous commitment to the Axis powers. This led the Franco regime to cultivate more fluid relations with Western countries, which brought about changes in cultural policy in an attempt to portray Spain as a tolerant, renewed and pro-American country. The media began a propaganda campaign aimed at presenting Franco as a great ally of the West (and especially of the United States) in its new struggle against communism (Viñas 2003). After 1945, the official attitude towards American culture shifted completely, and Franco's cultural authorities and media started permitting and even promoting jazz. The dictatorship also tolerated the reappearance of the Hot Clubs of Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid, permitted jazz-specific publications (such as *Ritmo y melodía*), and even allowed American popular music to become the major topic of the leading music magazine of the time, *Ritmo* (Iglesias 2010; see also Chapter 8, this volume). This was not due to a relaxation of censorship, because, as Elisa Chuliá (2001, 32) has remarked, the implementation phase of the Francoist press did not end until 1948. (See also Chapter 8, this volume; while Pedro's primary focus is on music genre differentiation, my interest here is biopolitics, and in particular jazz dance.)

Jazz is usually seen as an inherently subversive music, positioned against state repression, especially in studies on the Nazi dictatorship (Snowball 2002; Zwerin 1985). However, in the case of the Franco regime, it is difficult to find an explicit official condemnation of jazz after 1945, once the dictatorship had started its process of de-fascistization and launched its pro-American propaganda. Nevertheless, those who lived under the regime remembered dancing to jazz in the 1940s and the 1950s as a dissident practice. Hence, this chapter argues that jazz played an important subversive role in the so-called 'early Francoism' era (1939–1957). However, that rebellion was not an intellectual and rational political gesture, but a challenge to Francoist biopolitics – that is, the regime's official precepts about the body. The dictatorship carried out diverse practices of exclusion, correction, disciplining and normalization of corporeal movements

and gestures. This biopolitics was the domain where the Franco regime achieved its most complete form of totalitarianism, and where the main Francoist political ‘families’ or ‘communities of discourse’ (the army, the Catholic Church and fascism) converged and agreed. Until the late 1950s, jazz was a form of dance music in Spain; and, by its connotations and practices of consumption, it represented a serious threat to the dictatorship biopolitics.

Defining the Franco Regime

It is extremely difficult to classify the Franco dictatorship as a totalitarian regime, for it never attempted to control the entire economy and all of Spain’s social, cultural and religious institutions (see Payne 1987, 626; and Chapter 8, this volume). Moreover, the survival of the Spanish dictatorship for almost forty years and its continuous political adaptations make linking it to a single and unequivocal system of government, such as totalitarianism, problematic. But maybe we are missing the point in trying to accommodate every dictatorship to a theoretical concept that historians specifically apply to Nazism and Stalinism. Within this framework, discussion has been limited to whether or not a regime is indeed totalitarian, or how totalitarian it is.

A second option would be to define the Spanish dictatorship as ‘fascist’, since the similarities between Mussolini’s system and the early Franco regime are undeniable (Payne 1999; Saz 2004; Gallego 2014). However, the long duration and mutability of Francoism are problematic again, because the regime underwent a clear process of de-fascistization between 1943 and 1957. Furthermore, even in its first five years, the Spanish dictatorship lacked much of the political modernism and mobilizing populism that tend to characterize fascist regimes (Gentile 2002; Griffin 2007). Franco did not aspire to any form of social transformation, and he did not associate nation with the people but with its historical institutions: the Church, the army and the monarchy (Saz 2013, 16).

If the Franco regime was neither totalitarian nor fascist, could it be described as authoritarian? Juan José Linz formulated such a theory forty years ago, and since then it has enjoyed a degree of support in many academic circles (Linz 1964; 2000). But this static concept does not define the dictatorship beyond situating it somewhere between totalitarianism and democracy, and therefore assessing it as somewhat ‘better’ than the former. The same might be said of Javier Tussell’s (1988, 88) classification of the Franco regime as a ‘non-totalitarian dictatorship’. Additionally, both labels were used by the Francoist authorities themselves (and continue to be invoked by conservatives in Spain) in order to portray the regime as a soft and quasi-paternalistic system.¹ Two radically different Spanish dictatorships – Primo de Rivera’s and Franco’s – are frequently grouped under the single umbrella of ‘authoritarianism’, which only serves to highlight the limitations of Linz’s theory.

References to ideal types, privileged by comparative sociology, can be useful in some contexts, but they tell us little about the specific features of a regime and can even occlude its changes. More than conceptualizing the Spanish dictatorship as a totalitarian, fascist or authoritarian apparatus, I am interested in its dynamics and its effective articulation of power. The Franco regime was a reactionary nationalist dictatorship with deep Catholic roots and a strong element of anti-communism throughout its history. It underwent a period of fascistization in its early stage, but this was gradually reversed during the Cold War out of diplomatic necessity. This particular combination explains the adaptability and durability of the Franco dictatorship, but also many of the music processes I will examine later. On the other hand, it also illuminates some of the reasons for the contradictory reception that the Franco regime accorded to jazz.

Francoism and Biopolitics

The term 'biopolitics' was coined more than a century ago and has been used in different periods with racist, naturalist and ecological connotations (Lemke 2007, 19–46). The specific concept I employ here was developed by Michel Foucault in a series of articles and books published between 1976 and the early 1980s. According to him, the main aim of most Western governments since the late eighteenth century has been the administration and regulation of behaviours, the control of mind and body, in order to achieve the general acceptance of the legal, moral and productive norms imposed by society as a means of ensuring life and coexistence. Biopolitics, which assumes the responsibility and control of the vital processes and bodily discipline, is exerted by diverse official institutions such as the school, the prison, the army and/or the psychiatric hospital (Foucault 1978; 2003).

Recently, numerous thinkers, including Giorgio Agamben (1998), Mitchell Dean (1999), Roberto Esposito (2008), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000; 2004; 2009), and Nikolas Rose (2007), have paid special attention to biopolitics or, in some cases, have centralized it in their reflections and studies on the relations between state and society. An analysis of biopolitics can bring together social spheres that are usually separated, like race, gender, sexuality and political consciousness. In Spain, the biopolitical approach has been particularly fruitful in its application to the Franco government: Javier Ugarte (2008, 49–78) integrated it in his study of homosexuality during the dictatorship; Salvador Cayuela (2009) used it to explain the political immobilization in the early years of the regime; and Anna Pelka (2014, 23–42) applied it to analyse the concept of femininity in postwar Spain.

Biopolitics has aroused the curiosity of some music scholars in recent times (e.g. Mueller 2014), although it has not yet been extensively deployed in popular music studies. However, this concept can clarify some effects of music that are

particularly obscure or difficult to isolate or systematize, such as those that are related to the body in a broad sense. Beyond textual and performative approaches, we lack the tools to help us explain the violent rejection and the deep anxiety generated by various dances in both democratic and authoritarian governments throughout the twentieth century. In this sense, biopolitics can highlight some aspects of the relation between dance and different forms of domination and subversion, as well as the bonds between music, body and memory.

In totalitarian states, claimed Foucault (2003, 221–222), the ancient right to kill and the new disciplinary power over life are combined to create a highly efficient government that completely invades vital processes. In the case of early Francoism, the new regime achieved institutional stability and political hegemony through strict physical and psychological repression (Anderson 2009; Rodrigo 2008; Vega-Sombria 2012). Purges, summary judgements and executions destroyed the last resistance and served as warnings to the people. Along with the memories of war, economic shortages and the difficult living conditions, this policy of terror made any explicit subversion impossible. Moreover, the regime started an acculturation and indoctrination process carried out by various educational and political institutions, and a strict supervision of cultural discourses and practices through censorship. As Francisco Vázquez-García (2009, 16–17) has pointed out, 1939 marked the transition from an interventionist to a totalitarian biopolitics in Spain, characterized by an extremely disciplinary state.

This rigid control was linked, first, to the fascist ideology of the single party, Falange; second, to the military authority and regulation; and, third, to the Catholic precepts and the substantial unity of body and soul supported by the Thomist tradition, the dictatorship's official philosophical doctrine (Heredia-Soriano 1978). When the Spanish Civil War ended, Francoist psychiatry provided biological justifications to 'prove' the strength of Spaniards and some sports programmes to refine the Spanish race (Rodríguez de Alarcón 1940). The official psychiatry also presented 'scientific demonstrations' that communists and Masons were mentally ill and exhibited seditious and anti-Spanish tendencies that justified their violent repression (González-Duro 2008). Black people were also considered inferior, particularly in the context of Spain's North African colonies (Beato-González and Villarino-Ulloa 1944). In this sense, Francoist biopolitics was not too far removed from Nazi thanatopolitics, which understood the German people as a sick body in need of the extirpation of those parts that contributed to its racial, moral and spiritual degeneration (Esposito 2008, 128).

The dictatorship focused on this control of the body in youth as the most important stage of life, the phase when ideological and moral values are established. Youth socialization was soon regulated under the influence of the Church, with José Ibáñez Martín serving as Minister of National Education between 1939 and 1951, and Falange, which imitated the mechanisms of the

fascist regimes it admired. Three institutions formed the backbone for the instruction of the new generations: the Sección Femenina (Women's Section), which became an official institution in 1937 and was in charge of a compulsory 'social service' for all unmarried woman between seventeen and thirty-five; the Sindicato Español Universitario (University Students Union; 1939), the only legal student organization; and the voluntary Frente de Juventudes (Youth Front; 1940), whose patriotic goal was cultural training and political indoctrination (Payne 1999, 32). Through them, individuals were corrected, guided, and submitted to strict discipline and correct behaviour.

Jazz as Dance and Popular Music in Spain

During its two first decades of government, the Franco regime had to deal with jazz as a set of social dances, due to particular conditions of reception. Jazz had appeared in Spain between late 1919 and early 1920 as an exclusive dance music in the leading hotels and casinos of Madrid, Barcelona and San Sebastián. During Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–1930), it spread extensively into musical theatre and cinema, helped by the enthusiastic reception for the Charleston and the success of Sam Wooding's, Josephine Baker's and Jack Hylton's performances. The democratic Second Republic (1931–1936) was when jazz established itself in Spain, particularly in Barcelona, where the large and select Hot Club was founded in May 1935, and the prestigious *Jazz Magazine* was published from August 1935 (see Chapters 8 and 9, this volume).

Contrary to what several historians of jazz in Spain have written (García-Martínez 1996, 121; Pujol-Baulenas 2005, 47), jazz did not undergo a particularly significant decline during the Civil War of 1936–1939. It was not suppressed by either side, and its forms and styles were not remarkably altered by the conflict. But the war did transform the spaces and audiences for jazz in Spain: in a context of populist exaltation, a desperate need for entertainment and a severe economic crisis, it was used extensively and strategically by both sides in their competing mass rhetorics. In fact, during the first post-Civil War months, theatres and cinemas presented jazz shows and films to avoid bankruptcy. The Spanish Civil War thus witnessed a quantitative growth of jazz fans in the big cities.

During the 1940s and the 1950s, jazz continued as a popular dance music in Spain, mainly in the forms of swing and boogie-woogie. In the postwar era, most Spaniards still associated jazz with Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton, Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington and Glenn Miller, but also with Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, Harry Warren and Irving Berlin, and even with actors and dancers such as Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers, Judy Garland and Dick Powell. This notion of jazz as a physical entertainment, not as an aesthetic contemplation, was also a consequence of the shortage of record players during the Franco regime's first

two first decades, which meant that enjoyment of jazz was mostly linked to radio broadcasts and the dance halls.

American cinema became a major vehicle for jazz dissemination after 1943, when Falange's control of the media was progressively relaxed and the authorities abandoned their attempt to exclude Hollywood movies from the domestic film market (Díez-Puertas 2003; León-Aguinaga 2010). The contradictory nature of jazz censorship contributed to this diffusion: on paper, it was radical and inflexible; in practice, its effectiveness depended on many circumstances, as well as the people involved and the participation of various political families in the process (see Chapter 8, this volume). Many of these incongruities were due to the diverse interests of each of the Francoist social pillars, and the difficulties they encountered when trying to decide what to ban. The Church was particularly worried about decorum, whereas Falangists were more concerned about the American origins and racial connotations of jazz (Iglesias 2012).

Only movies with a conventional plot came under the scrutiny of the Junta de Censura (Board of Censorship). Therefore, musical documentaries that contained nothing but a series of jazz performances, such as *Música de hot* (1941), escaped the censors.² Sometimes, a film was approved after revision of the plot, the script or the associated songs, but some sections could still be cut from the finished product. And even then each movie was at the mercy of the local critics, who watched it in a private screening and sent their reports to the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular, the Ministry of Propaganda. Some songs were suppressed because an ecclesiastical member of the Junta de Censura considered them 'indecorous' or 'pornographic'. Even in these cases, however, the cut song could be distributed with a sound recording of the film's music, because record censorship was not systematized until the 1960s. Moreover, it could still be played on the radio, because while both the Cinematographic Department and the Broadcasting Department came under the auspices of Falange, they acted independently and did not maintain direct contact with each other (Iglesias 2012).

In Spain, most people identified one dance with swing music: the lindy hop or jitterbug, an African-American dance that was standardized by 1927 at the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem (Hubbard and Monaghan 2009). In contrast to earlier ragtime dances or the Charleston, swing made use of four beats per measure and accelerated the tempo. Its dancers combined individual and couple formations, continuously moving with their knees bent and their bodies slightly inclined, to facilitate improvisation and frequent spins, jumps and acrobatics. The lindy hop's difficulty and the skills it demanded engendered growing specialization among Spanish dancers, who looked to swing's regular appearances in American films for their inspiration. The most famous dance hall in Spain was the Salon Amaya, opened in Barcelona in April 1943.

Young women, both as performers and as audiences, were fundamental agents for the reception of swing in Spain. The feminine presence was pervasive

in the jazz shows and orchestras of the leading cities. There were all-woman orchestras, such as Soro and his Girls, Trudi Bora and Melody Stars, and famous trios, such as the Arveu Sisters and the Russell Sisters. Many singers, including Carmelita Aubert, Elsie Bayron, Rina Celi, Katia Morlands, Mari Merche, Francis Ramírez and Lolita Garrido, even transcended local boundaries to become national stars. The name 'swing girl' or 'hot girl' was applied to women who were defined by their 'modernity' or 'frivolity' and were enthusiastic about American dances, stylish clothing and smoking (Vila San-Juan 1948).

The dance that progressively superseded swing from the late 1940s, boogie-woogie, did not moderate its body language. It was a fast blues style that appeared in the South of the United States in the 1920s and had spread around the world by 1941. Boogie-woogie was first heard in Spain in the 1930s, but the dance did not become popular there until 1944. However, it enjoyed enormous popularity during the second half of the 1940s and the early 1950s, with most jazz orchestras, dance contests and academies adopting it (Iglesias 2010). Boogie-woogie maintained swing's continuous horizontal movement and improvisation, with frequent spins and contortions.

The performances by some American jazz musicians in Spain during the 1950s produced many instances of 'collective hysteria', vividly detailed by the media. The descriptions of these uncategorizable acts, more or less exaggerated, are a good indication of the excitement and sense of liberation that American popular music could engender even before the dissemination of rock and roll. Lionel Hampton was one of the musicians who best illustrated this trend, incorporating swing, boogie-woogie and Latin rhythms in his numerous shows, which combined intensely dedicated performers, large spaces, dance and visual entertainment. On 14 and 15 March 1956, Hampton gave two concerts in Madrid, financed by the US Embassy in an explicit example of American cultural diplomacy (Iglesias 2011). The well-known critic Antonio Fernández-Cid described the show as 'amazing, on the edge of madness, approaching hysteria and epilepsy. The circle of the Carlos III Theatre seemed about to collapse from moment to moment' (Fernández-Cid 1956).³ Another critic, José Gómez-Figueroa, wrote:

Yesterday, thousands of spectators kicked the floor as if they were possessed by a sudden madness. They jumped, shouted, uttered real jungle battle-cries. What was happening? Madrid listened to perhaps the best jazz orchestra that performs around the world: Lionel Hampton's. It performed at the Carlos III Theatre yesterday, and the audience filled the hall. Some teenagers pulled up their hair, and more than fifty ladies who were in the front row of the nosebleed section began a tremendous uproar. They leaned so far over the railing that I thought they were going to kill themselves.

(Gómez-Figueroa 1956)

Jazz in the Biopolitics of Early Francoism

In practice, the attitude of the Franco regime towards jazz ranged from condemning it as degenerate music, through toleration once its economic value was appreciated, to its naturalization as mass entertainment, as happened in other dictatorships in the same era (Cerchiari 2003; Kater 1992; Lücke 2004; Starr 1983). However, the Francoist invective against jazz displayed serious concern for the body. The aforementioned connotations of jazz as a somatic experience of African–American origin associated with mass culture turned it into a common enemy for Falange, the army and the Church. By mid-1942, at the height of the enthusiasm for fascism, the Falangist Vice-Secretariat of Popular Education banned the broadcasting of ‘so-called black music, swing dances, or any other kind of compositions whose lyrics are in a foreign language, can erode public moral or the most elementary good taste’.⁴ Jazz was vilified not only as a genre in itself, but also as a source of hybridization: in August 1942, the National Spectacle Union banned the live performance of works from the classical repertoire by jazz and dance bands, and a month later it extended the prohibition to recordings and movies (Martínez del Fresno 2001). A letter that Falange circulated to all of the radio stations in 1943 pointed out that one of the main worries of the new regime was:

The development of the so-called ‘black music’, . . . the arbitrary, anti-musical, and anti-human jazz wave with which America has invaded Europe for years. Nothing further from our virile racial characteristics than those dead, cloying, decadent and monotonous melodies, which, like a cry of impotence, soften and feminize the soul, stupefying it in a sickly lassitude. Nothing further from our spiritual dignity than those dislocated and unbalanced dances, in which the human quality of attitude, the selected correctness of gesture, falls to a ridiculous contortionism.⁵

Thus, concerns about the purity of the ‘race’ coincided with the battle against foreign enemies, joining biopolitical and geopolitical considerations, just as happened in the Nazi Reich (Lemke 2011, 13). On the other hand, the concept of ‘Spanish race’ also incorporated religion as one of its core elements. Catholicism was conceived as integral to the Spanish nation throughout its history, as a unifying spirit (see also Chapter 8, this volume). Traditionalist musicographers and music critics warned of the dangers of those ‘exotic black dances, the products of the American jungles’, which were ‘collected and exported by Masons and anti-Catholics’ and ‘should be eliminated without mercy’ (quoted in Iglesias 2010, 125–126). The Catholic media said that jazz was a ‘savage’ and ‘pagan’ invention that entailed ‘a satanic malice’, with enthusiasts who were devoted to a perverse hedonism in which ‘life was squandered in orgies’ (Ruiz-Encina 1944). This worry about jazz was so deep-seated that



FIGURE 7.1 Modern Dances: Youngsters . . . Have Fun in Another Way

ultra-Catholics even distributed posters that condemned modern dances in the 1940s (see Figure 7.1).

Both swing and boogie-woogie were contrary to the stoicism and restraint promoted by Francoist biopolitics, the official precepts on morals and the body. Many attacks were based on an association between mass culture and women. One of the most influential writers among those attached to the regime, José María Pemán, defined the feminine nature in a book published in 1947. Under

the clear inspiration of Mussolini's social precepts, Pemán explained women's qualities as complementary to men's: man is intellectual, analytical and idealistic; woman is instinctive, elementary and materialist; man is creative and rational; woman is prone to mimesis and lacks reasoning ability and abstract thought. Therefore, woman must accept her subordinate condition selflessly (Pemán 1947). Of course, these ideas were not new. As Larry Shiner (2001) has argued, the denial of feminine creativity was part of the configuration of genius and the distinction between art and craft as early as the eighteenth century. The Franco regime merely made this stark binarism official doctrine.

Swing dancing was thought to emasculate men and masculinize women; moreover, women's participation in popular culture was a great nuisance for a dictatorship that wanted to keep them at home as the axis of the Catholic family (Graham 1995). In fact, dancing halls, cabarets and jazz music were all associated with the 'ultra-modern' woman – emblem of the 'anti-feminine' and accused of promoting foreign customs (Pelka 2014, 28). The 'correct' female dances were rhythmic exercises performed to national songs in massive displays, reminiscent of the routines at the Nuremberg rallies. These physical activities were adapted to the Church's axioms to avoid gestural eccentricities and extravagant displays of the female body (Richmond 2003, 25).

The influential idea that, until the end of the 1950s at least, the Franco regime banned black American music but allowed Afro-Cuban and Latin American dances because the latter were supposedly elements of the Hispanic imperial tradition (Labanyi 1995, 210) has some merit, but it is incomplete. The American origins of jazz undoubtedly played an important role in its reception in postwar Spain (Iglesias 2010), and Latin America was one of the main targets of Francoist propaganda (Delgado 1992; Pardo-Sanz 1995). However, this geostrategic explanation is based on the implausible belief that Spanish audiences and the Francoist authorities could distinguish between African-American music and its Latin American counterparts. A simple analysis of scores and recordings reveals that, from 1939 until 1957, US music and Caribbean music were performed by the same ensembles in the same spaces, and they appeared in the same publications and on the same records. Moreover, Spanish songwriters, including Luis Araque, Juan Durán-Alemany, Cástor Vilá, Augusto Algueró and Facundo Rivero, were familiar with such words as 'fox-rumba' and 'son-fox'.

The corporeality of jazz caused the Franco regime to attempt to impose sustained impediments to jazz and modern dancing through both recreational and fiscal policies. The dictatorship established that all of the halls that were dedicated to these dances were linked to luxury consumption and imposed specific fiscal constraints on them from the beginning of the regime. For instance, two legal orders of April 1941 and February 1942 stipulated that the entrance fees for cabarets and dance halls were taxed at 50 per cent; those for movie theatres at 30 per cent; and those for sports events at 15 per cent. By

contrast, opera, zarzuela, theatre, variety performances and circus were all tax-exempt.⁶ These fiscal restrictions remained in place even after the official discourse about American music changed in the mid-1940s, because they had no detrimental impact on the regime's international relations. In fact, in May 1946, the regime increased the tax on cabarets' and dance halls' entrance fees to 60 per cent. Meanwhile, the theatres and concert halls retained their tax-exempt status.⁷

A similar pattern is evident in the diatribes against jazz dances and their body movements, which persisted in some Catholic publications. As we have seen, jazz was associated during the early Francoist era with physical excitement and even with a transitory mental derangement that threatened public safety. Although, as I have pointed out, the official discourse on jazz changed from the mid-1940s for diplomatic reasons, criticism of modern American dances continued to appear in the leading ecclesiastical magazines, such as *Ecclesia*, until the mid-1950s. The Church's aim was to defend Spanish traditional dances and to anathematize 'Negroid music' as 'orgiastic' and 'obscene' practices that turned respectable people into 'uncontrolled animals' ('Selección de discos' 1949). Applying the same argument, the board of directors of the Palau de la Música, Barcelona, refused to hold 'musical activities that had some relation with jazz music' for many years from the mid-forties onwards (Castellá 1950, 21). Even the proposed visit of such a distinguished performer as the trumpeter Buck Clayton was blocked.

These attitudes gradually changed from 1957, due to a convergence of political, ideological, socio-economic and musical factors. On the one hand, Franco's successive modifications of the government to deal with the political crisis, the nation's near bankruptcy and growing social unrest meant the definitive relegation of the Falangist project and autarky, as well as the undermining of the national-Catholic hegemony, in favour of a conservative technocracy, economic liberalization and moderate cultural *aperturismo* (Molinero and Ysàs 2008, 18–46). At the same time, 'modern' jazz, led by the pianist Tete Montoliu, found ready acceptance in Spain as a set of styles that privileged the intellectual over the sentimental, contemplation over dance, mind over body. This new concept of 'authentic' jazz was constructed in opposition to new music genres such as rock and roll, twist and beat, as well as previous jazz styles. And this conceptualization resulted in a new appraisal of jazz in Spain as an autonomous art, written retrospectively to rid its history of its popular and dance forms (Iglesias forthcoming).

Conclusion

Jazz was an active mediator in the construction and negotiation of the new Spanish identity shaped and promoted by the Franco regime from 1939. Propaganda, economic interests, social demobilization, racism, sexuality and

gender questions are essential to understand the discourses and the censorship policies of jazz during early Francoism, but none of them alone can explain the importance of this music as a negative referent for the diverse factions of the dictatorship. In order to explain this reaction we also have to examine an issue that integrates many of these factors as mediations of power: the control of vital processes and the discipline of the body, the sphere in which the Franco regime reached its most definite expression of totalitarianism.

In Spain during the 1940s and 1950s, jazz was still a form of dance music that conveyed the subversion of the corporeal sobriety and gestural correctness claimed by Francoist biopolitics. It was an important means of escapism in a country dominated by the effects of economic autarky, political repression and physical and ideological inhibition. In this sense, it represented a common challenge to the moral, sexual and racial precepts of Falange, the Catholic Church and the army, the main ideological ‘families’ of the regime. The notion of dance as a liberation of the body was not a creation of rock and roll and late 1950s youth. In fact, swing and boogie-woogie stimulated Francoist discourses and censorship criteria that were later applied to the twist and rock.

By focusing on the body, this article foregrounds the relevance of dance practices to the analysis of cultural politics and the ability of jazz to resist or reinforce somatic norms. The study of modern dances that proliferated in early Francoism sheds light on the consumption and adaptation practices of foreign music genres, body codes, the implicit precepts of censorship and their possible subversion. The biopolitical approach can offer much information about music and dance under dictatorial regimes, as long as we do not separate the musical object from its representation, performance from audience, and discourse from experience.

Acknowledgements

This chapter was written within the framework of the projects ‘Música y cultura en España en el siglo XX: discursos sonoros y diálogos con Latinoamérica’ (HAR2012-33414) and ‘Música durante la guerra civil y el franquismo (1936–1960): culturas populares, vida musical e intercambios hispano-americanos’ (HAR2013-48658-C2-1-P), both financed by the Spanish Economic Ministry. I would like to thank Bruce Johnson for his invaluable suggestions with respect to the content.

Notes

- 1 Linz’s article was published for the first time in Spanish towards the end the dictatorship, in a book edited by Manuel Fraga, the Minister for Information and Tourism between 1962 and 1969 (Linz 1974).
- 2 ‘Música de hot’, November 1941, Board of Censorship, Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, AGA (3) 121 36/04659.

- 3 All translations are by the author.
- 4 'Emisiones musicales', 17 September 1942, Circular no. 95, Vice-Secretariat of Popular Education, National Delegation of Propaganda, Broadcasting Section, Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, AGA (3) 49.1 21/701.
- 5 'Por qué combatimos la música negra', 25 June 1943, Circular no. 79, Vice-Secretariat of Popular Education, National Delegation of Propaganda, Broadcasting Section, Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, AGA (3) 49.1 21/808.
- 6 Order of 8 April 1941 (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 10 April 1941) and Order of 20 February 1942 (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 7 March 1942).
- 7 Order of 14 May 1946 (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 17 May 1946).

References

- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998 [1995]. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Anderson, Peter. 2009. *The Francoist Military Trials: Terror and Complicity, 1939–1945*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Beato-González, Vicente and Ramón Villarino-Ulloa. 1944. *Capacidad mental del negro*. Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias.
- Castellá, José Luis. 1950. 'Concierto frustrado'. *Ritmo* 227: 21.
- Cayuela Sánchez, Salvador. 2009. 'El nacimiento de la biopolítica franquista: la invención del "homo patiens"'. *Isegoría. Revista de Filosofía Moral y Política* 40: 273–288.
- Cerchiarì, Luca. 2003. *Jazz e fascismo: dalla nascita della radio a Gorni Kramer*. Palermo: L'Epos.
- Chuliá, Elisa. 2001. *El poder y la palabra. Prensa y poder político en las dictaduras. El régimen de Franco ante la prensa y el periodismo*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- 'Cinco minutos con los campeones del "swing"'. 1944. *Destino* 404 (14 April): 2.
- Dean, Mitchell. 1999. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: Sage.
- Delgado, Lorenzo. 1992. *Imperio de papel. Acción cultural y política exterior durante el primer franquismo*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Díez-Puertas, Emeterio. 2003. *Historial social del cine en España*. Madrid: Fundamentos.
- Espósito, Roberto. 2008 [2004]. *Bíos: Biopolitics and Philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Esteve Blanes, Francisco. 1943. *Hacia tu ideal. Unas palabras a una joven*. Barcelona: Pontificia.
- Fernández-Cid, Antonio. 1956. 'Presentación de Lionel Hampton y su Orquesta en el Carlos III', *ABC* (Madrid), 15 March: 57.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978 [1976]. *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I: *An Introduction*. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, Michel. 2003 [1976]. *Society Must Be Defended*. New York: Picador.
- Gallego, Ferrán. 2014. *El evangelio fascista: la formación de la cultura política del franquismo (1930–1950)*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- García-Martínez, José María. 1996. *Del fox-trot al jazz flamenco. El jazz en España: 1919–1996*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Gentile, Emilio. 2002. *Fascismo: Storia e interpretazione*. Roma: Laterza.
- Gómez-Figueroa, José. 1956. '¡Jazz, jazz, jazz! Paroxismo ante el negro Hampton'. *Informaciones*, 15 March: 6.
- González-Duro, Enrique. 2008. *Los psiquiatras de Franco. Los rojos no estaban locos*. Barcelona: Península.

- Graham, Helen. 1995. 'Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s'. In Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, eds, *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*, 182–195. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Griffin, Roger. 2007. *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire: The New World Order*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2004. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2009. *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Heredia-Soriano, Antonio. 1978. 'La filosofía en el bachillerato español (1938–1975)'. In Antonio Heredia Soriano, ed., *Actas del I Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía Española*, 83–118. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Hubbard, Karen and Terry Monaghan. 2009. 'Negotiating Compromise on a Burnished Wood Floor: Social Dancing at the Savoy'. In Julie Malnig, ed., *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader*, 126–145. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Iglesias, Iván. 2010. '(Re)construyendo la identidad musical española: el jazz y el discurso cultural del franquismo durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial'. *Historia Actual* 23: 119–136.
- Iglesias, Iván. 2011. "'Vehículo de la mejor amistad": El jazz como propaganda norteamericana en la España de los años cincuenta'. *Historia del presente* 17: 41–54.
- Iglesias, Iván. 2012. '¿Melodías prohibidas? El jazz en el cine del primer franquismo (1939–1945)'. In Teresa Fraile and Eduardo Viñuela, eds, *La música en el lenguaje audiovisual: aproximaciones multidisciplinares a una comunicación mediática*, 61–73. Sevilla: Arcibel.
- Iglesias, Iván. 2013. 'Swinging Modernity: Jazz and Politics in Franco's Spain (1939–1968)'. In Silvia Martínez and Héctor Fouce, ed., *Made in Spain: Studies in Popular Music*, 101–112. New York: Routledge.
- Iglesias, Iván. Forthcoming. *El jazz y la España de Franco (1936–1968)*. Barcelona: Nortesur-Musikeon.
- Kater, Michael H. 1992. *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Labanyi, Jo. 1995. 'Censorship or the Fear of Mass Culture'. In Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, eds, *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*, 207–214. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lemke, Thomas. 2011. *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- León-Aguinaga, Pablo. 2010. *Sospechosos habituales: El cine norteamericano, Estados Unidos y la España franquista, 1939–1960*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Linz, Juan J. 1974. 'Una teoría del régimen autoritario: el caso de España'. In Manuel Fraga, ed., *El Estado y la política: la España de los años 70*, 467–531. Madrid: Moneda y Crédito.
- Linz, Juan J. 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Lücke, Martin. 2004. *Jazz im Totalitarismus: Eine komparative Analyse des politisch motivierten Umgangs mit dem Jazz während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Stalinismus*. Münster: Lit.

- Martínez del Fresno, Beatriz. 2001. 'Realidades y máscaras de la música de posguerra'. In Ignacio Henares Cuéllar *et al.*, eds, *Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo*, vol. II, 31–82. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Molinero, Carme and Pere Ysàs. 2008. *Anatomía del franquismo. De la supervivencia a la agonía, 1945–1977*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Mueller, Charles. 2014. 'Were British Subcultures the Beginning of Multitude?' In Sheila Whiteley and Jedediah Sklower, eds, *Countercultures and Popular Music*, 65–79. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Padín, Francisco. 1943. 'La música de "jazz" y sus estragos'. *Ritmo* 170 (November): 7–8.
- Pardo-Sanz, Rosa. 1995. *Con Franco hacia el Imperio. La política exterior española en América Latina, 1939–1945*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- Payne, Stanley. 1987. *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Payne, Stanley. 1999. *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Pelka, Anna. 2014. 'Mujer e ideología en la posguerra española: feminidad, cuerpo y vestido'. *Historia social* 79: 23–42.
- Pemán, José María. 1947. *De doce cualidades de la mujer*. Madrid: Alcor.
- Pérez Zalduondo, Gemma. 2011. 'Música, censura y Falange: el control de la actividad musical desde la Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (1941–1945)'. *Arbor* 751: 875–886.
- Pujol-Baulenas, Jordi. 2005. *Jazz en Barcelona (1920–1965)*. Barcelona: Almendra Music.
- Richmond, Kathleen. 2003. *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934–1959*. New York: Routledge.
- Rodrigo, Javier. 2008. *Hasta la raíz: Violencia durante la Guerra Civil y la dictadura franquista*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Rodríguez de Alarcón, Justino. 1940. 'Alrededor del deporte: Tesis de mejoramiento racial'. *Destino* 139: 10.
- Rose, Nikolas. 2007. *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twentieth-first Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ruiz-Encina, Justo. 1944. 'Concepto "hot" sobre la vida y la muerte'. *El Correo Catalán*, 11 January: 5.
- Saz, Ismael. 2004. *Fascismo y franquismo*. Valencia: Universitat de València.
- Saz, Ismael. 2013. *Las caras del franquismo*. Granada: Comares.
- 'Selección de discos'. 1949. *Ecclesia* 432 (22 October): 4.
- Shiner, Larry. 2001. *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Snowball, David. 2002. 'Controlling Degenerate Music: Jazz in the Third Reich'. In Michael J. Budds, ed., *Jazz and the Germans*, 149–166. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon.
- Starr, S. Frederick. 1983. *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917–1980*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tussell, Javier. 1988. *La dictadura de Franco*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Ugarte, Francisco Javier. 2008. 'Las bases ideológicas de la represión'. In Javier Ugarte, ed., *Una discriminación universal: la homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la Transición*, 49–78. Barcelona/Madrid: Egales.
- Vázquez-García, Francisco. 2009. *La invención del racismo. Nacimiento de la biopolítica en España, 1600–1940*. Madrid: Akal.

- Vega-Sombria, Santiago. 2012. *La política del miedo. El papel de la represión en el franquismo*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Vila San-Juan, Juan Felipe. 1948. 'Cinematografía. Los estrenos'. *La Vanguardia Española*, 28 March: 11.
- Viñas, Ángel. 2003. *En las garras del águila. Los pactos con Estados Unidos, de Francisco Franco a Felipe González*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Zwerin, Michael. 1985. *La Tristesse de Saint Louis: Jazz Under the Nazis*. London and New York: Quartet Books.