

Studies in Spanish & Latin American Cinemas
Volume 14 Number 2

© 2017 Intellect Ltd Article. English language. doi: 10.1386/slac.14.2.171_1

SARAH TOWN
Princeton University

Cuba dances: Popular dance, documentary film and the construction of the revolutionary state

ABSTRACT

With the 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution, documentary film became a means by which to study and educate the population, to disseminate and at times question revolutionary ideology, and through these processes to construct a new nation. Because of its association with the lively effervescence of cubanía, popular dance continued to be a crucial element in Cuba's self-image, featured prominently in new filmic production. Yet revolutionary perspectives on past eras and goals for a new moral culture complicated its portrayal. This article explores the diverse, sometimes conflicting, currents in Cuba's documentary film production from 1960 to 1974 through the analysis of four short documentaries focused on popular dance. It argues that popular dance, as viewed through the lens of documentary film, was a crucial area of ideological struggle, the victory of which implied control over the minds, hearts and bodies of Cubans in the construction of a revolutionary state.

KEYWORDS

social dance
popular music
Cuban Revolution
documentary film
revolutionary ideology
imagined community

In an early scene of Julio García Espinosa's *Cuba Baila/Cuba Dances* (1961) two young boys serenade passengers on a crowded bus with a sparse rendition of the classic bolero-son 'Lágrimas negras' ('Black Tears').

1. A *quince* or *quinceañera* is a party celebrating a girl's 15th birthday and introducing her to society through ceremony and dance.



Figure 1: Boys serenade bus passengers as Flora and Ramón discuss the costs of a quince in Julio García Espinosa's *Cuba Baila/Cuba Dances* (Cuba: ICAIC, 1961).

Their reedy treble voices, accompanied by *maracas* and *clave*, provide a sonic backdrop as a couple – Flora and Ramón – debate the prices of different bands and venues, review their current sacrifices and debts, and consider how much money they can save in order to spend it on their daughter Marcia's upcoming *quince*.¹ Marcia sits nearby, lost in thought, when Joséito, her suitor, rides up to the bus on his bicycle and grabs onto her window. Flora notices him and quickly shoos him away, appealing to a uniformed man on the bus for help. She complains to Ramón that Marcia is falling in love with the shopkeeper's son. Ramón mutters something in response. 'I can't hear you!' Flora insists. 'We owe the shopkeeper [money] as well!' Ramón repeats loudly. The music stops abruptly. The bus sits in tense silence for a moment as passengers glance uneasily at the couple.

The Cuban revolution's first feature-length film, *Cuba Baila* combines the promise of a reward through dance with a lesson in socialist values, portraying a pre-revolutionary mother who dreams of giving her daughter an elegant *quince* beyond the family's means. Ultimately, her efforts fail and she is forced to abandon her elitist pretensions as her daughter and guests celebrate in a working-class beer garden instead. Set in the palpably recent past, the film nonetheless proposes a sharp distinction between before and after, condemning the prejudices held and abuses practiced by its main characters and rewarding their serendipitous conversion to an idealized socialist morality. On the other hand, there are continuities, particularly in the realm of popular music and entertainment, and these very connections to the troubled past – like the sound world invoked by the bolero 'Lágrimas negras' ('Black Tears') – are positioned as the glue that will hold the new revolutionary society together.

As the legend goes, Fidel Castro marched into Havana on 1 January 1959 and announced, '[t]he Revolution begins now' (Domínguez 1989: 16). The

military battle for control over the country's resources and institutions was just the beginning; the work of transforming Cuban society and creating a powerful, self-sufficient Caribbean nation to stand independent and defiant in the face of northern imperialist agendas was still ahead. Over the following decades, the Revolution demanded sacrifice and consensus of its subjects, in turn promising material, social and affective rewards. Culture became a crucial instrument with which to alleviate the tension between the ideological demands of the state and the material realities of its people. In the early to mid-1960s' Cuba, the ethos of '*revolución con pachanga*' ('revolution with a party atmosphere') prevailed. The working classes were rewarded for their efforts in the Revolution, and leisurely diversions and free access to the arts were considered part of the ideal socialist lifestyle. Cuban popular music and dance were both a form of entertainment and a means of solidifying a sense of national identity.

The Cuban Film Institute (ICAIC) was one of the new nation's first cultural institutions, built on the infrastructure of the Red Film Brigades that had helped to document and divulge the recent revolutionary efforts, and making use of production facilities developed by Cuba's own 'Czar of film', Manuel Alonso (Chanan 2004: 117–21; Ecuared 2017). As the new government settled in, ICAIC continued to educate the Cuban public and to disseminate its revolutionary messages, becoming a crucial space for producing audio-visual representations of idealized versions of the revolutionary process.² Lillian Guerra has called these better-than-life narratives portrayed in documentary and feature films produced by ICAIC 'hyper-real', arguing that they consistently modelled for Cuba's citizens the way things 'should be', rather than the way they were (2012: 317–18). Not only did Cubans witness the hyper-real utopia of the Revolution on the big screen, they were also encouraged to enact it. Alongside these filmic productions, the revolutionary government organized massive political events on a regular basis, requiring attendance and thus obligating the Cuban people to demonstrate their enthusiastic commitment to the Revolution through public displays of allegiance (Guerra 2012: 5–25).

The new regime similarly began to co-opt leisure activities, gathering them under a new rubric of national celebrations. Adriana Orejuela Martínez notes that in the years immediately following the Revolution, public celebrations grew in size and frequency, surpassing those of previous eras. Havana's night-life also blossomed, made more affordable by new policies put in place by the National Tourism Institute (see e.g. 2006: 156, 159, 173–74, 186). Together, these developments enhanced the sense of revolutionary euphoria and further cemented national unity. Thus, I argue here that not only overtly political events but also those that appear to be simply recreational can be seen under the coercive framework of revolutionary hyper-reality. Through large-scale events and celebrations with a musical focus, the government rewarded citizens for successful campaigns and celebrated historic occasions; in this way, even social dance became constructive of revolutionary national consensus. As the iron claws of socialist morality took hold and pressure for national material productivity escalated, the role of leisure within the Revolution became increasingly complicated. However, contrary to the prevailing scholarly narrative, I will argue here that popular dance culture continued to play a complex and important role in the Revolutionary project.³

Benedict Anderson calls the nation 'an imagined political community' and demonstrates how a sense of shared space and destiny develops around a common vernacular in order to 'command profound emotional

2. This is true even though the ICAIC gave its filmmakers a degree of artistic leeway in their productions.
3. For examples of the existing narrative, in which popular dance culture fades in importance during the late 1960s and the early 1970s to mid-1970s (see Moore 2006: 110–19, 148–53; Balbuena 2003: 64–68).

legitimacy' and inspire self-sacrificing love (2006: 4–6, 141). Here, I consider how popular music and dance have served as a sort of 'vernacular' in post-revolutionary Cuba, contributing towards the project of bringing together disparate social groups and inspiring heroic self-sacrifice. My analysis focuses on four short documentaries produced by diverse filmmakers on popular dance-related themes in the 1960s, at a time when the Cuban revolutionary ethos transitioned from a euphoric idealism to a determined pragmatism. In each case, the filmic portrayal of popular dance culture functions both as a practical lesson in national culture and as a reflection of a particular social reality, which in turn provides relief from productive anxieties and generates pleasurable social contact and choreographies. Developing the filmic material in relation to its larger historical context, I trace how popular dance culture played a crucial role in cementing national consciousness and consensus, and thus how, despite its apparent role as idle entertainment, social dance came to be used productively by the revolutionary government.

P.M.

The year was 1961. The Revolution was just over two years old, and already the social and economic changes that it had produced were palpable. Educated youth had travelled from the island's cities to its farthest reaches under the auspices of the national literacy campaign. Cuba had just pulled



Figure 2: The end of Cuba's national literacy campaign, December 1961. Photo by Liborio Noval, included in *Maestra* (Catherine Murphy, USA, 2011). Courtesy of Women Make Movies.

off a military impossibility, repulsing an American-instigated invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

One month later, *P.M.* (1961), a short film by Orlando Jiménez Leal and Sabá Cabrera Infante, was broadcast on Cuban television. Betraying the influence of European free cinema, the film chronicles a freewheeling nocturnal tour of live music venues scattered across Havana. Travelling from Regla across Havana Bay, to the Cuatro Caminos of central Havana, to the outlying western neighbourhood of Marianao and back, the film-as-tour guide covers a significant portion of the metropolitan area and its nightlife in fifteen short minutes (Anon. n.d.c). As streetlights leave trails and one bar blends into the next, the film's unseen, unheard narrator documents how Havana's old nocturnal habits continue to flourish in all their carefree glory.

We enter and leave each site seemingly without leaving a trace, taking in an intimate yet voyeuristic sample of nighttime activities that are both lively and lonely. The camera roves, dwelling on the workers and revellers who animate each location, all in various states of exhaustion and dishevelment. **By far the hardest workers depicted in the film are its uneducated, non-revolutionary musicians.** Filmmaker and critic Nestor Almendros bestowed ringing praise on the both film and its subjects, the 'musicians who go from bar to bar with



Figure 3: A group of Cuban soldiers poses after defeating the US-backed invasion at Bay of Pigs. Photo credit: Getty Images/Wall Street Journal.

4. Almendros also refers to them romantically as the 'anonymous artists of the people'.
5. In his unpublished dissertation, Dylan Robbins points to the minimalist, vanguardist aesthetic of this musical moment (2010). I focus here on the inspiration, virtuosity, labour and heroism of the anonymous musician.
6. 'If you go by my house, and if you see my wife, tell her not to wait for me today, because I'm going to Pueblo Nuevo to dance'. According to Aristides Falcón Paradí, this is a popular song from Havana's carnival, which used to be sung by the *comparsa* or ensemble called El Barracón de Pueblo Nuevo (personal communication). This same musical sample, connecting 1960s' Cuba to the 1950s, also connects this filmic moment to the 1990s and NG La banda's release of 'La conga del negro cansado' ('The conga of the tired black man'), in which they sing a version of the same refrain (1993). All translations are the author's.



Figure 4: A dancing patron puts in a request with the musicians. Screen shot from Orlando Jiménez Leal and Sabá Cabrera Infante's *P.M.* (Cuba: ICAIC, 1961).

a guitar, a drum, and their vocal chords as their only instruments', labouring with ingenuity as they entertain the public⁴ (1961). Caught on-screen with the revellers they animate, the musicians sweat and strain, fighting exhaustion, not to teach the island's illiterate masses or repel enemy invaders – just for entertainment. Apparently oblivious to the Revolution's real struggles for national productivity and autonomy, *P.M.* portrays the world beyond the state, in which nothing seems to have changed.

We dip into the second scene, in central Havana, where a lively crowd engulfs the musicians, carousing around them as they play. The conga player takes the lead, whistling the melody of the classic *danzón* 'Pepita' and accompanying himself on his drum in an austere rendition.⁵ The next number begins with the rhythms of the *conga de comparsa*, a popular street celebration, soon embellished with a popular refrain recorded by Pío Leyva in the 1950s: 'Si pasas por mi casa, y si ves a mi mujer, le dices que hoy no me espere, que voy pa' Pueblo Nuevo, que voy a echar un pie'.⁶ The crowd chants along and the dancing gets wild, glee spreading around the room. A slender woman shuffles rhythmically across the floor as if parading down the street.

Others join her and onlookers form a circle, containing the dance and goading them on. One man bends his knees deeply, nearly sinking out of view as he crosses the circle in pursuit of another female dancer. The first woman dances across again, followed by a second man, who reaches for her hips and then returns to his spot at the bar, laughing. The animated conga incites vigorous shaking of the shoulders and hips and bouncing steps, while the unison chorus takes over the room. The image ends abruptly at the peak of this fervour, while the soundtrack preserves the drum, resonant and cutting, which accompanies us back onto the street. Lighted windows and neon signs again blur by as we speed away to our next destination. The film's camera work combines with its subject matter to suggest drunken frivolity. Meanwhile, its musicians are models of heroic struggle, producing much with little, grinning

bravely through exhaustion, labouring while others celebrate, an irony that surely was not lost on the revolutionary establishment.

Still reeling from the recent battle at the Bay of Pigs, ICAIC director Alfredo Guevara lashed out at the film's subjects and the filmmakers for their frivolous display. This so-called '*pachanga sin revolución*' ('party without revolution') was seen as a celebration of Batista-era decadence that undermined the new government's goals and offended those heroes who had so recently sacrificed so much. Having aired the film on national television without ICAIC approval in May, Jimenez Leal and Cabrera Infante sought approval for a screening in a theatre; this was denied (Ponte 2012). ICAIC's decision to censor the film was ratified by a collective act of the nation's new political leadership in a series of discussions among leading intellectuals held at the National Library in Havana⁷ (Fernández Retamar 2011). In a speech given at the culmination of this event on 30 June 1961, Castro gave voice to what became the cornerstone of Revolutionary arts policy: '[w]ithin the Revolution, everything. Against the Revolution, nothing [...]'. This is a fundamental principle of the Revolution' (2011: 12–13). Far from clarifying any precise thematic or stylistic priorities, Castro's statement nonetheless made clear the Revolution's all-encompassing ambitions with respect to labour, the arts and life in general.

Los del baile/Those from the Dance

Both the cornerstone of Cuban material productivity and an evocative metaphor for the essence of the Cuban spirit, by the time of the Revolution, sugar had dominated Cuba's economy and its imaginary for more than a century.⁸ Imbricated in international webs of race, class and gender-based exploitation and exchange, sugar also suggested sensuality, flavour and seduction. Its exclamation frequently accompanied the popular dance culture that circulated through similar networks, inviting the experimentation of unknowing consumers. With the Revolution, the importance of sugar production loomed even larger as the key to national material self-sufficiency (see e.g. Domínguez 1989: 63–92). Thus, in an early endeavour in massive productivity, the revolutionary government declared 1965 to be the Year of Agriculture. As the year's harvest season kicked into high gear, a competition to produce the biggest sugar yield seized workers and communities around the country, provoking friendly rivalry and heroic displays.

Castro got involved as well, commissioning a mozambique from the hugely popular Pedro Izquierdo, also known as Pello el Afrokán, to which he himself penned the not-so-subtle motivational lyrics.

Izquierdo seemed to hold the key to the tirelessly moving bodies of the nation's productive workforce and perhaps even those beyond its borders⁹ (Molina and Lee 1965: 1).

All these elements – productivity, ideology, leisure and the role of popular dance culture – were revealed and called into question in Nicolás Guillén Landrián's *Los del baile/Those from the Dance* (1965) from the same year.¹⁰ The film opens with Izquierdo's commanding presence as he vigorously conducts his army of brass and percussion. Bright lights bounce off the pristine white-collared shirts of his band and the rippling blouse of an '*afrocana*' dancer, who shimmies to the music beside him.¹¹ Gradually, the camera pans out to show other dancers at the event, working-class men and women dressed to impress in button-down shirts and party dresses, scuffing up dust as they dance

7. This series of discussions gave birth to the prestigious Unión Nacional de Escritores e Artistas de Cuba, UNEAC, a month and a half later.
8. On the sweeping impact of sugar production and consumption on the world economy, with a focus on the British Caribbean, see Mintz (1985). For an overview of the growth and social impact of Cuba's sugar industry, see Castellanos (2003: 17–56). For an exploration of the resonant symbolism connecting sugar, the mulata and the Cuban nation, see Kutziński (1993).
9. Castro accompanies the rehearsal and recording process enthusiastically and tells Izquierdo that the band should tour Europe and the Soviet Union, bringing their Cuban rhythms to new audiences.
10. Like the film itself, the title's ambiguity affords multiple translations, including *The People at the Dance*, *Those of the Dance* or even simply *The Dancers*.
11. The '*afrocanas*' were female dancers who typically performed along with Izquierdo.



Figures 5: Producing the nation in the Year of Agriculture. Cartoons from Hoy, April 1965.

Translations:

- a. Daddy, strong like in Bay of Pigs!
- b. With the nation on his arm
- c. If you want to find me, look for me in the cane field!
- d. Am I coming out during the day?

‘Bailando mozambique me voy a cortar caña’ La gente va llegando al corte La gente va llegando al corte Y todos los que no so vagos Empiezan a coger la mocha. Algunos dicen que sí, Ninguno dice que no. ... Ay que buena está la caña, mamá Ay arrima la carreta pa’ cá.	‘Dancing Mozambique I’m going to cut cane’ People are arriving to the harvest People are arriving to the harvest And all who aren’t lazy Start to collect the cane. Some say yes, No one says no. ... Oh, how good the cane is, mama Oh, bring that cart over here.
---	---

Figure 6: ‘El mozambique de la caña’ (‘The mozambique of the sugarcane’) (1965), by Castro, Izquierdo and Márquez. Hoy, 13 April 1965.

and carouse around an earthen public square. As the credits end, the music and dance continue. The camera shifts from heads and shoulders to midriffs and legs, capturing gleeful faces, twisting hips and knees, and glimpses of a woman’s shift peeking out from inside her button-down dress.



Figure 7: The slip peeking out from inside a dancer's dress. Screen shot from Nicolás Guillén Landrián's *Los del baile/Those from the Dance* (Cuba: ICAIC, 1965).

The film's sonic and kinetic anchor, the *mozambique*, was debuted by Izquierdo himself in 1963 and combined the musical aesthetics of the *conga de comparsa* with a dance fusion of the Cuban mambo and the North American twist. After its brief cameo in the opening, Izquierdo's band continues to fuel the party from behind the scenes, its powerful yet diffuse brass and percussive timbres echoing through public spaces and people's bodies, carried by the force of breath on mouthpiece and skin on skin. Drums and bells play complex, interlocking patterns that nonetheless insist on the marching rhythm of one-two, one-two. The melody contributes to this drive with strong hits on the downbeats of the odd bars, and syncopated, scurrying lines in the even ones. Dancers shimmy their shoulders and bend and twist their knees in couples and groups. The camera focuses frequently on their strong, twisting backs and waists as it pans and cuts around crowded, dusty plazas.

Yet Guillén Landrián explores other sides of this utopian image as well. Public spaces are festooned with political posters, and revelers saunter about with cartons of government beer in hand: the determined and minimalist aesthetics of revolution. But images that sneak in between these moments reveal another economy and another affect; the independent tailor, the private hairdresser – soon to vanish from the Cuban landscape – appear nearly surly, lost in thought. Throughout the film, the boisterous sounds of Izquierdo's *mozambique* are repeatedly interrupted by a clavinet that plays a languid yet stilted melody adorned with *cinquillos*.¹² In contrast to the *mozambique*'s strident major modality and densely upbeat rhythm, this second theme is in a minor modality, and its melody drips and falls haltingly down a minor sixth.¹³ The keyboard's spiny and haunting electronic timbre also contradicts the vigorous, earthy sounds of brass and percussion. Its rhythmic patterns evoke nineteenth-century social dance while the 'modern' harpsichord sound harbours vague echoes of the baroque.¹⁴

12. The clavinet is an electric piano designed by Hoehner in the early 1960s to suggest the sound of the clavichord, a predecessor to the pianoforte (Davies 2013; Orton and Davies 2013). In contrast to my hearing, other authors have found this element in the soundtrack to be 'suave' and 'taciturn' (Casamayor 2015: 76). The *cinquillo* is a five-onset rhythmic pattern closely associated with older Cuban salon styles such as the *contradanza*, *danza* and *danzón*.
13. Federico García is credited for the original music on this film's soundtrack.
14. The boisterous *mozambique* and its mechanical foil are revisited a few years later in Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's experimental *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (1968). In this fictional series of vignettes, protagonist Sergio is a disaffected member of Cuba's pre-revolutionary bourgeoisie who stays behind after Castro's 1959 victory. His cynical, laconic voice narrates the waning of revolutionary euphoria and the emerging grim realization that 400 years of underdevelopment cannot be lived down in a decade. In turning its focus from the experience of the island's black working class to its 'European', intellectual elite, *Memorias* complements and expands upon the exploration that Guillén Landrián proposes in *Los del baile*. The Gutiérrez Alea soundtrack also seems to emanate from Guillén Landrián's documentary, developing the latter's two contrasting

sonic worlds (among others) in a similar way. In both, the powerful, unpolished sounds of Pello el Afrokán represent the street, the 'tropical' and carnivalesque oblivion. By contrast, the clavinet sounds a wistful, mechanical collective interior. Other music, including Felix Reina's *danzón* 'Angoa', Vivaldi's *Spring Concerto* and a pointillist and dissonant trio of guitar, flute and clavinet by Leo Brouwer expands the sonic palette further.

15. This sequence calls to mind Louis Althusser's theory of interpellation, the process by which the state seeks to constitute its subjects within its own ideological system. Just as friends recognize and hail one another on the street, so ideology makes itself known and 'obvious' to those who are 'already' its subjects, facilitating their integration into the appropriate political and social structures and enabling the reproduction of the relations of production (Althusser 2002).
16. In interesting contrast to my reading of the film, its synopsis describes the popular dance scenes as an 'ideal', subjective world dreamt of by its protagonists, who are at other moments immersed in the 'real' world of ambient sound and daily activity. Nonetheless, Guillén Landrián's portrayal of popular dance as an escape coincides with the state's use of such events to provide 'escape' from work, while exercising its hegemony over leisure activities. Thus, as the film's protagonists reminisce about the dance, they also

In a montage crescendo, Guillén Landrián brings home this contrast, enacting on film the dissolution of boundaries between public and private, productivity and leisure that the Revolution seemed bent on achieving. Following the second public dance scene, the scene shifts to a young man seated alone in silence at a window. Izquierdo's brass section first abruptly hails the young man and then turns to the percussion. The band engages in an internal call and response between brass and percussion and the filmic montage seems to mimic this, shifting back and forth between an older man at the dance and the younger one alone in the window.¹⁵ After six quick cuts, the film settles back into a unified portrayal of *mozambique* music and dance, this time focused on the men at the event. In this way, Guillén Landrián's intervention lays bare the links between material productivity and public acts of nation building that are animated and strengthened through social dance in revolutionary Cuba.¹⁶

As the film continues, song forms disappear, replaced by simple riffs, and the *mozambique* rhythm continues unabated. Eyes glaze over, yet bodies do not stop. This is the ideal *revolución con pachanga*: material productivity and celebratory unity, all wrapped in **the unmistakable and irresistible swing of cubanía, or quintessential Cubanness.** Yet on the ground, this utopia begins to disintegrate. Militants from a range of social sectors, from young artists to entrepreneurial peasants to urban blacks, who early on were part of the revolutionary vanguard, found themselves in conflict with the country's evolving economic and cultural policies (Guerra 2012: 19–20). By the late 1960s, economic circumstances had worsened and the sense of collective inspiration had begun to wane. Cuba's increasing economic dependence on the Soviet Union became a virtual stranglehold that Castro was determined to shake against all odds (Domínguez 1989: 63–77).

...y tenemos sabor

Through all this, the state struggled to maintain control over the thoughts and actions of the population, and images of national unity and celebration were vital to that project. Sara Gómez's 1967 documentary *...y tenemos sabor / ... and we have flavor* reflects this drive. Assigned the task of producing a documentary on Cuban musical instruments, Gómez focused on those associated with popular dance music, arriving at the conclusion that there is a Cuban way to 'play anything that makes a sound' (Anon. n.d.a). For each instrument, the film's narrator, instrument maker and musician Alberto Zayas describes its materials, and then we see and hear it in context.¹⁷ Thus the film meditates in particular on the elusive concept of *el sabor cubano* ('Cuban flavour') working to reaffirm a sense of national cultural identity.¹⁸

Zayas begins his account with a core Cuban musical concept, rhythm and timbral element: the *clave*. He holds up a pair and explains, '[t]wo pieces of a broom stick [...] But' – he hits them together a few times, indicating their timbre – 'they give so much flavour'.¹⁹

Repeatedly, his account contrasts the simplicity of the materials used with the richness of their sonic production and emphasizes the uniquely Cuban – or 'mulatto' as he says – construction of the instrument.²⁰ He dramatizes the elusive qualities of Cuban flavour as he pauses to reflect with visible relish on each instrument's unique construction, technique and sound.²¹ Although at first Gómez's pedagogical focus seems unrelated to the overarching narrative of massive productivity, recreational release and social cohesion, in fact



Figure 8: *Zayas savours the flavour of the clave*. Screen shot from Sara Gómez's ...y tenemos sabor/...and we have flavor (Cuba: ICAIC, 1967).

it plays a crucial role within that project by defining and codifying a unified national culture. Despite their focus on Cuban popular dance music, many of the themes explored by Gómez and Zayas are easily read as metaphors for broader social issues.

In this film, staging is simple but essential. When Gómez travels from Zayas's workshop to the 'field' to see each instrument in action, she presents not raw footage of actual performances, but rather constructed scenes that enact selected aspects of each instrument and genre, its practice and significance. Zayas helps with the ideological encoding at work. For example, following a cha-cha-cha performance he reiterates, '[b]ut we don't need that finery to make music' – by 'finery' presumably referring to the strings and woodwinds of the typical *charanga*.²² A joyful sense of irony brews in his eyes, dances around his lips and invades his vocal timbre. 'With four pieces of iron and four sticks, we put together a rumba you wouldn't believe'.²³ The camera cuts away from Zayas's workshop to a crowd gathered in a plaza. Men and women dressed in matching button-down shirts and kerchiefs bounce and sway behind a line of seated musicians. They smile, gesturing broadly towards one another as they respond to the lead singer's call; rumba's energy and flavour permeate the crowd. Yet with all its liveliness, the scene is also artificial: performers stand in an orderly display, their gestures directed at the camera-as-audience as much as they are at one another, their movements and interactions suggesting the choreographed spontaneity of folkloric performance.²⁴

The film's climax is a *conga de comparsa*, a musical celebration in which participants dance through city streets in the company of a percussion-based ensemble that plays driving, syncopated rhythms on hand drums, marching toms and metallic idiophones including bells and brake drums. Yet, as with the rumba scene, nostalgia and sterility pervade this rendition of the *conga*. Where is the sweat, the dirt, the exhaustion and exhilaration of the experience, the closeness of life? Where are the other *comparsas* populating the streets and filling them with sound, colliding at intersections and challenging one another in rhythm and dance? Despite the richness of its footage and importance of

recall the state itself. Whatever Guillén Landrián's intentions, the ways in which dance invades private space during the film seem rather more like an aggressive interpellation than nostalgic recall. The official synopsis makes no mention of the keyboard, which I hear as interior and subjective ('Los del baile, Ficha Técnica').

17. Zayas reappears in Oscar Valdés's 1978 documentary *La rumba*.

18. Despite the distinctiveness of the history and use of the word 'sabor' in the Cuban and Latin contexts, for clarity and consistency, I refer to the concept of 'sabor' by its English homologue 'flavour' for the purposes of this article.

19. '*Dos pedazos de palo de escoba, pero, dan un sabor sabrosísimo*'. In his effort to communicate just how much flavour the *claves* have, Zayas speaks recursively, saying literally, 'They give a really flavorful flavor', his loss for other words revealing the sui generis nature of Cuban flavour. It is interesting that in his discourse, Zayas focuses exclusively on the instrument and its sound rather than the kinds of rhythms that one plays on it, especially considering his experience as a musician and the close relationship between the *clave* rhythms, their danceability and Cuban flavour.

20. Here he seems to echo Nicolás Guillén's broadly influential definition of Cubaness as mulatto – and intimately related to Cuban musicality – as articulated in the introduction to



Figure 9: In the closing shot of the conga de comparsa, the camera pans out to show it rounding a corner and ascending a small, residential hillside. Screen shot from ...y tenemos sabor.

his classic *Sóngoro Cosongo*: 'Diré finalmente que estos son unos versos mulatos. Participan acaso de los mismos elementos que entran en la composición étnica de Cuba, donde todos somos un poco níspero. ¿Duele? No lo creo' ('I will say finally that these are mulatto verses. They seem to contain the same elements that shape Cuba's ethnic composition, in which we are all a little plum colored. Does it hurt? I don't think so') (1931).

21. This simultaneous inward-outward focus is one the author has highlighted in discussions of *la gozadera* within the context of timba: an ambience (e.g., at a dance event) or instance (the idealized or actual climax of the

its pedagogy, Gómez's film nonetheless reaffirms a narrative that romanticizes and contains Cuba's most popular forms in stereotyped and staged renditions as if bringing dusty old photos back to life. This presentation of simulacra as though they were live events is further evidence of the ideological work carried out by hyper-real narratives that reach beyond their typical overtly political territory and into the cultural realm.

As the lesson reaches its end, its pedagogical structure breaks down for a moment. Gómez intrudes abruptly in her own voice, announcing, '[b]ut now we move away from traditional music to younger musicians, who are working on something new [and] different, but preserving our flavour'.²⁵ Behind her voice, we hear the piano, doubled by flute and bass, execute a repeating riff of chromatically descending dominant chords. Abandoning Zayas and his workshop and the world of Cuban popular traditions, Gómez indulges one of her own infatuations: jazz vocalist Amado Borcelá Navarrete, or Guapachá, who performs with the young Chucho Valdés and his combo.²⁶

This coda of sorts is an homage to him, in recognition of his then recent passing. Despite this segment's clear departure in form and content, one might argue that the final Cuban instrument featured here is Guapachá's voice, inflected with both Cuban and North American influences as he performs his 'Chachacha Bebop' (see Vázquez 2013: 199; Valdés 2007). Gómez concludes her introduction, and Guapachá and flautist Julio Vento erupt into a high-velocity bebop melody. The camera zooms in on the *bongó* and *timbales* players, seated side by side, reaffirming the continuing presence of recognizably Cuban instrumentation and rhythmic practices, even under the onslaught of North American sounds.



Figure 10: Guapachá scats with Chucho Valdés (barely visible behind him and to the right) and his combo. Screen shot from ...y tenemos sabor.

Rompiendo la rutina

In the next few years, Cuba's brewing economic, ideological and cultural crisis would come to a head. The productive pressure building upon the whole nation reached a fever pitch with the Zafra de Los Diez Millones (Harvest of 10,000,000 [bushels]) of 1969–70, in which workers, students and citizens from all walks of life voluntarily left their homes to work in the sugarcane fields. The campaign to collect a harvest that would eliminate the nation's foreign debt failed disastrously from the perspectives of Cuba's sovereignty, economy and national morale.

Meanwhile, on the cultural front, young singer-songwriter and leaders of the incipient *nueva trova* movement such as Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez began to face state repression.²⁷ The nation's leading intellectuals also faced increased pressure for ideological conformity, for example with the closing of the independent left journal *Pensamiento Crítico* in 1971 (Farber 2011: 255). Thus began the era of cultural conservatism known as the '*quinquenio gris*' ('the grey five years').²⁸ At the nadir of this crisis, Raul Castro gave a speech articulating the concept of 'ideological diversionism', which he defined as a form of intellectual warfare perpetrated against the revolution by its enemies, in which the enemy targeted the island's youth through the media and popular culture, attempting to seduce them away from revolutionary values (1972).

Yet the late 1960s and the early 1970s are peak years for the development of Cuban popular dance culture, recalled by some as the 'years of the *ruedas* [*de casino*]', which grew in size and popularity precisely during those 'grey' years²⁹ (Chao Carbonero 2006: 31). Despite the weight of government censorship and control felt by popular musicians, existing bands such as La Orquesta Ritmo Oriental renewed their sounds and new bands such as Los Van Van and Irakere came into existence, touring nationally and internationally to great acclaim³⁰ (Moore 2006: 113–19). Massive public dance parties continued to take place, providing a stage for this ongoing evolution and for the continued performance of the hyper-real *revolución con pachanga*. These bands are

event) of pure, sensual enjoyment experienced in community (see Town 2016).

22. '*Pero nosotros no necesitamos de esa lindura ni eso para hacer música*'. The *charanga* or *charanga francesa* is an ensemble comprised of strings, woodwinds and light percussion, and is the typical format in which cha-cha-cha and its antecedent the *danzón* are performed. Despite the Cuban origins of those genres, the European origin of much of the *charanga's* instrumentation obviously contrasts with the documentary's main theme – perhaps the motivation behind Zayas's comment.
23. '*Con cuatro hierros y cuatro palos, armamos una rumba que no cree nadie*'.
24. The featured ensemble here is *Clave y Guaguancó*, founded in the 1950s, and today one of Cuba's most important folkloric ensembles. On the establishment, aesthetics and commoditization of rumba through the *Conjunto Folklórico Nacional* (Daniel 1995). For descriptions of contemporary rumba performances, see Bodenheimer (2015).
25. '*Pero ahora nos vamos alejando de la música tradicional y los más jóvenes trabajan en algo nuevo, distinto, pero conservando nuestro sabor*'.
26. Amado Borcelá Navarrete 'Guapachá' (1934–66) was a singer and percussionist from Havana. He was known a great improviser, a singer and a scatter, especially in genres with faster tempos such as guarachas and sones. He worked with Bebo and Chucho,

among others (Giró 2007: 178).

27. Cuba's *nueva trova* movement was a youth-oriented musical movement founded on the roots of its *trova* or singer-songwriter tradition and influenced by the international resurgence of folk and protest music in the 1960s and the 1970s (see Benmayor 1981). Milanés was accused of homosexuality and interned at a work camp, while Rodríguez, having alienated the cultural establishment, been detained and lost his job, went into voluntary exile for a time on a fishing boat (Moore 2006: 148–53; Sierra 2015). According to Moore, the circumstances of Milanés's arrest remain uncertain; on the other hand, Rodríguez's outspoken cultural views clearly contributed to his being targeted and detained by Cuban police on several occasions. Sierra Madero affirms that Milanés was interned at a Unidad Militar de Apoyo a la Producción or UMAP, one of a series of work camps that functioned from 1965 to 1968 as labour-based reform centres for youth accused of anti-social behaviour.

28. Author Ambrosio Fornet designated this epithet for the years 1971–76, the result of an escalation in cultural repression that culminated in April 1971 with direct attacks levelled at gays and members of the Abakuá community during the National Congress of Education and Culture. By contrast, architect Mario Coyula saw a much larger scale impact of cultural conservatism and repression on Cuban society, calling the era



Figure 11: *La Zafra de los 10,000,000*. *Bohemia*, 28 February 1969.

Translations:

GET UPPP! (ten million... ten million)

And now... on 10 Million Radio, a song by Franco Laganá and his combo.

among those featured animating just such a party in Oscar Valdés's *Rompiendo la rutina/Breaking the Routine*, released in 1974, the year of the Revolution's fifteenth anniversary.

Named for the first *danzonete*, a sung variant of the *danzón*, the film narrates and codifies the history and evolution of Cuban popular dance styles.³¹ Ensnared in an armchair and speaking in his peculiar French Cuban accent, an ageing Alejo Carpentier proclaims passionately that

when we consider [...] the *danzón* [and] the introduction of the *montuno* [...] the move to the cha-cha-cha, the move to the mambo, the move to the twenty-five thousand [different] forms, we understand how Cuban music, like jazz, lives all around the world: because it's a living music, it's a living folklore.³²

And nowhere more than in Cuba, the film seems to suggest, as if reminding the national audience of its own cultural resources and resilience, and convincing it of the centrality of celebration to revolutionary life and of the ideological 'safety' of Cuba's youth. Portraits of deceased bandleaders and silent film inter-titles alternate with footage from a live, outdoor dance party, illustrating and animating the sweeping narrative.³³

After an upbeat vamp provided by La Orquesta Ritmo Oriental, the second band featured on the film is the island's most popular new dance band, Los Van Van, performing one of their early hits. The call and response refrain kicks in – '*Pastorita tiene... Guararé!*' – and the camera pans across a sea of young people jumping side to side, shaking their shoulders and taking dramatic

EL DIVERSIONISMO IDEOLOGICO ARMA SUTIL QUE ESGRIMEN LOS ENEMIGOS CONTRA LA REVOLUCION

(Tomado de una conferencia pronunciada por el comandante Raúl Castro el 6 de junio de 1972, con motivo del oncenavo aniversario del MININT)

Nuestra juventud, educada en los principios ideológicos de la Revolución, no necesita de modelos extravagantes, producto de sociedades decadentes y deformadas.



Figure 12: Raúl Castro warns Cubans of the dangers of ideological diversionism. Granma, June 1972.

Translations:

- a. Ideological Diversionism Subtle Weapon that Enemies Wield Against the Revolution (Taken from a speech given by commander Raúl Castro on 6 June 1972 the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the Ministry of the Interior.)
- b. Our youth, educated in the ideological principles of the Revolution, don't need the fancy models produced by decadent and deformed societies.

knee dips as they dance to the music.³⁴ The band is dancing too: the violins, conga, drum kit and *güiro* are moving in a coordinated deep lean forward, deep lean back choreography, while others step side to side in unison, creating an intense sonic-kinetic feedback cycle that encompasses the entire event.

The documentary's historical narrative continues to weave in and out of the live footage, narrating the modernization of the *danzón* through musical borrowings and the development of a new, more picaresque dance step in

from the mid-1960s up to 1980 the '*triquenio amargo*' or the bitter fifteen years (Farber 2011: 23).

29. *Rueda de casino* is danced by a group of pairs in circle formation, executing moves as directed by a *cantante*, or caller, who is also dancing in the *rueda*. It emerged in youth tea dances of late 1950s' Havana and grew in popularity after the revolution. Their further growth in the late 1960s and the early 1970s is due in part to the practice of *rueda de casino* not only in industry-based workers' social circles but also in the boarding schools for secondary and high school-aged youth that began opening in urban and rural areas across the country beginning around 1970.
30. For a more extensive discussion of Ritmo Oriental's signature style and its impact on the evolution of Cuban dance music, see Moore (2016). Los Van Van's tours to Mexico and Peru in 1973 and 1974, respectively, were well covered by the national press, while Irakere's multiple concerts at Havana's Teatro Amadeo Roldán in 1974 resulted in a live album (Anon. 1974, 1975; Grupo Irakere 1974).

31. Flautist, bandleader and composer Aniceto Díaz penned '*Rompiendo la rutina*' in 1929. About the *danzonete*, he claimed, '[...] no es un baile nuevo, sino una modalidad nueva, y no va contra el *Danzón*, sino para renovar al *Danzón*' ('It's not a new dance, but a new modality, and it doesn't go against the *danzón*, but rather renews it') (EcuRed 2015). '*Rompiendo la rutina*' also reappears

as the name of a dance party featured in García Espinosa's *Cuba Baila*.

32. Author and music historian Alejo Carpentier (1904–80) is an important intellectual figure connecting pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Cuba, particularly in the realms of musical and literary arts.
33. In addition to *La Ritmo Oriental*, *Los Van Van* and *Irakere*, the film features *Los Reyes* (later known as *Los Reyes 73*) and *Conjunto Rumbavana*.
34. A rough translation of the chorus is, 'Pastorita is... mad at me!'. This piece connects *Los Van Van* to musical traditions from the eastern part of Cuba, and in particular to *changüí*. The song 'El Guararey de Pastora' is originally by Baute Sagarra, although Juan Formell claims to have learned it from Pedro Speck, a musician visiting Havana from Guantánamo (Reyes 2010).



Figure 13: The title screen of Oscar Valdés's *Rompiendo la rutina/Breaking the Routine* (Cuba: ICAIC, 1974), in the style of the intertitles that pepper the film. Screen shot from *Rompiendo la rutina*.



Figure 14: *Los Van Van* dance as they play. Singers freestyle in the front row, while behind them, the violins and conga player alternate leaning in and back with the rhythm. Screen shot from *Rompiendo la rutina*.



Figure 15: In the final clip of the film, dancers spontaneously form a chain as *Irakere* plays a repeated, descending riff. Screen shot from *Rompiendo la rutina*.

35. Although *Irakere* was officially formed in 1973, many of its musicians had played together on and off for up to a decade, in various other jazz-oriented projects, including Chucho Valdés's own combo, which accompanied *Guapachá* in the previous film.
36. The band sings only the response to an unsung lead vocal line, 'Yeye moro', two parts of a Yoruba chant to Ochún, the deity of sweet water, fertility and healing. (Kati Hernández, personal communication).

the early decades of the twentieth century and providing a fruitful foil to the exuberant present-day scene that seems to unfold in real time.

The film culminates with another of the nation's newest musical acts: a single Afro-Cuban *batá* drum fills the screen, while a set of three takes over the soundtrack, quickly joined by a simple chant hailing the band itself, *Irakere*.³⁵ Bass and keyboard join the mix as the camera pans out, revealing concert-goers congregated around and intermingled with the rest of the band. The band builds to a break and the chorus claps *clave* and begins a new refrain: '[o]ma oma oke oke'.³⁶ The intimate quarters of the musicians with their audience combined with the liveness of the footage reaffirms the sense of immediacy highlighted by Carpentier. As the musicians settle into their groove, the camera pans around the space, capturing dancers who move to its cadence. Another musical break is matched by a cut. Now, as the horns intensify their energy with a short, repeated riff, the camera settles on those dancers whose arm and upper body movements seem to echo their heightened dynamics. Eventually the film fades out on a riff that descends repeatedly from tonic to dominant, suggesting an impending climax, as dancers make a train in a pool of light on the dance floor. In these final seconds, the filmic narrative reasserts itself more directly over its live content. Its final sounds suggest continuity and progress, while the accompanying image emphasizes the collective engaged in cooperative, uncomplicated fun: revolutionary resilience, *revolución con pachanga*.

In some ways, Valdés's *Rompiendo la rutina* completes the process hinted at ten years earlier by Guillén Landrián, in which the revolution harnesses the unruly popular dance culture depicted in *P.M.*, taming it and accentuating its utopian and productive qualities. Guillén Landrián's depiction of this process reveals its workings through its gaps: the slip beneath the dress,

audio-visual disconnects and moments of silence that remind the viewer of the 'real world' that escapes narrativization. By contrast, Valdés's film seems to successfully marshal present-day dance music in order to bolster and enliven a codified history of Cuban popular dance culture. Yet his romantic account belies a lingering nostalgia with respect to popular culture that ultimately distances it from the spectator and from the present, while the contradictions between its pedantic and utopian strains go unresolved. On the other hand, the camera reveals moments in which improvisation and playfulness produce unexpected results, like new grooves and choreographies, and role reversals in which musicians dance and bodies sound. The editing process itself becomes visible as it is mobilized to capture and contain what material it can within the context of the film, and yet other moments conspicuously elude those efforts.

CONCLUSION

The documentary films about social dance surveyed here were produced at pivotal moments during the Cuban Revolution's first fifteen years, offering a window into the evolving relationship between the nation and its popular dance culture. On the surface, each film celebrates the unique effervescence of Cuban flavour as expressed through its musical culture, which can be seen to act as a sort of social cement, binding society together across other differences. It is also a means of literally mobilizing the masses, combining choreography and improvisation into spontaneous forms of organization and producing social enjoyment in the process. Thus, a narrative thread through these films and their contexts traces the state's ongoing efforts to animate citizens in extraordinary efforts and to occupy even the most idle and intimate of social spaces. In particular, the raw footage itself reveals productive efforts that are material, focused on sugar and national economic autonomy, and ideological, directed at the production of broad-based consensus and the protection of the nation's youth. Ultimately successes in these arenas will combine to produce the nation itself. It is no small irony that these films also provide ample evidence of Cuban popular dance culture's intimate and ongoing entanglements with its own history of debauchery and the (North American) enemy's influence.

This set of documentary films bears witness to official efforts to harness the raw material of Cuban popular dance culture and redeploy it as evidence of ongoing revolutionary consensus and resilience. In this process, the social dances depicted become choreographies of sociability, productive citizenship and national unity, in which all citizens should take part. As the Revolution advanced and ICAIC filmmakers moved from engaging in open-ended experimentation to producing easily readable, classicizing narratives, these efforts – and the tensions they produce – became more pronounced. Their narrative techniques became more sophisticated, and yet the results seemed to regress, as experimentation itself became somewhat codified.

Nonetheless, in harmony with the context of permanent revolution, all four films seek to give their subject matter continuity beyond their celluloid confines, challenging their own structures even as they abide by them. *P.M.* begins and ends as if by chance encounter on the ferry from Regla to Havana, suggesting a quotidian routine enlivened by individual choice and spontaneous engagements. *Los del baile* troubles borders both intimate and filmic, as the brash strains of *mozambique* intrude upon private thoughts, and the dance seems to continue beyond the confines of the film, truncated prematurely

and ineffectively by the film's final moments. ...y *tenemos sabor* presents an illustrated survey of traditional Cuban musical instruments and their associated genres, and yet ends with a coda dedicated to the new generation of musicians who challenge boundaries of nation and genre in their musical production. In *Rompiendo la rutina*, the band fades out on a dominant riff while dancers form a chain, both suggesting continuity. In this way, whether freewheeling, questioning or codifying, each film contributes towards the hyper-reality of the Cuban Revolution by preserving and projecting its thriving vernacular onto the big screen.

REFERENCES

- Almendros, N. (1961), 'Pasado Meridiano', *Bohemia*, 53, 21 May, p. 21.
- Althusser, L. (2002), 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation)', in L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 127–86.
- Anderson, B. (2006), *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso.
- Anon. (n.d.a), '...y tenemos sabor, Ficha técnica', ICAIC archives, Havana.
- (n.d.b), 'Los del baile, Ficha técnica', ICAIC archives, Havana.
- (n.d.c), 'P.M., Ficha técnica', ICAIC archives, Havana.
- (1974), 'Que hay de nuevo?', *Juventud Rebelde*, 28 January, p. 4.
- (1975), 'Que hay de nuevo?', *Juventud Rebelde*, 15 March, p. 2.
- Balbuena, B. (2003), *El casino y la salsa en Cuba*, La Habana: Letras Cubanas.
- Benmayor, R. (1981), 'La "Nueva Trova": New Cuban song', *Latin American Music Review*, 2:1, pp. 11–44.
- Bodenheimer, R. (2015), *Geographies of Cubanidad: Place, Race, and Musical Performance in Contemporary Cuba*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Casamayor, O. (2015), 'Imagining the "New Black (Subject)": Ethical transformations and raciality in the post-Revolutionary Cuban nation', in J. Branche (ed.), *Black Writing, Culture, and the State in Latin America*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 61–82.
- Castellanos, J. (2003), *Pioneros de la etnografía cubana: Fernando Ortíz, Rómulo Lachetañeré, Lydia Cabrera*, Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Castro, F. (2011), *Palabras a los intelectuales*, Mexico, DF: Ocean Sur.
- Castro, R. (1972), 'El diversionismo ideológico: Arma sutil que esgrimen los enemigos contra la revolución', *Granma*, June, pp. 4–16.
- Chanan, M. (2004), *Cuban Cinema*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chao Carbonero, G. (2006), *De la contradanza al casino cubano*, La Habana: Adagio.
- Daniel, Y. (1995), *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Davies, H. (2013), 'Clavinet', in *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/53394>. Accessed 29 August 2013.
- Domínguez, J. I. (1989), *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ecured (2015), 'Danzonete', <http://www.ecured.cu/index.php/Danzonete>. Accessed 10 September 2015.
- (2017), 'Manuel Alonso Garcia', https://www.ecured.cu/Manolo_Alonso. Accessed 4 May 2017.

- Farber, S. (2011), *Cuba Since the Revolution of 1959: A Critical Assessment*, Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Fernández Retamar, R. (2011), 'A cuarenta años de *Palabras a los intelectuales*', in Fidel Castro (ed.), *Palabras a los intelectuales*, Mexico, DF: Ocean Sur, pp. 65–82.
- García Espinosa, J. (1961), *Cuba Baila*, Cuba: ICAIC.
- Giró, R. (2007), 'Armando Borcelá "Guapachá"', in R. Giró, *Diccionario enciclopédico de la música en Cuba*, vol. 2, La Habana: Letras Cubanas, p. 178.
- Grupo Irakere (1974), *Teatro Amadeo Roldán*, LP 3420, Havana: Areito.
- Guerra, L. (2012), *Visions of Power: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959–71*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Guillén, N. (1931), *Sóngoro Cosongo*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor-din/songoro_cosongo-1931--0/html/ff47ec48-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_2.html#I_0_. Accessed 9 February 2016.
- Guillén Landrián, N. (1965), *Los del baile*, Cuba: ICAIC.
- Gutiérrez Alea, T. (1968), *Memorias del subdesarrollo*, Cuba: ICAIC.
- Jiménez Leal, O. and Cabrera Infante, S. (1961), *P.M.*, Cuba: ICAIC.
- Kutzinski, V. (1993), *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Mintz, S. (1985), *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York: Penguin Books.
- Molina, G. and Lee, S. (1965), 'Bailando Mozambique me voy a cortar caña', *Hoy*, 13 April, p. 1.
- Moore, K. (2016), 'The music of Ritmo Oriental', timba.com, http://www.timba.com/artist_pages/the-music-of-ritmo-oriental. Accessed 8 February 2016.
- Moore, R. (2006), *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- NG La banda (1993), *Échale limón*, CD-076, Havana: Artex.
- Orejuela Martínez, A. (2006), *El son no se fue de Cuba*, La Habana: Letras Cubanas.
- Orton, R. and Davies, H. (2013), 'Electric piano', in *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08692>. Accessed 29 August 2013.
- Ponte, A. J. (2012), 'De La fiesta vigilada', in O. Jiménez Leal and M. Zayas (eds), *El caso P.M.: Cine, poder, y censura*, Madrid: Colibrí, pp. 17–26.
- Reyes Noa, M. (2010), 'El Guararey de Pastora', *Herencias Culturales*, 16 December, <https://herenciasculturales.wordpress.com/2010/12/16/el-guararey-de-pastora/>. Accessed 20 May 2016.
- Robbins, D. (2010), 'Popular music and citizenship in Brazil and Cuba: Theme, counterpoint, and variation', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.
- Sierra Madero, A. (2015), 'El trabajo os hará hombres', presentation, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 11 November.
- Town, S. (2016), 'Terreno timbeado: Rhythmic experimentation in New York's Cuban dance music', paper presented at the Society for Ethnomusicology Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 11 November.
- Valdés, C. (2007), *Guapachá with Chucho Valdés and His Combo*, Jazz Cuba, vol. 4, Rumor / Warner Bros 5101195872.
- Valdés, O. (1974), *Rompiendo la rutina*, La Habana: ICAIC.
- (1978), *La rumba*, La Habana: ICAIC.
- Vázquez, A. (2013), *Listening in Detail: Performances of Cuban Music*, Durham: Duke University Press.

SUGGESTED CITATION

Town, S. (2017), 'Cuba dances: Popular dance, documentary film and the construction of the revolutionary state', *Studies in Spanish & Latin American Cinemas*, 14:2, pp. 171–91, doi: 10.1386/slac.14.2.171_1

CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

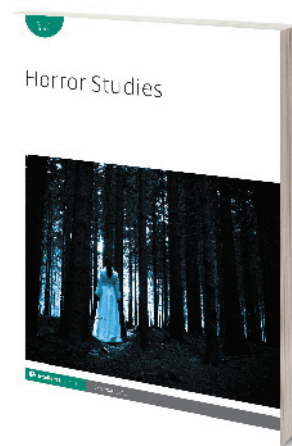
Sarah Town defended her dissertation, entitled 'Timbeando en Nueva York: Cuban Dance Culture in Havana and New York City', in March 2017, thus completing her Ph.D. in musicology at Princeton University. Her research examines the histories, aesthetics and circulation of Cuban timba and casino in particular and Cuban dance cultures more generally. This article emerges from a related project, examining the use of popular music and dance in filmic narratives of the Cuban Revolution.

E-mail: town.sarah@ymail.com

Sarah Town has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work in the format that was submitted to Intellect Ltd.

Horror Studies

Special Issue - Call for Papers



ISSN: 20403275

Online ISSN: 20403283

First published in 2010

2 issues per volume

Editor

Prof. Ann Davies

University of Stirling

E-Mail: ann.davies@stir.ac.uk

Aims & Scope

Horror Studies is a journal devoted to the study of horror. This journal will publish in all fields of the humanities, provided the scholarship deals centrally with a work or works generally connected to horror. While we anticipate that fields traditionally concerned with horror such as film studies and literary studies will inform the bulk of the journal's articles, we also intend to solicit and cultivate study in allied fields such as art history, musicology, theatre history and dance history. The goal of the journal will be to promote excellence in the scholarly study of horror in expressive culture, and interaction between scholars interested in the study of horror from diverse disciplines.

Horror Studies appears twice per year, in each spring and autumn. Each issue contains articles on varied topics. On occasion, *Horror Studies* also offers thematically unified issues featuring guest editors and articles concentrated on a single topic, individual or body of work. Reviews of books, DVDs and other media that seeks to expand what we know about horror also appear.

Call for Papers

Papers are sought for a special issue of *Horror Studies* devoted to Hispanic horror. The notion of Hispanic used here is generally a broad one that focuses in the first instance on horror texts and production in the Spanish language and emanating from Spain, Latin America or other Spanish-speaking communities. However, the penetration into other cultures of texts, materials, ideas and personnel from Spanish-speaking cultures and communities means that even such a broad definition as this can be seen as too limiting. Papers are therefore also welcome that consider texts and production internationally and transnationally (including primary texts that are in some other language than Spanish), with the caveat that such papers should demonstrate the nexus with Spanish-language culture in terms of ideas, influences, texts and/or people.

Papers of 7000-9000 words (including references, notes and abstract) should be submitted to the editor at ann.davies@stir.ac.uk by 30 April 2018. Publication of successful submissions is planned for 2019. As *Horror Studies* is an English-language journal, all submissions should be in English. Translation of papers from other languages is the responsibility of the author(s). All submissions should follow the publisher's style guide: <http://horrorstudiesjournal.com/images/PDFs/Intellect-Journals-style-guide.pdf>. Please direct any queries to ann.davies@stir.ac.uk.

Prof. Ann Davies is Chair of Spanish and Latin American Studies at the University of Stirling, Scotland. Her research encompasses the study of Spanish-language horror, Gothic and fantasy. Her most recent publication was *Contemporary Spanish Gothic* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), and she is currently working on a monograph devoted to landscape, space and place in Spanish horror.

Copyright of Studies in Spanish & Latin American Cinemas is the property of Intellect Ltd. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.